Thebes in the First Millennium BC

Art and Archaeology of the Kushite Period and Beyond

edited by
Elena Pischikova, Julia Budka, Kenneth Griffin



GHP
EGYPTOLOGY 27

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Elena Pischikova, Julia Budka, Kenneth Griffin (editors)

GHP Egyptology 27

Published by Golden House Publications
London 2018

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Cover front
Vignette of the Seventh Hour of the Night in the tomb of Karakhamun (TT 223) depicting Khonsu (photo: K. Blakeney)

Printed in the United Kingdom

ISBN 978-1-906137-59-5

Printed by
CPI Group (UK) Ltd.
Croydon
CR0 4YY

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Abbreviations follow the standard used by the Institut français d'archéologie orientale (IFAO). MATHIEU, B. *Abréviations des périodiques et collections en usage à l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*, 6th ed (Cairo: Divers 4, 2017) Available fromhttp://www.ifao.egnet.net/uploads/publications/enligne/IF1098.pdf

ÄA	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen
AAALiv	*Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament: Studien zu Geschichte, Kultur und Religion Ägyptens und des Alten Testaments
AAWB	Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
Achet	Achet: Schriften zur Ägyptologie
ADAIK	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo
AegHelv	Aegyptiaca Helvetica
AegLeod	Aegyptiaca leodiensia
AegMonast	Aegyptiaca monasteriensia
ÄF	Ägyptologische Forschungen
AHAW	Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse
Ä&L	*Ägypten und Levante. Zeitschrift für ägyptische Archäologie und deren Nachgebiete*
ÄMPB	Ägyptische und Orientalische Papyri und Handschriften des Ägyptischen Museums und Papyrussammlung Berlin
AnOr	Analecta orientalia
AOB	Analecta orientalia belgica
ASAE	*Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*
ASEg	Archaeological Survey of Egypt
AV	Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, AbteilungKairo
BAÄ	Beiträge zum Alten Ägypten
BABA	Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde
BACE	*Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology*
BAR-IS	British Archaeological Reports (International Series)
BCE	*Bulletin de liaison du Groupe international d'étude de la céramique égyptienne*
BdÉ	Bibliothèque d'étude
BeitrÄg	Beiträge zur Ägyptologie
BES	*Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar*
BEStud	Brown Egyptological Studies
BIFAO	*Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*
BiOr	*Bibliotheca orientalis*
BMMA	*Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*
BMOP	British Museum Occasional Papers
BMSAES	*British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan*
BollSer	Bollingen Series
Boreas	Boreas. Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations
BSF	Beiträge zur Sudanforschung, Beiheft
BSFE	*Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie*
BSGA	Blackwell Studies in Global Archaeology
CAENL	Contributions to the Archaeology of Egypt, Nubia and the Levant
CahKarn	*Cahiers de Karnak*
CCE	*Cahiers de la céramique égyptienne*
CCE (S)	*Cahiers caribéens d'égyptologie*

CCEM	Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean
CdE	*Chronique d'Égypte*
CEA	Connaissance de l'Egypte Ancienne
CENiM	Cahiers de l'Égypte nilotique et méditerranéenne
CGC	Catalogue général des du Musée du Caire
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CNIP	The Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Ancient Near East Studies, Publications
CRIPEL	*Cahiers de recherches de l'Institut de papyrologie et égyptologie de Lille*
CSEG	Cahiers de la Société d'égyptologie de Genève
CT	DE BUCK, A., *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 7 vols. (Chicago: OIP 34, 49, 64, 67, 73, 81, 87, 1935–1961).
CTA	*Les Cahiers techniques de l'art*
D3T	Documents de Théologies Thébaines Tardives
DE	*Discussions in Egyptology*
Description	COMMISSION DES MONUMENTS D'ÉGYPTE, *Description de l'Égypte, ou Recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l'expédition de l'Armée française* (Antiquités) 9 vols (Paris, 1809–1822).
DÖAW	Denkschriften der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
EA	*Egyptian Archaeology: The Bulletin of the Egyptian Exploration Society*
EgMem	Egyptological Memoirs
EgUit	Egyptologische Uitgaven
EAO	*Egypte. Afrique et Orient*
Enchoria	*Enchoria: Zeitschrift für Demotistik und Koptologie*
ENiM	*Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne*
ERA	Egyptian Research Account
ERTR	Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations
EtudEg	Études d'égyptologie
ÉtudTrav	*Études et travaux: Travaux du Centre d'archéologie méditerranéene de l'Académie polonaise des sciences*
EVO	*Egitto e Vicino Oriente*
FIFAO	Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale
Geneva	*Geneva, nouvelle série*
GHPE	Golden House Publications: Egyptology
GM	*Göttinger Miszellen: Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion*
GOF	Göttinger Orientforschungen
HAT	Handschriften des Altägyptischen Totenbuches
HbOr	Handbuch der Orientalistik
HistArch	*Histoire et archéologie. Les Dossiers*
IBAES	Internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie
IcRel	Iconography of Religions
JACF	*Journal of the Ancient Chronology Forum*
JANER	*Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions*
JARCE	*Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JSSEA	*Journal of the Society of the Studies of Egyptian Antiquities*
JW*IS*	JANSEN-WINKELN, K., *Inschriften der Spätzeit*, 4 vols (Wiesbaden: 2007–2014).
Kêmi	*Kêmi: Revue de philologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes et coptes*
K*RI*	KITCHEN, K.A., *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*, 8 vols (Oxford, 1968–1991).
Kyphi	*Kyphi. Bulletin du Cercle lyonnais d'égyptologie Victor Loret*

ABBREVIATIONS

LÄ	*Lexikon der Ägyptologie*
L*D*	LEPSIUS, K.R., *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien: nach den Zeichnungen der von Seiner Majestät dem Könige von Preussen Friedrich Wilhelm IV. nach diesen Ländern gesendeten und in den Jahren 1842–1845 ausgeführten wissenschaftlichen Expedition*, 6 vols (Berlin, (1849–1859).
L*D Text*	LEPSIUS, K.R., *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien, Text herausgegeben von Eduard Naville*, 5 vols (Leipzig, 1897–1913).
LGG	C. LEITZ, D. BUDDE, P. DILS, L. GOLDBRUNNER, D. MENDEL, F. FÖRSTER, D. VON RECKLINGHAUSEN, B. VENTKER (eds.). (2002–2003). *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, 8 vols (Leuven: OLA 110–116, 129, 2002–2003).
MÄS	Münchner Ägyptologische Studien
MDAIK	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*
MEEF	Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund
MEES	Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Society
Memnonia	*Memnonia: Bulletin édité par l'Association pour la sauvegarde du Ramesseum*
Memnonia. CS	Memnonia. Cahier Supplémentaire
MIFAO	Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire
MittSAG	*Der Antike Sudan. Mitteilungen der Sudanarchäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin*
MMAES	Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Studies
MMJ	*Metropolitan Museum Journal*
MonAeg	Monumenta aegyptiaca
MRE	Monographies Reine Élisabeth
OA	*Oriens Antiquus*
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
OIC	Oriental Institute Communications
OIMP	Oriental Institute Museum Publications
OINE	Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OLA	Orientalia lovaniensia analecta
Op. Ath.	*Opuscula Athenensia*
ORA	Orientalische Religionen in der Antike. Ägypten, Israel, Alter Orient
OUEN	Oxford University Excavations in Nubia
PalHiero	Paléographie hiéroglyphique
PALMA-Eg	PALMA. Papers on Archeology of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities. Egyptology
PAM	*Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean*
PAM Supplement	Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean Supplement Series
PdÄ	Probleme der Ägyptologie
P.L.Bat.	Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava
PM I/1^2	PORTER, B., R.L.B. MOSS, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings* I*: The Theban Necropolis, Part 1: Private Tombs*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1960).
PM I/2^2	PORTER, B., R.L.B. MOSS, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings* I*: The Theban Necropolis, Part 2: Royal Tombs and Smaller Cemeteries*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1964).
PM II^2	PORTER, B., R.L.B. MOSS, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings* II*: Theban Temples*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1972).
PM III/2^2	PORTER, B., R.L.B. MOSS, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings* III*: Memphis, Part 2: Ṣaqqâra to Dahshûr*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1981).
PM VII	PORTER, B., R.L.B. MOSS, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings* VII*: Nubia, the Deserts, and Outside Egypt* (Oxford, 1951).

PMMA	Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art
PN	RANKE, H., *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, 3 vols (Glückstadt, 1935–1952).
PT	SETHE, K.H., *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte, nach den Papierabdrücken und Photographien des Berliner Museums*, 4 vols (Leipzig, 1908–1922).
PTA	Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen
RAPH	Recherches d'archéologie, d'philologie et d'histoire
RdE	*Revue d'égyptologie*
RLMF	*Revue du Louvre et des musées de France*
SAGA	Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens
SAK	*Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur*
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations
SARS Publication	Sudan Archaeological Research Society Publication
SASAE	Suppléments aux Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte
SAT	Studien zum altägyptischen Totenbuch
SDAIK	Sonderschrift des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo
ShirEgypt	Shire Egyptology
Sokar	*Sokar. Die Welt der Pyramiden*
SRAT	Studien zu den Ritualszenen altägyptischer Tempel
ŚSA	*Śląskie Sprawozdania Archeologiczne*
SSR	Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion
StudEgypt	Studies in Egyptology
SudNub	*Sudan & Nubia*
TbT	Totenbuchtexte
TrabEg	*Trabajos de Egiptología. Papers on Ancient Egypt*
TTS	Theban Tombs Series
UEE	*UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*
Urk. IV	SETHE, K.H., H.W. HELCK, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie* (Leipzig, Berlin: Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums, 1906–1958).
USE	Uppsala Studies in Egyptology
UZK	Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes
VicOr	*Vicino Oriente. Annuario del Dipartimento di scienze storiche archeologiche e antropologiche dell'Antichità*
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
Wb	ERMAN, A., H. GRAPOW, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, 7 vols (Leipzig, 1926–1963).
YES	Yale Egyptological Studies
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*
ZÄS Beiheft	Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde – Beiheft
ZBA	Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie

List of Contributors

Eltayeb Abbas: Minya University, Egypt
Abdelrazk Mohamed Ali: Ministry of Antiquities, Egypt; South Asasif Conservation Project
Ahmed Araby: Ministry of Antiquities, Egypt
Meike Becker: Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster, Germany
John Billman: Thames Valley Ancient Egypt Society, UK; South Asasif Conservation Project
Anke Ilona Blöbaum: Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster, Germany
Stéphanie Boulet: Université Paul Valéry Montpellier 3; LabEx Archimède, France
Julia Budka: Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, Germany; South Asasif Conservation Project
Laurent Coulon: EPHE, PSL Research University, EA 4519, Paris, France
Silvia Einaudi: École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris, France
Louise Gestermann: Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen, Germany; Georg-August-Universität Göttingen, Germany
Farouk Gomaà: Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen, Germany
Kenneth Griffin: Swansea University, UK; South Asasif Conservation Project
Erhart Graefe: Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster, Germany; South Asasif Conservation Project
Aleksandra Hallmann: Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures, Polish Academy of Sciences; Oriental Institute, Chicago, USA.
Jérémy Hourdin: CNRS, USR 3172; CFEETK; LabEx Archimède, France
Marta Kaczanowicz: Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Poland
Angelika Lohwasser: Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster, Germany
Benoît Lurson: Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium; Universität Leipzig, Germany
Miguel Á. Molinero Polo: Universidad de La Laguna, Tenerife, Spain; South Asasif Conservation Project
Franck Mourot: Archéologue, attaché de conservation du patrimoine. Chef des services culturels de la ville de Bar-le-Duc, France
Essam Nagy: The Egypt Exploration Society, Egypt; Ministry of Antiquities, Egypt; Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, Germany
Frédéric Payraudeau: Université Paris-Sorbonne, UMR 8167, Paris, France
Elena Pischikova: South Asasif Conservation Project; American University in Cairo, Egypt
Isabelle Régen: Université Paul Valéry, Montpellier, France
Andrea Rodríguez Valls: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain; South Asasif Conservation Project
Gábor Schreiber: Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary
Cynthia May Sheikholeslami: Independent Scholar, Cairo, Egypt
Claude Traunecker: Université de Strasbourg, UMR 7044, France
Mareike Wagner: Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen, Germany
Mostafa Waziry: Secretary General of the Supreme Council of Antiquities, Egypt
Dietrich Wildung: Naga Project, Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst München, Germany

Introduction

International Research Focusing on the First Millennium BC

This volume, *Thebes in the First Millennium BC: Art and Archaeology of the Kushite Period and Beyond*, is a collection of articles, most of which are based on the talks given at the conference of the same name organised by the team of the South Asasif Conservation Project (SACP), an Egyptian-American mission working under the auspices of the Ministry of Antiquities (MoA), Egypt in Luxor in 2016. The conference was organised in cooperation with the Ministry of Antiquities and the Egypt Exploration Society (EES) by a committee that included Elena Pischikova (Director of the SACP), Julia Budka (SACP), Kenneth Griffin (SACP), John Billman (SACP), Essam Nagy (EES), Shaaban Abd el-Gawad (MoA), and Mohamed Mokhtar (MoA). It was a follow-up to a very successful event in 2012.[1] Since the first conference, fieldwork at Kushite, Saite, and other sites of the First Millennium BC have continued and it seemed worth bringing together speakers who would share the most recent results of their field research in the tombs and temples of the Twenty-fifth–Twenty-sixth dynasties in Thebes and other archaeological sites, as well as addressing a variety of issues relevant to different aspects of Egyptian monuments of this era. The aim of this volume is, therefore, to illustrate recent advances, to give an overview of the most important fieldwork projects dedicated to the period on the West Bank and at Karnak and to pinpoint the rich potential of research on First Millennium BC Egypt when it is conducted by a group of researchers in close exchange to each other and in fruitful cooperation.

Papers based on the talks of the participants of the conference form the bulk of this volume. The 2016 conference comprised a total of forty-eight papers of experts in the field and was thus able to give a current state-of-the-art assessment of research focusing on the First Millennium BC in Thebes. However, the conference also brought together scholars working in other areas of Egypt, from the Sinai and the Nile Delta to Saqqara, the Eastern Desert, and Abydos. Thus, this volume covers a wide range of sites, monuments, and issues as well as a broad chronological span.

Kushite Chronology

Since the first conference on Thebes in the First Millennium BC back in 2012, Kushite chronology and especially the sequence of the kings has been debated in several papers. In 2013, the proposal by Báyani to reverse the sequence of Shabaqo and Shebitqo[2] stimulated a vivid discussion and resulted in a workshop in 2014 in Münster.[3] The revised version of Báyani's paper as outcome of this workshop[4] convinced some of the leading authorities in the field of Kushite chronology to accept this new sequence, making Shebitqo the first king of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.[5] However, the last word in this matter was obviously not yet spoken and not all experts agreed to this new sequence. Important input came here directly at the Thebes in the First Millennium BC conference in 2016. As one of the most seminal papers at conference, Claus Jurman reviewed the debated sequence once again. His analysis of the Nile Level Records (NLR) at Karnak, especially of NLR nr. 33 of Shebtiqo, year 3 and NLR nr. 30, Shabaqo, year 2 has already been published.[6] Jurman could

[1] PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*.
[2] BÁNYAI, *JEH* 6:1 (2013), 46–129. For this reversal, see already BRUNET, *JACF* 10 (2006), 26–34.
[3] Organised by Angelika Lohwasser, on 16 May 2014, under the title 'Die Chronologie der 25. Dynastie im alten Ägypten', see the "Vorbemerkungen" by Lohwasser to BÁNYAI, *JEH* 6:1 (2013), 46–129.
[4] BÁNYAI, *JEH* 8:2 (2015), 115–180.
[5] See BROEKMAN, *GM* 245 (2015), 17–31; PAYRAUDEAU, *Nehet* 1 (2014), 115–127. *Cf.* HOURDIN, *CRIPEL* 30 (2013–15), 191–200.
[6] JURMAN, *JEH* 10:2 (2017) 124–151.

put forward strong evidence for the sequence Shebtiqo-Shabaqo and we follow this new sequence of Kushite kings, agreeing that this last argument based on the Nile Level Records is indeed convincing.[7]

Despite the fact that the sequence of the rulers of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty seems now settled, the discussion of some chronological issues is, of course, still open. Future research will also address questions related to how early the Kushite tombs in the South Asasif really are—with well-established evidence for a dating of Karakhamun (TT 223) to Shebitqo, the dating of Karabasken (TT 391) needs to be discussed within the framework of the new royal sequence.[8]

Kushite Thebes

Thebes can be regarded as the key site for Kushite archaeology in Egypt and this is well traceable both on the West Bank and at the temples of Karnak and Luxor. Several papers by the director and by members of the SACP give an overview of the work in the South Asasif necropolis from 2006 to 2016, focusing on excavation and reconstruction work, on texts and decoration, on finds and pottery, and the general implications of the now accessible Kushite temple-tombs within the context of Twenty-fifth Dynasty Thebes.[9] Of particular importance is new data on the re-use of the tomb of Karabasken (TT 391) by a hitherto unattested High Steward of the God's Wife from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty with the name Padibastet. Thanks to the analysis by Erhart Graefe, Padibastet was identified as grandson of Pabasa A (TT 279) and successor of Padihorresnet (TT 196).[10] This new discovery is therefore of historical importance for Saite Thebes.

In addition to the South Asasif necropolis, the large temple-tombs in the northern Asasif are discussed by several authors. Louise Gestermann and the late Farouk Gomaà present new remarks on the decoration and conception of the tomb of Montuemhat (TT 34), stressing once again the complexity of the architecture and decoration of this tomb.[11] The monumental tomb of Padiamenope (TT 33) is equally intriguing and is discussed in this volume by Claude Traunecker, Silvia Einaudi, and Isabelle Régen. Traunecker's paper presents new ideas about TT 33, particularly its building plan, with a focus on its functional aspects. Einaudi and Régen focus on specific aspects of the decorative programme and discuss relevant funerary texts. In general, the papers on the elite tombs of the Theban necropolis in both the South Asasif and North Asasif address a variety of aspects of work such as archaeology, conservation, epigraphy, and burial assemblages, as well as such relevant issues as archaism and innovations of the decoration and interconnections between the tombs of different parts of the necropolis. The latter still offers much potential for future research.

Kushite architecture and building activity on the East Bank are discussed in the papers by Jérémy Hourdin, Essam Nagy, and Angelika Lohwasser *et al*. Lohwasser re-addresses the question of the original placement of the Triumphal Stela of Piankhy, found in the Amun temple at Jebel Barkal in Sudan. She argues convincingly that this early Kushite stela was originally composed for erection at Thebes, most likely at Karnak. Hourdin presents new evidence for Kushite kiosks in Karnak and Luxor, which allows comparing the constructions of Shabaqo and Taharqo and is therefore of particular importance for royal building activities in Twenty-fifth Dynasty Thebes. Nagy presents a Kushite chapel of Osiris-Ptah Neb-ankh, situated south-east of the Tenth Pylon, between the precincts of Amun-Re and Mut, built by Taharqo and Tantamani.

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[7] See also BROEKMAN, *GM* 251 (2017), 13–20; JANSEN-WINKELN, *JEH* 10:1 (2017), 40.

[8] Karabasken is generally regarded as the predecessor of Montuemhat, but his precise dating is still debated, cf. BUDKA, KAMMERZELL, *MittSAG* 18 (2007), 166, note 8.

[9] See also PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*; PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis: New Discoveries*.

[10] See GRAEFE, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis: New Discoveries*, 241–50 and GRAEFE in this volume.

[11] It fills us with great sadness that Farouk Gomaà will not be able to see this volume in its final form. He passed away on 1st December 2017—a big loss for Egyptology and especially the study of the Theban Late Period.

His work is complemented by the article of Laurent Coulon, Aleksandra Hallmann, and Frédéric Payraudeau who present the results from recent fieldwork at the Osirian Chapels at Karnak. The systematic recording of epigraphic material from the monuments dedicated to Osiris at Karnak and an in-depth study of the development of his cult in this area are already much advanced.

Theban Funerary Archaeology

General aspects of the Theban necropolis and new attempts to reconstruct a detailed history of use during the First Millennium BC are addressed in the papers by Marta Kaczanowicz, Benoît Lurson, and Gábor Schreiber. Kushite burials from TT -400-, a Ramesside tomb situated in the el-Khokha cemetery, are discussed by Schreiber. The use-life of TT -400- is especially interesting because it not only continued well into the Saite Period, but some finds can be termed Saito-Persian and suggest a re-use during the Twenty-seventh Dynasty, which is still poorly understood in Thebes and throughout Egypt.[12] Another new research project has much potential to understand patterns of re-use in monumental tombs: the new project focusing on TT 36, the Saite tomb of Ibi in the Asasif.[13] Mareike Wagner presents promising initial results connected with the sarcophagus chamber of a person with the name of Psamtik in TT 36. Individual object groups within tomb groups of First Millennium BC Thebes are discussed in this volume as well. Eltayeb Abbas focuses on the iconography and rituals in the decorations of Bab el-Gusus coffins dating to the Twenty-first Dynasty, which represent important pre-Kushite funerary evidence and significant sources for rituals.

Other Topics

Material remains from temple and tomb sites of the First Millennium BC allow addressing questions beyond funerary customs and royal building activities. Of particular interest here are pottery sherds, mainly because pottery from Kushite Egypt has not yet been studied in detail.[14] Much progress has been made in the last years and this is illustrated by the relevant contributions. Julia Budka discusses the current understanding of Kushite ceramics and highlights the strong links between Thebes and Abydos during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. Stéphanie Boulet's paper on 'ceramic industry developments in the Theban area during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty' is of particular importance and a significant addition to the discussion of the pottery production during the Kushite rule in Egypt based on new evidence from Karnak.

One of the aspects of Kushite rule in Egypt, which had been addressed quite early by several scholars, is the art of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.[15] Elena Pischikova presents an update of work in the South Asasif necropolis and introduces an experimental methodology for recording Kushite art in the tombs of Karabasken (TT 391) and Karakhamun (TT 223), which examines the interconnections and divergences between iconography and implementation and their disparate routes of transmission. Dietrich Wildung proposes in his paper *Afrikanisches in der ägyptischen Kunst?* thought-provoking ideas contributing to the discussion concerning the underestimated impact of African traditions in Egyptian art history beyond the small time-frame of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.[16]

[12] See ASTON, in LEAHY, TAIT (eds.), *Studies on Ancient Egypt*, 17–22.
[13] *Cf.* the re-use, as attested in TT 414, tomb of Ankhhor: BUDKA, *Ä&L* 20 (2010), 49–66; BUDKA, MEKIS, BRUWIER, *Ä&L* 22–23 (2013), 209–251.
[14] See, however, the seminal works by Aston, in particular ASTON 1996.
[15] See, for example, BOSSE, *Die menschliche Figur*; BOTHMER, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period*, 1–20; RUSSMANN, *Eternal Egypt*, 223–30; RUSSMANN, *The Representation of the King*; and more recently DALLIBOR, *Taharqo*.
[16] See O'CONNOR, REID, *Ancient Egypt in Africa*.

Outlook

Most of the information included into this volume is being published for the first time and represents the outcome of fresh fieldwork. The research collected in this volume brings together a lot of current studies on royal and elite monuments of the period, puts them into a wider context, and fills some gaps in First Millennium BC scholarship, still one of the least researched and published area of study in Egyptology despite the numerous recent developments in field exploration and research. These developments are illustrated in the present volume with fresh approaches to aspects of research such as epigraphy, artistic styles, iconography, palaeography, local workshops, pottery production, and burial assemblages. We hope that this volume will inspire new comparative studies on these topics—thanks to the most recent efforts of all authors and associated researchers, First Millennium BC scholarship has already advanced to a new level, but needs to be further strengthened in the future.

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Acknowledgements

We are grateful to the Ministry of Antiquities and Minister of Antiquities H.E. Dr. Khaled El Enany for making this conference possible and participating in the opening events. We received a lot of help and support from the Secretary General of the SCA Dr. Mostafa Waziry, General Director of Antiquities of Upper Egypt Dr. Mohamed Abdel Aziz, General Director for the Antiquities of the West Bank of Luxor Talat Abd El Aziz, Director of the Antiquities of the Middle Area of the West Bank Mr. Ezz El Din Kamal El Noby, and the Director of the Mummification Museum Mr. Mohamed Shahat. Our thanks go to the Egypt Exploration Society for their help in organising and sponsoring the conference. Essam Nagy, the Director of the EES Cairo office was instrumental in coordinating the events of the conference. We are grateful to all the participants of the conference for sharing their research. Special thanks go to Isabelle Régen, Silvia Einaudi, Erhart Graefe, Christophe Thiers, Laurent Coulon, and Miguel Molinero Polo who showed their sites to the participants of the conference during field trips. We are indebted to the friends and sponsors of the Project: the ASA Restoration Project directed by Anthony Browder (Washington, DC), the South Asasif Trust directed by John Billman (London, UK) for their help in sponsoring the conference. Special thanks go to the conservation team and the volunteers of the SACP who helped to coordinate the day-to-day operations of the conference.

PART A:

SOUTH ASASIF



Fig. A-1: General view of the South Asasif necropolis (photo: J. Budka)

Recreating Kushite Tombs: Ten Years of the South Asasif Conservation Project

Elena Pischikova

Abstract

This paper is a brief overview of the work in the South Asasif necropolis from 2006 to 2016, written in concurrence with the tenth anniversary of the South Asasif Conservation Project. It deliberates on the method of reconstruction of underground spaces chosen by the Project and highlights a few recent discoveries.

In 2016 the South Asasif Conservation Project (SACP) celebrated its tenth anniversary with the second 'Thebes in the First Millennium BC' conference.[1] The SACP is an Egyptian-American (international) mission working under the auspices of the Ministry of Antiquities (MoA) and directed by the author. This paper will give a brief outline of the work undertaken by the Project and highlight a few recent discoveries and new research.

The SACP was founded in 2006 with the goal of clearing, restoring, and reconstructing three tombs of the Theban South Asasif necropolis: Karabasken (TT 391), Karakhamun (TT 223) and Irtieru (TT 390). By this time, the tombs were critically damaged by floods and later occupants, which resulted in them being buried under the houses of a modern village. The tomb of Karakhamun collapsed entirely, while those of Karabasken and Irtieru were half-buried beneath layers of debris and still used by the villagers. As several still-visible features appeared severely damaged, the tombs were considered irreparably destroyed.[2] Tens of thousands of carved and painted fragments of the original decoration were found during the excavation of the tombs, making it possible to plan and start executing their reconstruction.

The main objectives of the SACP are to give priority to conservation and reconstruction of ancient monuments in situ, working in close cooperation with the MoA conservation department in Luxor. The work is undertaken by members of the Ministry's conservation team.[3] The site development and educational goals of the Project are to open the South Asasif necropolis to the public and develop it into a learning centre visited and appreciated by Egyptian and foreign visitors.[4] With five open tombs—Karabasken (TT 391), Karakhamun (TT 223), Irtieru (TT 390), Nisemro (TT 209), and Ramose (TT 132)—the South Asasif necropolis will be dedicated to raising the level of understanding and appreciation of the Kushite and Saite Periods of Egyptian art and culture through observation of the reconstructed tombs, access to specially developed educational materials (signs, labels, brochures, guide to the necropolis), and exhibitions in the projected visitor centre.

The publication programme includes regular publications of newly found or reconstructed material in or-

[1] We are very grateful to the Ministry of Antiquities H.E. Dr. Khaled El Enany, Secretary General of the SCA Dr. Mostafa Waziri, General Director of Antiquities of Upper Egypt Dr. Mohamed Abdel Aziz, and the inspectorate of the West Bank for their cooperation and support of our Project. We are grateful to the friends and sponsors of the Project: the ASA Restoration Project directed by Anthony Browder (Washington, DC), the South Asasif Trust directed by John Billman (London, UK), and the American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE).

[2] EIGNER, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten*, 41–2; VITTMANN, *MittSAG* 18 (2007), 145.

[3] MoA Conservation team: Ahmed Ali Hussein, General Director for Conservation and Restoration of the Antiquities of Upper Egypt (Chief Conservator) Afaf Fathallah Phillips, General Director for Conservation and Restoration in the Museums of Upper Egypt (Supervisor) Saleh Salim, Taib Hassan Ibrahim, Abdelrazk Mohamed Ali, Ali Hassan Ibrahim, Hassan El Dimmerdash, Said Ali Hassan, Mohamed Abu Hakim, Mohamed Ahmed Hussein Shebib, Taib Said, Abd El Hady Taib, Mohamed Badawi.

[4] This phase of the project is in development in cooperation with the MoA and the TT 209 mission directed by Miguel Molinero Polo. See MOLINERO POLO, *TdE* 7 (2016), 111–30.

der to make it part of the scholarly discussion with minimal delay.[5] The research and reconstruction work of the Project highly benefits from scholarly dialogue with other missions and projects working in the Theban necropolis and beyond. The recurrent Thebes in the First Millennium BC conferences organised by the Project have become an important discussion platform for scholars of the Third Intermediate and Late Periods. Two conferences were held in Luxor in 2012 and 2016, the third conference is projected for 2020.[6]

Throughout ten years of work, the Project has amassed a team of Egyptian and international scholars from the USA, UK, Germany, Austria, the Netherlands, Spain, Australia, Canada, and other countries.[7] During this time, the team went through the excavation stage in most areas of the necropolis (figs. 1–2).[8]



Fig. 1: Tomb of Karakhamun before excavation, 2006 (photo: Katherine Blakeney)

[5] PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*; PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis: New Discoveries.*

[6] The proceedings of the first conference were published in 2014, see PISCHIKOVA, GRIFFIN, BUDKA (eds.) *Thebes in the First Millennium*. The present volume comprises the proceedings of the 2016 conference.

[7] The supervisors of the main areas of work are Marion Brew (excavation), Dieter Eigner (survey, mapping, architecture), Erhart Graefe, Miguel Á. Molinero Polo, Kenneth Griffin (epigraphy), Julia Budka (pottery, temple-tomb studies), Salima Ikram (animal bones), Elena Pischikova (Director of the Project, art history), Katherine Blakeney (Assistant Director of the project, photography, archaeological drawing), Paul Nicholson (faience objects and production), Matthias Müller (Coptic finds), John Billman (registration and study of objects), Sharon Davidson (supervisor of European volunteer programme with John Billman), Anthony Browder (supervisor of American volunteer program). We are very grateful to all the team members of the Project for their dedication and hard work.

[8] PISCHIKOVA, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 31–72; PISCHIKOVA, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis: New Discoveries*, 25–50.

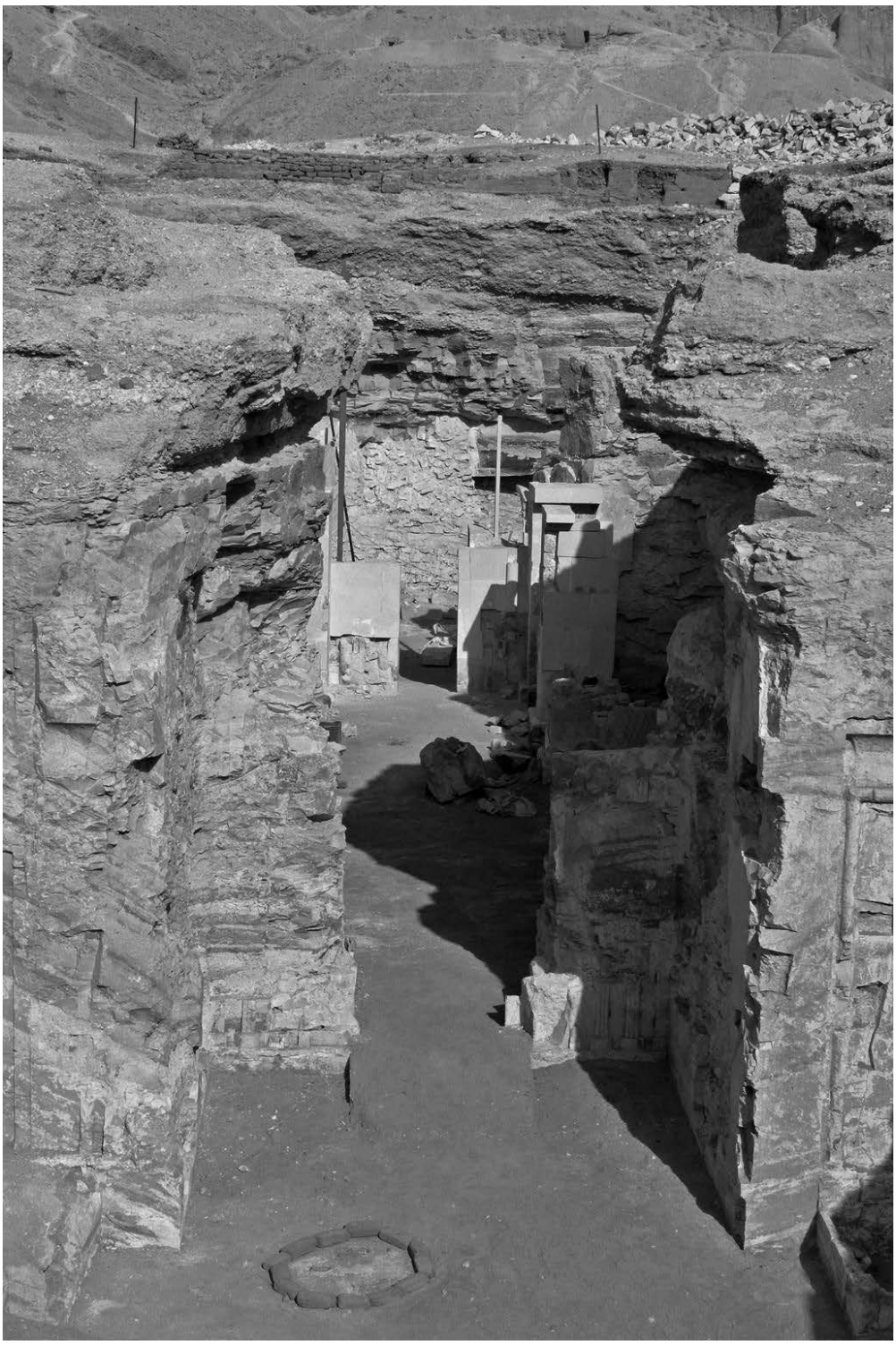


Fig. 2: Tomb of Karakhamun after excavation, 2015 (photo: Katherine Blakeney)

The tomb of Irtieru was mostly cleared in 2007, including the *Tornische*, two pillared halls, and two burial chambers. The work in the court and the vestibule will be continued in 2018. Although the results of the very first season in 2006 already proved that sizable areas of the tomb of Karakhamun still remained intact, it took the Project eleven years to clear all the spaces of the tomb. Excavation of the tomb of Karakhamun was completed in 2016. The uncovered features include the entrance area, vestibule, large open court, two pillared halls with side rooms, a multi-roomed burial compartment with a painted main burial chamber, and remains of the mudbrick enclosure wall and pylons of the superstructure (figs. 3–4).

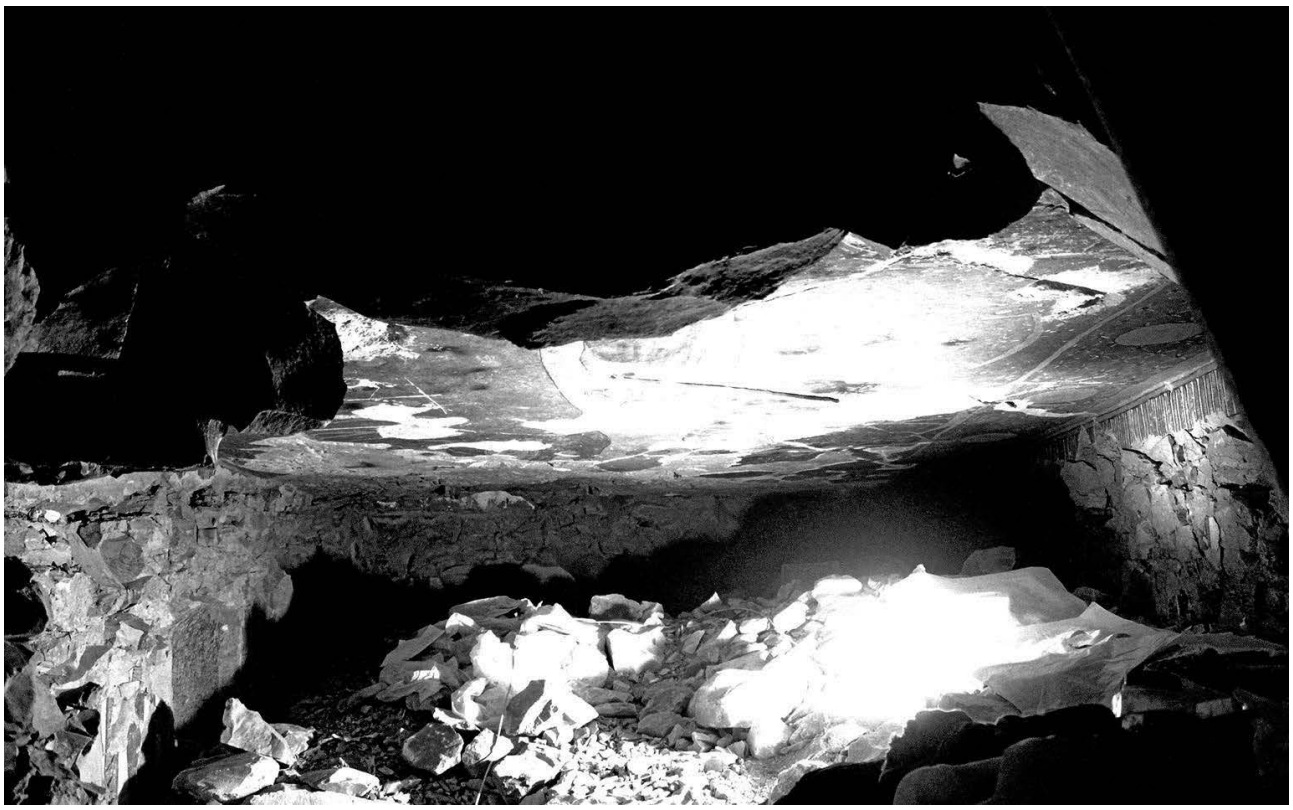


Fig. 3: Burial chamber of Karakhamun before conservation, 2010 (photo: Katherine Blakeney)



Fig. 4: Burial chamber of Karakhamun in the process of reconstruction (photo: Katherine Blakeney)

During the last few seasons in the tomb of Karabasken, the team uncovered the entrance area, 'staircase vestibule', open court with a *Tornische*, and the main burial compartment. The work will continue in 2018 in the pillared hall and a side room on the south wall, as well as the superstructure of the tomb. Two of the most notable discoveries in the tomb of Karabasken concern discovery of the sarcophagus of Karabasken and the identity of Padibastet, the high official who reused the tomb of Karabasken during the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty.

There are three architectural features decorated for Padibastet in the tomb of Karabasken: the entrance doorframe, the south wall of the 'staircase vestibule', and a stela on the west wall of the open court.[9] Erhart Graefe identified the newly discovered high official who usurped the tomb of Karabasken as the High Steward of the God's Wife, grandson of Pabasa A (TT 279) and successor of Padihorresnet (TT 196).[10] The texts dedicated to Padibastet consist of the offering inscriptions on the entrance doorframe, the solar hymn in the vestibule, and the text of the Ritual of the Second Hour of the Day on the stela.[11] None of the texts include a royal name or the name of a God's Wife. However, according to Graefe's research, Padibastet should have held office during the reign of Psamtik II, serving the God's Wife Nitocris. Padibastet's name and titles found in the tomb of Karabasken are the first mention of this previously unknown official (fig. 5). Padibastet probably died prematurely and reused a Kushite tomb in South Asasif. The quality of carving shows how exquisite his own tomb could have been if constructed next to that of his grandfather in the main Asasif necropolis. It is only one example of the richness of finds in the South Asasif necropolis, which range from the Twenty-fifth Dynasty to the Graeco-Roman, Coptic, and Islamic periods.[12]

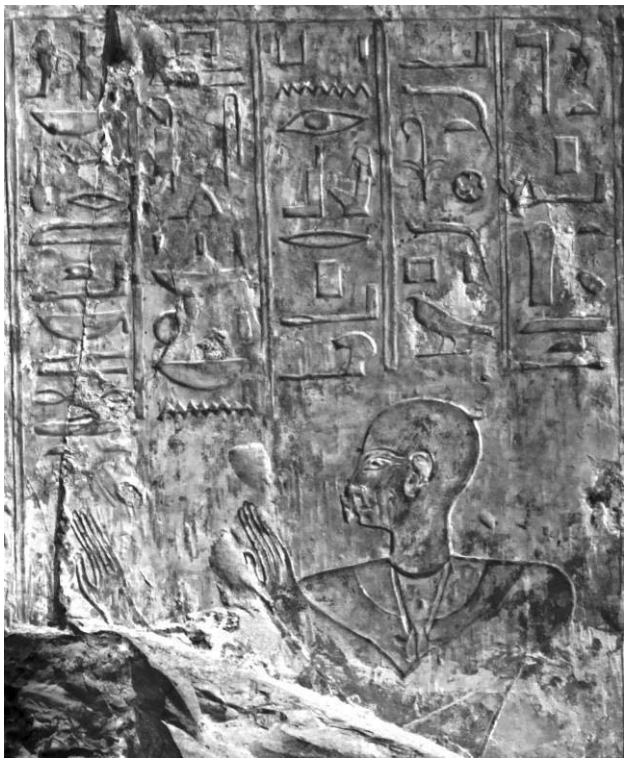


Fig. 5: Padibastet depicted in the 'staircase vestibule' in the tomb of Karabasken (photo: Katherine Blakeney)

[9] PISCHIKOVA, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis: New Discoveries*, 39–42, figs. 2.11–2.15.
[10] GRAEFE, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis: New Discoveries*, 241–50; PISCHIKOVA, in BLÖBAUM, EATON-KRAUSS, WÜTHRICH (eds.), *Festschrift for Prof. Erhart Graefe*, forthcoming.
[11] GRAEFE, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis: New Discoveries*, 241–50. See also GRAEFE in this volume.
[12] MÜLLER, in PISCHIKOVA (ed,), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis: New Discoveries*, 281–315; NICHOLSON, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis: New Discoveries*, 315–26.

The sarcophagus of Karabasken was found in 2016. It is 2.41 m high (base 1.63 m, lid 0.77 m), 3.06 m long, and 1.30 m wide. The base of the sarcophagus is a rectangular box with a rounded head end. The lid is vaulted with a convex upper surface and an almost flat lower surface. It is uninscribed and decorated with a single horizontal band 0.27 m in width. The monumental sarcophagus occupies almost the whole space of the burial chamber (5.74 m x 3.54 m x 4.06 m). The angled descent to the burial chamber (9 m long and 2.25 m wide) starts in the centre of the cult room (figs. 6–7), which features six niches on the north and south walls and remains of a false door on the west wall. The architectural features of the descent and the burial chamber were evidently designed to lower down and house a large sarcophagus (fig. 8).

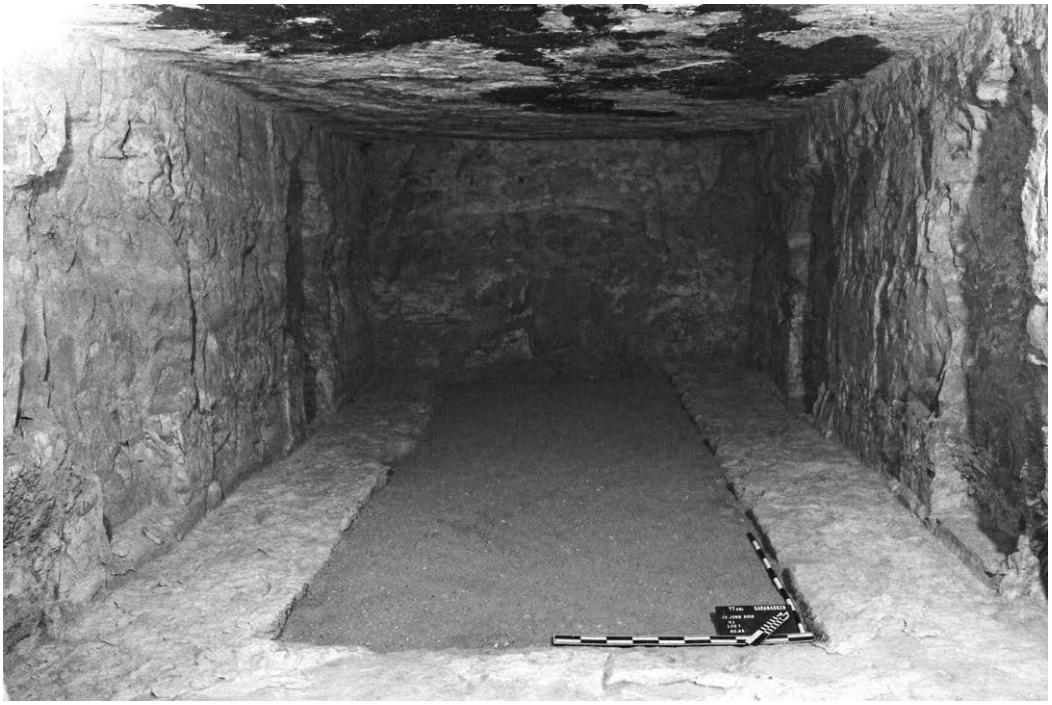


Fig. 6: Cult chamber of Karabasken before excavation of the burial chamber, 2016 (photo: Katherine Blakeney)

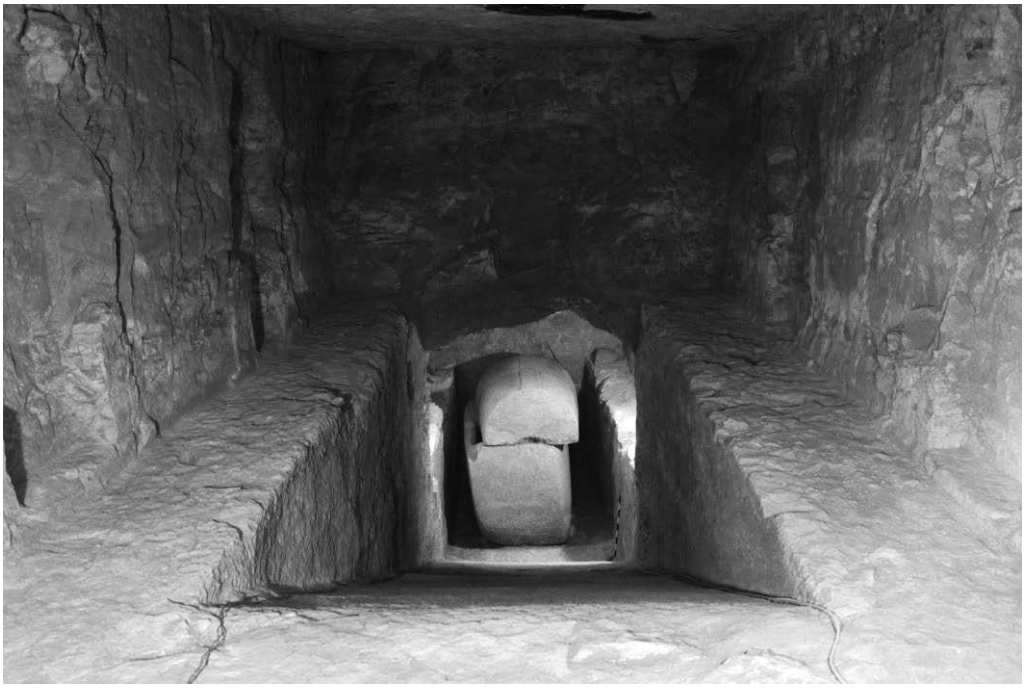


Fig. 7: Burial chamber and sarcophagus of Karabasken after excavation, 2016 (photo: Katherine Blakeney)

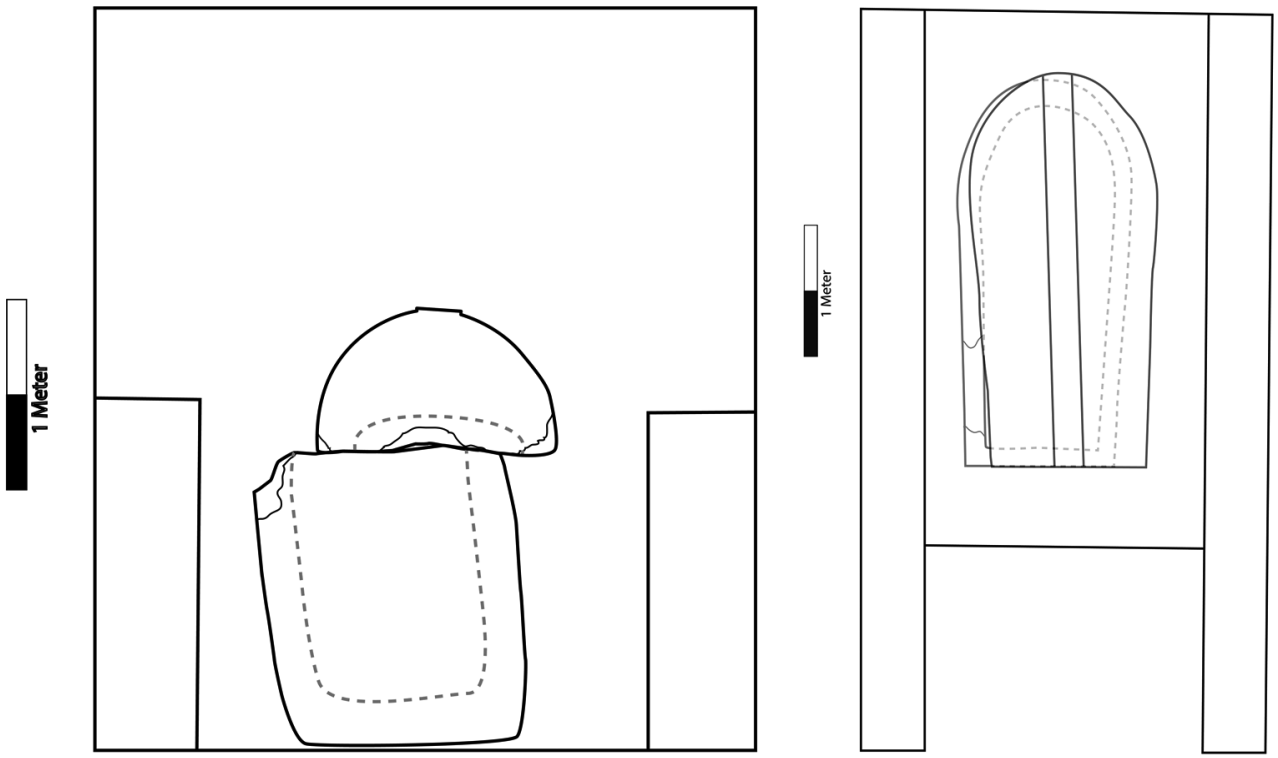


Fig. 8: Sarcophagus of Karabasken (drawing: Katherine Blakeney)

John Taylor refers to a few known examples of stone versions of *ḳrsw*-coffins in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty tombs in Saqqara and the Kushite sarcophagi of Aspelta and Anlamani from Nuri.[13] However, the sarcophagus of Karabasken does not have four posts and its head end is rounded. It is closer in shape to the sarcophagus of Harsiese (MMA 68.23), which Taylor describes as reproducing 'many features of *qrsw* type'.[14] The vault of Karabasken's lid with its unusually high curvature may symbolically refer to the primordial mound of the tomb of Osiris.[15] The monumentality of the massive sarcophagus, devoid of decoration, gives it the look of a natural feature. The narrow space between the sarcophagus and the walls of the burial chamber creates the impression of water canals surrounding the mound.[16] The sarcophagus of Karabasken adds to the Osirian symbolism of the tomb, which is particularly evident in the recently excavated court (figs. 9–10).[17]

[13] TAYLOR, in STRUDWICK, TAYLOR (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis*, 112, ns. 159–60. See also DOLL, *Texts and Decoration*; DUNHAM, *Nuri*, 56, 78, 81, 86–95, pls. 76–8; IKRAM, DODSON, *The Mummy*, 265–8.
[14] TAYLOR in STRUDWICK, TAYLOR (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis*, 112, n. 160.
[15] EINAUDI, in GOYON, CARDIN (eds.), *Proceedings*, 467–77.
[16] For the representation of the tomb of Osiris in the edifice of Taharqo, papyri, coffins, and temple and tomb decoration of the Third Intermediate and Late periods, see EINAUDI, in GOYON, CARDIN (eds.), *Proceedings*, 477, figs. 1–4. See also COONEY, *JARCE* 37 (2000), 28–31, fig. 12; EIGNER, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten*, 170.
[17] For Osirian references in open courts, see ASSMANN, in STRUDWICK, TAYLOR (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis*, 51; BUDKA, *Sokar* 18 (2009), 84–5; BUDKA, in PRIES (ed.), *Die Variation der Tradition*, 178–85; COONEY, *JARCE* 37 (2000), 19; COPPENS, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 343–6; EIGNER, *MDAIK* 39 (1983), 48; EIGNER, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten*, 116, 120, 168–74; EIGNER, in PISCHIKOVA (ed,), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis: New Discoveries*, 81–6, fig. 4.5; KAMPP, *Die thebanische Nekropole*, 71–2, 79, table 52, fig. 70; KAMPP-SEYFRIED, in STRUDWICK, TAYLOR (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis*, 9–10; RUSSMANN, *JARCE* 32 (1995), 121–5.



Fig. 9: Open court of Karabasken before excavation, 1985 (photo: Erhart Graefe)



Fig. 10: Open court of Karabasken after excavation, 2016 (photo: Katherine Blakeney)

One of the most important original features of the court of Karabasken is a 1.54 m x 2.63 m and 1.3 m deep basin carved into the floor along the main axis in the western part of the court in front of the *Tornische*. Traces of dark soil found at the bottom could be original, preserved by the flood layer of fine sand filling the rest of the basin. Two round shallow depressions, 0.32 m in diameter, were carved on the floor along the eastern edge of the basin, perhaps for the purpose of supporting offering stands. An 0.80 x 0.80 m brick structure to the south is all that remains of the stand for the offering table. The court of Karabasken is pro-

portionally close to the 'plant basin' carved into its floor. The rough carving of the walls increases the similarity. It is possible to see it as a monumental version of a 'plant basin' in the tomb of Osiris (fig. 11).[18]

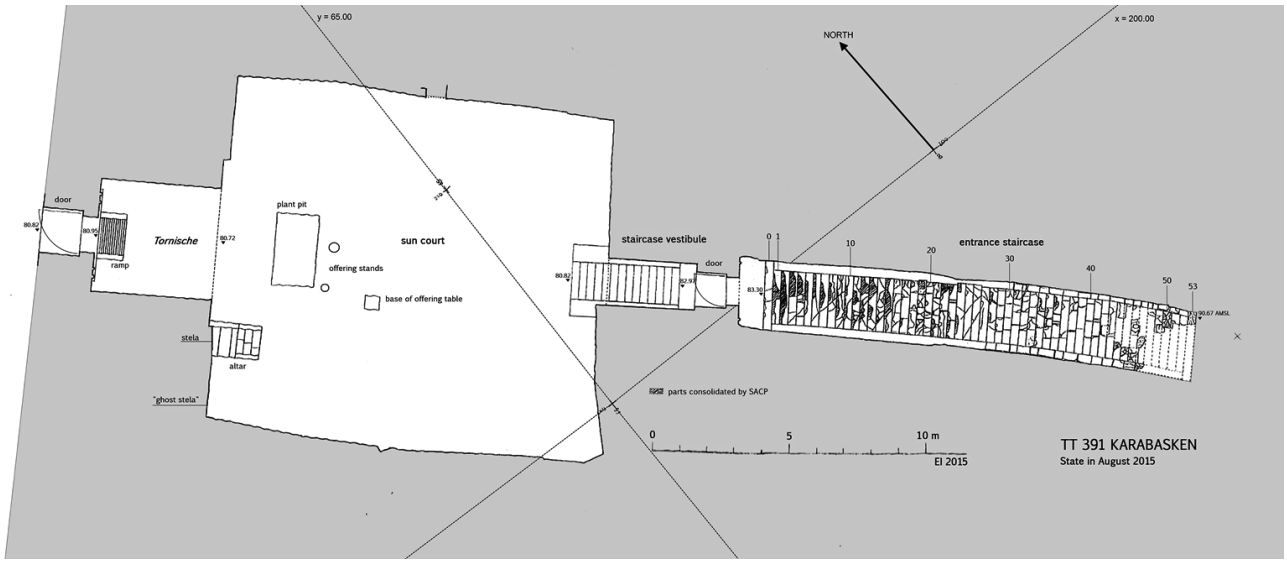


Fig. 11: Plan of the entrance area and open court of the tomb of Karabasken (plan: Dieter Eigner)

The tombs of Karabasken and Karakhamun are currently at their conservation stage. Despite numerous damage caused by floods and later occupants, most architectural features of the tomb of Karabasken are intact and remain stable. The majority of damage in the tomb was done to the carved decoration. Some decorated areas were found still in situ and hundreds of detached fragments were discovered in the debris during the excavation of the tomb. The fragments found in the tomb of Karabasken were examined and divided into groups based on the quality and colour of the stone, character of damage, scale of the hieroglyphs, and style of execution, etc.[19] It was established that the fragments belong to five different areas: the entrance to the tomb re-carved for Padibastet, the *Tornische* decorated for Karabasken, the entrance to the cult chamber, the false door above the burial chamber, and the entrance to the side room on the south wall of the pillared hall, probably decorated for Padibastet. The first results of the reconstruction of the entrance doorway and *Tornische*, as well as the inscriptions in situ, were published by Graefe and Molinero Polo.[20] Reconstruction work in all of these areas will continue in 2018.

The tomb of Karakhamun presents a special case and the biggest conservation challenge. The ceiling, pillars, and large areas of the walls in both pillared halls have collapsed, leaving only outlines or small remains of the architectural features. Despite such severe destruction, the number of decorated fragments found during the tomb's excavation allowed for its reconstruction to commence from the very first season of work. Close to 20,000 fragments of the limestone relief decoration, 8,000 fragments of the painted ceiling and 6,000 fragments of painted plaster in the burial chamber of Karakhamun were recovered from the debris of the shattered tomb. Based on these fragments, all the architectural features were identified as well as most of the texts and images of the original decoration. Every fragment went through the process of conservation and consolidation.

The next step was to choose a method for reconstructing the tomb and its decoration. The decision in favour of a monumental reconstruction in situ instead of restricting ourselves to only a digital method was

[18] See PISCHIKOVA, in RZEPKA (ed.), *Anonymous Festschrift*, forthcoming.
[19] This work was conducted by Miguel Á. Molinero Polo, Erhart Graefe, and Elena Pischikova
[20] MOLINERO POLO, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis: New Discoveries*. See also GRAEFE in this volume.

made for a number of reasons. Recreation and preservation of the monument in situ will present every found fragment as part of a scene or text in its original context. This will bring modern visitors closer to the point of view of the ancient artists and observers. The recreation of a tomb restores the meaning and function of even the smallest fragments, including undecorated ones, by finding their original locations. Matching the shape of broken bedrock with the backsides of carved fragments plays an important part in the process of reconstruction in the original space, especially in cases when the remains of carving on a fragment are unclear or damaged. Connecting the broken surfaces of fragments with each other and joining them into larger compositions in sand boxes is sometimes the only way to find the context for the fragments where carving is not easily identified. Fragments with single hieroglyph signs, the titles and name of Karakhamun, or elements of offering scenes may have many potential locations. In these cases, the shape of their breaks and positions of veins and spots on the broken stone are more important in finding their original location than the carving itself. A digital reconstruction cannot provide solutions to all these technical problems and reflect the original decoration adequately. A digital version of Karakhamun's reconstruction and the 3D-model that will be part of the final publication of the tomb will be based on the physical reconstruction in situ.

The main challenge of rebuilding Karakhamun tomb lies in the task of reconstructing the architecture of a ruined rock-cut structure. Initially, the underground part of the tomb was carved into the limestone bedrock. The architectural features of the tomb were sculpted in the process of removing excess stone. The space of the tomb grew organically as a negative sculptural body shaped by the stone removed rather than added. All the features were sculpted in the local bedrock. Casing was used only in the *Tornische* area, and even then, with local slabs of stone.

The sculptural quality of the architecture is reflected in all its features. Plans and sections executed by the architect Dieter Eigner reveal numerous deviations from correct geometrical shapes and angles. The surfaces of floors and small remaining sections of the ceiling show that they were not parallel in many areas and the floors and ceilings themselves were not levelled even when cased. The south and north halves of every room (to the right and left of the axis line) are not entirely symmetrical, affecting the height of the columns, thickness of the architraves, and lintels, etc. When carving such a large element as a false door positioned on the axis the architects encountered numerous problems trying to level the north and south part of the doorframe. This is reflected in the decoration of the central panel. All these inconsistencies were visually softened by the slight 'ripples' on the surfaces of the walls and the general organic look of the space. Carving allowed discrepancies in floor and ceiling levels, softness of the edges, and approximation of the angles. These irregularities did not affect the stability of the tomb as its balance was rather sculptural than architectural. All the detected irregularities cannot be blamed exclusively on the unfinished state of the tomb. It is possible to assume that Karakhamun died prematurely when his tomb was still unfinished, but construction methods for creating underground spaces and organisation of work should be taken into consideration. Arnold discusses what he called a 'strange method' of dividing the workmen cutting underground spaces into the right and left crew.[21] This organisation of work could be responsible for the asymmetry of the right and left part of any given room. Another important issue is the direction of bedrock stratification and the necessity of avoiding areas of 'unsound material'.[22] It could account for changes in the direction of carving from evident to barely noticeable. Precision of work also depended on the lighting and ventilation conditions. The shortage of breathable air and necessity of oxygen for the oil lamps and torches in deeper corridors and spaces could explain why they were 'only poorly finished or were never finished at all'.[23]

[21] ARNOLD, *Building in Egypt*, 213
[22] ARNOLD, *Building in Egypt*, 213
[23] ARNOLD, *Building in Egypt*, 218.

Recreation of the tomb demanded a change in the method of its construction. A collapsed underground space could not be re-carved from east to west and top to bottom, the way it was originally created.[24] It had to be constructed from bottom to top. Every element must be built out of blocks of new limestone with ancient fragments merged into a new structure. Reliable reference points were determined through joins with the bedrock and between the fragments. Although the dimensions of the elements are always based on remains of the original features, it is impossible to reproduce the irregularities of a carved form in a built structure that is by nature more geometrical. In some cases, not enough fragments of a certain feature are preserved to analyse all the deviations from geometrical form on a pillar, wall, or doorframe. The reconstruction will always remain considerably more 'correct' than the original, more irregular, organic monument. The primary goal of the reconstruction is to provide surfaces for every inscription and scene in their original location by recreating the architectural elements using their original dimensions.

The first reconstructed room in the tomb of Karakhamun was finished in 2016 and presented to the MoA and participants of the Thebes in the First Millennium BC conference. Although the placement of the fragments is still a work in progress, the architectural features of the hall, including walls, four pillars, four pilasters, architraves with cavetto cornices, and door frames of three side rooms were fully realised (fig. 12).[25]

The decoration of the Second Pillared Hall consists of twenty-five chapters of the *Book of the Dead* on the pillars and western wall, and *Pyramid Texts* on the eastern and northern walls.[26] The imagery includes two offering scenes of Karakhamun positioned on the south wall and one on the north wall.[27] The rear side of the entrance door is decorated with two seated figures of Karakhamun on the bottom of the doorframe and an offering scene on the lintel. The doorframe of the entrance to the side room V.A, which is cut into the western section of the south wall, features two seated images of Nesamenopet, the 'brother' of Karakhamun, and his offering scene on the lintel. The false door, the main feature in this room, consists of three superimposed door frames that enclose the statue of Osiris in the central niche. This false door is flanked by three registers of offering bearers. Two architraves crowned with cavetto cornices top the pillars creating a high central aisle emphasising the passage from the entrance to the false door.

Reconstruction of the decoration of the Second Pillared Hall is still a work in progress and its in-depth interpretation can be accomplished only after the completion of the reconstruction and contextualising with the decoration of the rest of the tomb.[28] A few preliminary remarks included in this paper aim to demonstrate the wealth of information encompassed in this room.

Unless further reconstruction work and research proves otherwise, Karakhamun's brother Nesamenopet is the only relative mentioned and represented in the tomb of Karakhamun.[29] He is the one who presents offerings to Karakhamun in every offering scene in the Second Pillared Hall.

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[24] The underground tombs were carved along the axis line with the ceilings levelled first and the floors lowered later, see ARNOLD, *Building in Egypt*, 213

[25] See ABDELRAZK MOHAMED ALI in this volume.

[26] For the *Book of the Dead* in the Second Pillared Hall of the tomb of Karakhamun, see GRIFFIN, *EA* 40 (2012), 10–11; GRIFFIN, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 173–99; GRIFFIN, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 251–68.

[27] The decoration of the Second Pillared Hall was reconstructed under the supervision of Kenneth Griffin (*Book of the Dead*), Miguel Á. Molinero Polo (*Pyramid Texts* and offering scene on the north wall), Elena Pischikova (false door, offering scenes) Katherine Blakeney (human figures).

[28] The full publication of the Second Pillared Hall will be part of the multi-volume final publication of the tomb planned after the completion of its conservation.

[29] Molinero Polo suggested that a sistrum player in the vignette of BD 19, which is located on the north wall of the First Pillared Hall, could represent the wife of Karakhamun. Although it is possible, the fact remains that her role in the tomb of her husband was insignificant. She never accompanies Karakhamun in ceremonial offering scenes and her name was not identified in the tomb so far. See MOLINERO POLO, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 146–7, fig. 9.14.

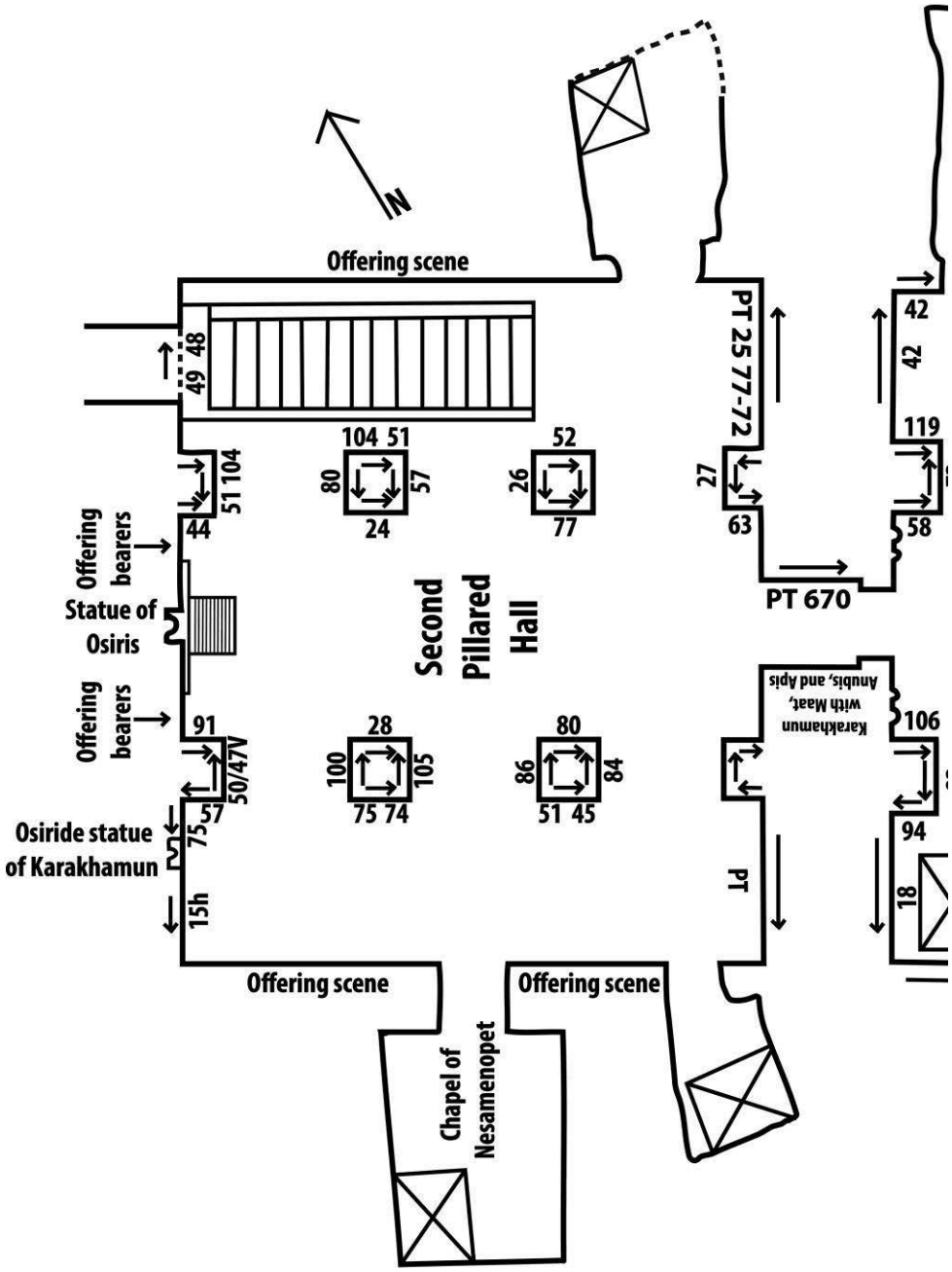


Fig. 12: Decorative programme of the Second Pillared Hall in the tomb of Karakhamun (Dieter Eigner, Kenneth Griffin, Miguel A. Molinero Polo, Elena Pischikova, Katherine Blakeney)

The decoration of the doorframe of room V.A on the south wall of the hall features three images of Nesamenopet and indicates him as a receiver of offerings. Therefore, it seems likely, that this room was intended as his chapel.[30] A shaft in the south-west corner of the room leads to an undecorated burial chamber that could have been the burial place of Nesamenopet. Unfortunately, the contents of the burial chamber were so disturbed and mixed that no evidence of the original burial equipment was detected. The emphasis on the brother in elite Kushite tombs could be a reflection of some instances of 'brother-succession' in the Kushite royal house as well as the important role of the king's brother in the Kushite ritual of the divine

[30] On the possible decoration of the chapel, see PISCHIKOVA, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis: New Discoveries*, 265–267, figs. 12.10, 12.12.

'election' of a king.[31] Later Kushite tombs in the Asasif do not follow this example and feature a wider range of relatives of the tomb owners.[32]

The monumental architrave topped with a painted cavetto cornice flanking the central aisle of the Second Pillared Hall is a unique feature in a pillared hall of a private tomb.[33] The direction and the height of the cornice showed that the ceiling level in the central aisle of the Second Pillared Hall was higher than the side aisles (3.39 m as opposed to 2.65 m in the side aisles). Even large contemporaneous tombs did not demonstrate such a direct parallel with divine temples. Reconstruction of this feature in the tomb of Karakhamun adds to the interpretation of a Late Period elite temple-tomb.

Reconstructions of the three aisles within the Second Pillared Hall have created three ritual and symbolic passages from the entrance of the hall to the statue of Osiris (central), the Osiride statue of Karakhamun (south) and the mummified body of Osiris-Karakhamun in the burial chamber decorated with BD 125 (north). Processions of offering bearers on every wall of the hall are directed towards the statue of Osiris as a focal theological and ritual point of the hall. Thus, the whole tomb highlights the concept of the identification of Karakhamun with Osiris and the tomb as a symbolic grave of Osiris.[34] The solar cycle is presented by the decoration of the west wall: text and vignette of BD 15h with a kneeling Karakhamun in adoration before the enthroned Re-Horakhty,[35] BD 75, and BD 48–49 above the descent to the burial chamber proclaim Karakhamun's ascension from the horizon as Re.[36] The close interlinking of solar and Osirian features and identification of the deceased with both Osiris and Re already manifested in the tomb of Karabasken receives further development in the tomb of Karakhamun, becoming a strong visual statement.[37]

The reconstruction, recording, and interpretation of the tombs of the South Asasif necropolis is a work in progress.[38] The plans for the 2018 season include clearing of the superstructure of the tomb of Karabasken, clearing of the court of the tomb of Irtieru (TT 391), and continuation of the conservation work in the tombs of Karakhamun, Karabasken, and Irtieru. Publication plans include the next volume of the *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis* series[39] and preparations for the multi-volume final publication of the tombs of the South Asasif necropolis.

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[31] DODSON, *Afterglow*, 154–5; TÖRÖK, *The Kingdom of Kush*, 259, 270.

[32] On the female relative in Kushite tombs, see RUSSMANN, *JARCE* 34 (1997), 21–39, DÜMICHEN, *Der Grabpalast* I, pls. 16–7.

[33] Eigner refers to cavetto cornices in open courts and the *Tornische* in the tomb of Ankhhor (TT 414), see EIGNER, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten*, 116–23.

[34] On the Osiride features of Late Period tombs and the sacred landscape connecting Thebes and Abydos, see BUDKA, in BAREŠ, COPPENS, SMOLÁRIKOVÁ (eds.), *Egypt in Transition*, 22–72; BUDKA, in THÜR (ed.), *Grabrituale*, 41–57; BUDKA, in PRIES (ed.), *Die Variation*, 171–200; EFFLAND, BUDKA, EFFLAND, *MDAIK* 66 (2010), 19–91; EIGNER, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten*, 169–74; EINAUDI, in GOYON, CARDIN (eds.), *Proceedings*, 475–85; PISCHIKOVA, in THIERS (ed.), *Documents*, 141–57.

[35] For the iconography of the vignette of BD 15, see MOSHER, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, pl. 21. For vignette of BD 15h on the western wall of the Second Pillared Hall, see GRIFFIN, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 189; GRIFFIN, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (ed.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 255.

[36] As well as decoration on the pillars of the hall: BD 100 (SP 3), BD 91 (SP 4), BD 24 and 104 (NP 3), BD 44 and 104 (NP4).

[37] PISCHIKOVA, in THIERS (ed.), *Document*s, 141–57; TAYLOR, *Death and the Afterlife*, 153–4. See also n. 18 above.

[38] On the methodology of art recording, see PISCHIKOVA in this volume.

[39] PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis, Thebes: Art and Design*, in development.

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Recording the Art of Karakhamun

Elena Pischikova

Abstract

This paper introduces an experimental methodology for recording the style and iconography of Kushite art developed during eleven years of work in the tombs of Karabasken (TT 391) and Karakhamun (TT 223). The discussion is based on the analysis of distinct characteristics of imagery and its transmission in Kushite decorated tombs, with the special case of Karakhamun as an example of experimental art history. Two databases designed to record Karakhamun's imagery are discussed in the paper and illustrated with the analysis of a seated figure of Karakhamun.

Eleven years of work in the early Kushite tombs of the South Asasif necropolis by the South Asasif Conservation Project (SACP) have contributed to a better understanding of the process of the creation of their decoration, especially in the case of the tomb of Karakhamun (TT 223).[1] The process of reconstructing the ruined tomb of Karakhamun offers a unique opportunity for exercising what can be called experimental art history.[2] The tomb was rediscovered by the SACP in an almost entirely collapsed state in 2006 and excavated between 2006–2016.[3] Thousands of fragments of the original decoration found during the tomb's excavation are being used to reconstruct it in its original location.

Reconstruction work is extremely informative despite the challenges of the process. One of the most important advantages of a physical reconstruction over a digital one is the chance to better understand a tomb through its re-creation. Working in an almost completely destroyed tomb makes it possible to merge the roles of an epigrapher, recording an ancient monument, and its co-creator at the same time. The reconstructive process allows to follow the carving of a tomb 'through Egyptian eyes and hands' while trying to re-imagine and re-create the decisions and actions of the ancient architects and artists, whether precise or inaccurate. Work with the collapsed decoration also permits to examine every fragment in close proximity and in the same lighting conditions. This makes it possible to observe examples of carving designed to be viewed at eye level or the upper level of the walls and pillars (over 3 m high) with the same degree of scrutiny. The collected observations facilitate the study of artistic adjustments and modifications made for higher levels, dim light, or obscured locations and separate them from stylistic variations.

Lighting conditions are among the main factors diverging from the original experience of carving Karakhamun. The underground chambers are being reconstructed in natural light coming through the broken ceiling. This considerably increases visibility of all the features of the decoration and requires an additional effort to re-imagine the light in the tomb during the original construction and decoration.

An analysis of the vast amount of observations collected during the process of reconstructing Karakhamun's imagery made it clear that existing methods of describing and recording Egyptian art need adjustments to facilitate some of the special properties of Kushite art. The two databases designed to record the art of Karakhamun are still in the experimental stage, but when fully developed will offer a useful framework for recording Kushite and Saite art and contribute to current art historical debates. The essence of the suggested adjustments to the existing recording framework lies in the interpretation of art historical methodological approaches and the terms 'style', 'iconography', and 'transmission'.

Iconography is one the most popular methods of research in current Egyptological art history. Most research on tradition, innovation, emulation, imitation, creativity, reinterpretation, transmission of motifs,

[1] See PISCHIKOVA in this volume.
[2] LABOURY, TAVIER, in WARMENBOL, ANGENOT (eds.), *Thèbes aux 101 portes*, 224–67.
[3] See Abdelrazk Mohamed Ali in this volume. See also PISCHIKOVA, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 31–72; PISCHIKOVA, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*: *New Discoveries*, 25–50.

and many other topics[4] is presented through the lens of iconographic motifs and compositions of shapes.[5] Defining the term iconography as referring to 'the contents of a picture', Müller, one the leading Egyptological art historians states that 'iconography may be considered the foremost and leading method of art historical research in recent times'.[6] Although the term 'iconography' was not used in Egyptology until recently, recording of Egyptian imagery is traditionally based on the characteristics of an image that can be observed through its iconographic properties.[7] Egyptian imagery executed in relief or painting is traditionally published in line drawings with some photographs added as additional references or wide-angle shots.[8] The method of publishing relief carving and painting through a series of numerous, detailed close-up photographs is a recent development.[9]

Even current discussion on the creativity of Egyptian artists is mainly based on their 'personal iconographic strategies' in reinterpretations and adjustments done to an earlier iconographic *topos*.[10] Laboury proposes the concept of 'Intericonicity' (the art historical parallel to intertextuality) as 'an appropriate conceptual framework to characterize and think, within a single and common system, simple to complex cases of transmission or transformation of images, like, for instance, a creative borrowing, a personal re-interpretation and reuse of an iconographic concept'.[11] In accord with this opinion, most existing databases of tomb and temple art are based on the iconography of images. The format of this paper will allow to mention only a few art historical databases. One of the most informative is 'The Oxford Expedition to Egypt Scene-Details Database', designed by Harpur.[12] It gives a comprehensive list of scene types in Old Kingdom elite tombs and the scene details and parallels in other tombs. In total, 118 different scene types within 15 listed scenes are presented with the data being purely iconographical. The 'Mastabase' of the University of Leiden Mastaba Project, designed by van Walsem, concentrates on the location of scenes in Old Kingdom elite tombs.[13] Colour-coded wall diagrams demonstrate the walls and room contexts of 337 tombs. Nilsson's database records iconographical elements (codes) of Ptolemaic temple scenes.[14] The SERaT project was also conceived and realised as purely iconographical.[15] The MeKeTRE scene repository of the University of Vienna directed by Peter Janósi gives descriptions of scenes in Middle Kingdom elite tombs, their locations, and distribution.[16] Although the creators of the database state their intent to provide stylistic analyses of the

[4] FAY, in OPPENHEIM, GOELET JR. (eds.), *The Art and Culture*, 237–40; GILLEN, *(Re)productive Traditions*; KÓTHAY (ed.), *Art and Society*; MÜLLER, *BACE* 24 (2013), 59–80.

[5] 'Iconography may be considered the foremost and leading method of art historical research in recent times'. MÜLLER, in HARTWIG (ed.), *Companion*, 78.

[6] MÜLLER, in HARTWIG (ed.), *Companion*, 78.

[7] The concepts and terms of 'iconography' and 'iconology' have been widely used in formalistic analysis and the interpretation of Western art since the seminal works of Panofsky. See PANOFSKY, *Studies*; PANOFSKY, in PANOFSKY (ed.), *Meaning*, 26–41. A few examples of iconographical research on the classification and interpretation of images include: ANGENOT, in MUHLESTEIN (ed.), *Proceedings*, 53–60; KLEBS, *Die Reliefs des Alten Reiches*; LABOURY, in KÓTHAY (ed.), *Art and Society*, 199–208, LABOURY, in JASNOW, COONEY (eds.), *Joyful in Thebes*, 327–37; LABOURY, in GILLEN (ed.), *(Re)productive Traditions*, 229–58; LABOURY, TAVIER, in WARMENBOL, ANGENOT (eds.), *Thèbes aux 101 portes*, 91–106; TEFNIN, *La statuaire d'Hatchepsout*; TEFNIN, *GM* 79 (1984), 55–69, TEFNIN, *Art et magie*; VANDIER, *Manuel*. See also the overview of the history of iconographic research in Egyptology in MÜLLER, in HARTWIG (ed.), *Companion*, 78–97.

[8] For example, DAVIES, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-rēʿ*; GRAEFE, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet*.

[9] *Cf*. HARPUR, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*; HARPUR, SCREMIN, *The Chapel of Niankhkhnum & Khnumhotep*. See also HARTWIG, *The Tomb Chapel of Menna*.

[10] LABOURY, in GILLEN (ed.), *(Re)productive Traditions*, 247–9.

[11] LABOURY, in KÓTHAY (ed.), *Art and Society*, 249.

[12] HARPUR, in EVANS (ed.), *Ancient Memphis*, 205–19. See also www.oxfordexpeditiontoegypt.com/Database.php

[13] WALSEM, *MastaBase*.

[14] NILSSON, *The Crown of Arsinoe II*.

[15] http://www.serat.aegyptologie.uni-wuerzburg.de/

[16] KAHLBACHER, HUDAKOVA, in BÁRTA (ed.), *Abusir and Saqqara*, 465–82.

images, this has, thus far, not been realised. The execution section is limited to such information as low relief, low relief and paint, paint, and sunk relief, etc.[17]

The popularity of iconography as a methodological approach to Egyptian art is understandable as it creates a solid platform for further interpretations of works of art. The iconographic properties of art emphasise the tight connection between Egyptian images and writing, supplying information for a linguistic approach to art as a semiological language with its own established lexicon.[18] The semiotic approach allows to 'decipher' a scene through the grammatical organisation of its elements and treat them as part of the textual program of a given tomb or temple.[19] The fact that iconographical elements are comparatively easy to arrange in databases, tables, and diagrams, and apply different approaches to their interpretations makes iconography the most quantifiable part of an image.

Style as a term does not have an established definition.[20] As a concept and methodological approach it is less precise and quantifiable. Egyptological art history has not developed a unified approach to style. Some scholars see style as a global term and discuss iconography as part of it.[21] Others interpret style as variations in iconography.[22] Style as painting or carving technique is sometimes discussed in the context of the personal signature of artists, workshops, organisation of work, and dating.[23] All these approaches rely on iconography for the meaning of an image with execution remaining in its shadow as a more technical component.

Baines is the first Egyptological art historian to recognise two 'dimensions of meaning' in Egyptian art.[24] Baines and Riggs characterised iconography as only one 'dimension of meaning' of a work of art and suggested a methodology of formalistic analysis that fully disengages the second dimension from iconography. They chose to call the second dimension of meaning 'style', despite the vagueness of this term, using it to signify style of execution.[25] In their discussion of a fourth century BC royal statue, inspired by an Old Kingdom prototype created for the mortuary complex of king Djoser, Baines and Riggs state that 'despite the congruence in the iconography of the Djoser and British Museum statues, they are far apart in style, each being generally typical of its own time', describing the coexistence of these two properties as a 'marriage of disparate iconography and style'. They elaborate that 'the dissimilar treatment of iconography and style on the British Museum statue' creates 'a mismatch between these dimensions of meaning', which separated 'content' from 'style'. 'For the Djoser and the British Museum statues, the artistic style corresponds to the period in which each was produced; the shared content is a particular iconography of divine kingship'.[26]

This methodological exercise identifies the same 'conflict' that was detected in the tomb of Karakhamun. The study of Kushite art demonstrates that the iconographic approach and intericonicity as a universal

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[17] KAHLBACHER, HUDAKOVA, in BÁRTA (ed.), *Abusir and Saqqara*, 466.
[18] ANGENOT, in MUHLESTEIN (ed.), *Proceedings*, 53–60; TEFNIN, *La statuaire d'Hatchepsout*; TEFNIN, *GM* 79 (1984), 55–69; TEFNIN, *Art et magie*.
[19] ANGENOT, in VERBOVSEK, BACKES, JONES (eds.), *Methodik und Didaktik*, 255–86; ASSMANN, in DREYER, OSING (eds.), *Form und Mass*; Hartwig, in VERBOVSEK, BACKES, JONES (eds.), *Methodik und Didaktik*, 313–26.
TEFNIN, *GM* 79 (1984), 55–69; TEFNIN, *Art et magie*.
[20] A huge range of research, starting with the classical writings of WINCKELMANN, *History of the Art of Antiquity*; WÖLFFLIN, *Principles of Art History*. On the definitions of style, see ACKERMAN, *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 20.3 (1962), 227–37; CROPPER (ed.), *Dialogues in Art History*; ECK, MCALLISTER, VAN DE VALL (eds.), *The Question of Style*; HARTWIG, in HARTWIG (ed.), *Companion*, 39–59; SOHM, *Style in the Art Theory of Early Modern Italy.*
[21] FREED, *Development*; VISCHAK, *Community and Identity*.
[22] MÜLLER, in CURTO (ed.), *Il IV Congresso Internazionale*, 337–45.
[23] BRYAN, in CROPPER (ed.), *Dialogues in Art History*, 19–40; PIEKE, in STRUDWICK, STRUDWICK (eds.), *Old Kingdom*, 216–28.
[24] BAINES, in DAVIES (ed.), Colour and Painting, 145–57.
[25] BAINES, RIGGS, *JEA* 87 (2001), 103–18.
[26] BAINES, RIGGS, *JEA* 87 (2001), 109, 114.

conceptual framework for tracing the transmission and transformation of images covers only one area of this complex process. It can be said that iconography and style become completely autonomous in Egyptian art of the Twenty-fifth–Thirtieth dynasties. They lose their unity, which was always a cornerstone for defining so-called 'styles of periods' and their development. Histories of Egyptian art usually combine elements of iconography and style of execution into a notion of the style of a particular time period, acknowledging the fact that every time period and geographical area produced new iconographic motifs or re-adjusted and transformed old iconography that was executed in certain materials and techniques unique or characteristic to this time period and site.[27] Recent research on the vernacular styles in Old and New Kingdom tombs demonstrate on a very detailed level that iconographic motifs new to the time, executed in local styles, were transmitted as iconographic/stylistic units within the origin necropolis and outside with only slight variations.[28]

The considerable length of the interruption in the building and decorating of monumental elite tombs seems to destroy this unity in the eyes of the agency (patron/artist) of what is called the 'Kushite renaissance'.[29] As the string of traditional transmission was interrupted, all the decisions made by the creators of Kushite tombs were conscious choices from the treasury of the cultural models of the past. The past was always part of the Egyptian collective consciousness and Egyptian art was consistently referential. However, the main difference between tradition and archaism is in the following of a chain of traditional transmission or of the conscious choice of an ancient model that had not been in use for a considerable period of time.[30]

A vast amount of references from the past were brought together in a Kushite tomb, a new type of mortuary monument where every element of decoration was deliberately referential by choice and necessity. The Kushite tomb became a library and art depository of ancient knowledge and skills but did not turn into a museum or archive.[31] Deliberate reinterpretation and the unique contextualisation of ancient imagery and texts created the new fully functional theological and ritual space of the Kushite temple-tomb.[32]

The early Kushite tombs of Karabasken and Karakhamun were creative 'workshops' for the revival of monumental decorated tombs. Research on their art has made it clear that the main question, crucial for their understanding and recording, is not only the origin of the references used by the artists but the methods of their transmission. It was not previously recognised that the iconography of Kushite images and the style of their execution were uniquely autonomous. They were transmitted through different channels and devices and separated in the process. Particular styles of execution became detached from iconographic motifs characteristic to certain periods. Every image had at least two separate references, one iconographic and one stylistic. For this reason, they should be explored and recorded separately. This way, both components of a work of art will be thoroughly analysed, channelling their wealth of information into an attempt to 'decipher' the image when the databases overlap at a later stage.

The second 'dimension of meaning' is more difficult to trace and record and yet it is crucial for the understanding and interpretation of Kushite art. Calling it 'style' might be confusing because there are too many definitions of the word, leaving us with no definition at all. As the second dimension of meaning deals

[27] ALDRED, *Egyptian Art*; HOFMANN, *Bilder im Wandel*; SMITH, *The Art and Architecture*.
[28] LABOURY, in KÓTHAY (ed.), *Art and Society*, 199–208; VISCHAK, *Community and Identity*.
[29] TIRADRITTI (ed.), *Pharaonic Renaissance.*
[30] For the definition of archaism, see JURMAN, in GYŐRY (ed.), *Aegyptus et Pannonia*, 76; KAHL, in WENDRICH *et al*., *UEE*, among many others.
[31] See, however, the paper by Traunecker in this volume.
[32] On the concept of the Kushite temple-tomb and its Ramesside references, see ASSMANN, in STRUDWICK, TAYLOR (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis*, 46–52; BUDKA, *Sokar* 18 (2009), 80–7; BUDKA, in BAREŠ, COPPENS, SMOLÁRIKOVÁ (eds.), *Egypt in Transition*, 22–72, BUDKA, in THÜR (ed.), *Grabrituale. Tod und Jenseits*, 41–57; BUDKA, in PRIES (ed.), *Die Variation der Tradition*, 171–200; RUMMEL, in KESSLER *et al*. (eds.), *Texte - Theben –Tonfragmente*, 348–60; RUMMEL, in GERLACH, RAUE (eds.), *Sanktuar und Ritual*, 221–33.

with the execution of the iconographic content, it will be called in this research actualisation or implementation. Therefore, the two proposed databases will reflect the process of intericonicity and interimplementation—the transmission of iconography and its actualisation.

The art historical terminology used in this research is mainly based on the works of Bothmer and his school of Egyptological art history.[33] The following summary of the routes and agents of transmission employed in Kushite and Saite Egypt will emphasise the difference in the routes of transmitting iconographic and stylistic information.

Transmission of Iconography

Most research on the transmission of imagery in reality concentrates on the **t**ransmission of iconography. In his overview of the agents of transmission, Kahl emphasises the role of libraries 'through which borrowing from earlier ages occurred'.[34] Libraries affiliated with 'houses of life' contained texts, illustrations, and sometimes even instructions for sculptors.[35] The same point is emphasised by Lüscher and many others.[36] The existence of suggested Late Period 'Musterbücher' remains undocumented, possibly because this kind of collection of preselected patterns never existed.[37] The libraries, with their vast selection of references, would better explain the diversity found in Kushite and Saite elite tomb decoration. Goyon suggests that the Theban papyrus with a drawing of a naos came from a temple library, as might have numerous papyri used in temple decoration. The small number of such sources could be explained by the fact that papyri that remained in buildings were not so well protected as the funerary papyri placed in closed burials.[38] Spencer assumes that a similar 'schematic plan of a naos decoration' was used to determine the decoration of the naos of Nekhthorheb from Bubastis.[39]

Another important method of transmission was the making of copies directly from ancient monuments, possibly specially ordered for a particular project.[40] Even in cases when the actual copies were never found, such evidence as late grids on the reliefs within the Djoser complex at Saqqara demonstrate that such copies were made,[41] as well as the temple of Sahure in Abusir and some others.[42] The decoration of Temple T in Kawa was based on close references to the temples of Pepi I, Pepi II, as well as the sun temples of Abusir.[43] It has been assumed that temple decoration must have been planned on papyrus otherwise a coherent result would not have been achievable.[44] Similarly, Laboury suggests strips of leather, cloth, or papyrus as a copying medium for the transmission of scenes and figures between New Kingdom elite tombs.[45] Lüscher has identified a large number of ostraca with text in cursive hieroglyphic script as 'Textvorlagen' for the

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[33] BOTHMER, RIEFSTAHL, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period*; FREED, *The Development*; RUSSMANN, *Relief Decoration*.
[34] KAHL, in WENDRICH *et al*., *UEE*, 3.
[35] KAHL, in WENDRICH *et al*., *UEE*, 4.
[36] LÜSCHER, in VERHOEVEN (ed.), *Ägyptologische 'Binsen'-Weisheiten*, 87.
[37] BIETAK, REISER-HASLAUER, *Das Grab des Anch-Hor* II, 232–40; DER MANUELIAN, *SAK* 10 (1983), 221–45; DER MANUELIAN, *Living in the Past*, 55; KAHL, in WENDRICH *et al*., *UEE*, 4.
[38] GOYON *et al*., *La construction pharaonique*, 359, fig. 467. See also Quack, in Rickert and Ventker, *Altägyptische Enzyklopädien*
[39] SPENCER, *A Naos of Nekhthorheb*, 15.
[40] BIETAK, REISER-HASLAUER, *Das Grab des Anch-Hor* II, 232–40
[41] FIRTH, QUIBELL, *The Step Pyramid* I, 5, 33–4; II, pls. 15–6; GOYON *et al.*, *La construction*, 361, fig. 469.
[42] BORCHARDT, *Das Grabdenkmal* I, 106, fig. 132. For comparable evidence from Abusir, see BAINES, *GM* 4 (1973), 9–14. The reuse of motifs from the Abusir reliefs in a monument dating to the reign of Amasis shows that those grids cannot be later than the mid-sixth century. BAINES, RIGGS, *JEA* 87 (2001), 112.
[43] BORCHARDT, *Das Grabdenkmal* I, pl. 1; LECLANT, in VERCOUTTER (ed.), *Livre du centenaire*, pl. 2; MACADAM, *The Temples of Kawa*, pl. 9A.
[44] GOYON *et al.*, *La construction pharaonique*, 359.
[45] LABOURY, in GILLEN (ed.), *(Re)productive Traditions*, 245.

burial chamber of the tomb of Nakhtmin (TT 87).[46] 'Vorlagen-Ostraka' as master copies are also discussed by Guksch[47] and Tallet on the example of TT 29.[48]

Discussing P. Vienna D 10100, Vittmann suggests that the description of the temple decoration written in demotic was enough for trained artists to execute the text and imagery on the walls of the temple.[49] Haring discusses a group of similar papyri as a possible master copy for creating temple decoration or a description of existing decoration done for a different project.[50] An ostracon found near the tomb of Puimre (TT 39) and published by Davies features a sketch of a male figure running with two oars. Davies interpreted the sketch as a preliminary drawing for a similar figure in the portico of the tomb.[51] However, Haring argues that the sketch could have been a copy of the figure on the wall.[52] Whether this ostracon represents instructions received by the artist in the tomb of Puimre or was copied in the tomb of Puimre for another project, the fact remains that the artist received his directions for creating this image in the form of an action stick figure. This kind of instruction would give him a broad creative license in choosing the style of carving or painting for the actual figure.

Discussing the possibility of a draughtsman decorating a tomb from a hieratic or cursive hieroglyphic master copy, Haring argues that 'turning cursive drafts into hieroglyphic inscriptions on the spot—that is, in front of the wall—is unlikely, especially in narrow and poorly illuminated spaces, such as subterranean tomb chambers. Transforming hieratic or cursive hieroglyphic texts into monumental hieroglyphic inscriptions would have been an intellectual challenge. That challenge was probably not beyond the capacities of a fully accomplished draughtsman or scribe'.[53] The same can be said about a description of an image or a stick figure on a piece of papyrus or ostracon. They would be nearly impossible to translate into a fully developed image on the spot. There must have been an intermediary phase responsible, not only for what should be represented on this wall or in this scene, but how.

Davis suggests drawings on papyri, ostraca, two- and three-dimensional models, unfinished sculpture, and personal instructions in royal workshops as possible vehicles for transmitting information.[54] He notes that a Western-type academy could have been in place, though this is not documented. Therefore, the transmission of canonical formulas was channelled through a number of agencies, including houses of life and temple workshops.[55] In his research on the transmission of forms of non-royal sculpture, Price suggests that the 'House of Gold' functioned as a workshop and an institution into which artisans had to be initiated.[56] In this capacity, it could have been an institution for maintaining and transmission of canonical forms.[57]

What usually remains unrecognised by scholars is the fact that all of the aforementioned methods of recording cannot be responsible for the transmission of an entire work of art. They were employed to transmit iconography, which gives the artist an outline, the contours of the figures, and other elements of the compositions. Line drawings do not have the properties to convey implementation of iconography, including materials, preferable technique of execution, or artistic style among other attributes. Execution had independent routes of transmission.

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[46] LÜSCHER, in VERHOEVEN (ed.), *Ägyptologische 'Binsen'-Weisheiten*, 85–118; LÜSCHER, *Die Vorlagen-Ostraka*.
[47] GUKSCH, *Die Gräber des Nacht-Min.*
[48] TALLET, *CdE* 80 (2005), 67.
[49] VITTMANN, *Enchoria* 28 (2003), 106–36, pls. 15–21.
[50] HARING, in VERHOEVEN (ed.), *Ägyptologische 'Binsen'-Weisheiten*, 68.
[51] DAVIES, *The Tomb of Puyemrê*, 65, pls. 72, 79 (D).
[52] HARING, in VERHOEVEN (ed.), *Ägyptologische 'Binsen'-Weisheiten*, 70.
[53] HARING, in VERHOEVEN (ed.), *Ägyptologische 'Binsen'-Weisheiten*, 78.
[54] DAVIS, *The Canonical Tradition*, 2, 105.
[55] DAVIS, *The Canonical Tradition*, 103–8. See chapter 'Instruction in the Canonical Use of Encoded Canonical Formulas'.
[56] PRICE, in GILLEN (ed.), *(Re)productive Traditions in Ancient Egypt*.
[57] DAVIS, *The Canonical Tradition*, 54.

Transmission of Style of Execution

Decisions on the technique and style of the painting or carving on the walls of a tomb did not depend directly on the decorative programme of the tomb or the suggested iconography of certain scenes. The choice of style of execution or implementation of iconography was a separate process with its own references and tools of transmission.

As discussed by Baines and Riggs, 'a three-dimensional royal representation was created with the iconography of a bygone age: its key features have no continuity with the immediate past, nor are they an innovation. At the same time, the statue does not copy the older style, like some non-royal Late Period pieces that imitate Early Dynastic or Old Kingdom works'.[58] The most effective way of transmitting relief style long distance is to make a cast of the original carving. A well-preserved example is a plaster cast of the Fifth Dynasty reliefs from the sun temple of Sahure in Abusir.[59] A cast gives information on the type of relief, its height, treatment of the surface, modelling, etc. Although it gives the most comprehensive information on the original work of art, it could not have been used often. This transmission technique is very time and labour consuming and, therefore, expensive.

Personal observations and training transmitted through what can be called the 'mobility of the artists' is another effective way.[60] Russmann suggested that the manner of carving of the 'daily life' scenes in the open court of the tomb of Harwa (TT 37) was so close to that of the Old Kingdom that they must have been carved by artists from the north who had personal knowledge of this style. Trying to find a reason for the presence of the northern artists in Thebes during the time of the construction of the tomb of Harwa, she suggested the involvement of a team of artists from the north engaged by Taharqo to design Temple T in Kawa, stopping in Thebes on the way home. This idea creates an appealing narrative, but the mobility of the ancient Egyptian artists between north and south is usually underestimated. Artists from the north did not have a special reason for coming to Thebes. Excavation of the earlier Kushite tombs of Karabasken and Karakhamun revealed reliefs executed in Old Kingdom styles prior to the time of Taharqo. Teams of northern artists were probably already commissioned by Shebitqo, Shabaqo, or their officials to work in the tombs and temples of Thebes.

This process was probably reminiscent of the time after the reunification of Egypt by Montuhotep II of the Eleventh Dynasty. Extensive research on the art of the Middle Kingdom recently published by the Metropolitan Museum shows many similarities with the dynamics of the early Kushite Period. For example, when the construction and decoration of the mortuary temple of Montuhotep II was started 'no exemplary decorative program of such dimensions existed in the Theban area, and not enough sculptors were available to execute the project. One must assume that additional sculptors were educated and sent to study and copy OK monuments in the Memphite region and northern craftsmen may have been called in. This would explain why the temple reliefs display an artistic style that is often associated with the Memphite art of the Old Kingdom'.[61]

The mobility of artists and interconnections between different parts of the country were so abundant that it makes the attempt to link certain styles with specific local workshops almost impossible.[62] Presumably the dynamics of the artistic landscape in the early Kushite Period were similar to those of the beginning of the Middle Kingdom.[63] Therefore, every Theban tomb could be decorated by some of the following groups of

[58] BAINES, RIGGS, *JEA* 87 (2001), 113.
[59] BORCHARDT, *Das Grabdenkmal* I, 105, figs. 130–1; KAHL, in WENDRICH *et al*., *UEE*, 6, fig. 7.
[60] OPPENHEIM *et al*. (eds.), *Ancient Egypt Transformed.*
[61] OPPENHEIM *et al*. (eds.), *Ancient Egypt Transformed*, 41.
[62] OPPENHEIM *et al*. (eds.), *Ancient Egypt Transformed*, 26.
[63] Despite possible influences of Libyan archaistic tendencies in art and architecture, it was the Kushite Period that witnessed a high demand in trained artists. On Libyan archaism, see FAZZINI, *Egypt*, 8–10; JOSEPHSON, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 23–8; MORKOT, in TAIT (ed.), *'Never had the Like Occured'*, 87–9; MORKOT, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 5–22.

artists: northern artists, local artists trained by colleagues from the north, local artists with previous experience in decorating burial equipment and papyri, or local artists with experience in temple decoration.[64]

It is important to make a distinction between such matters as 'different styles of execution' and 'different hands' and their technical signatures. Arnold made a valuable comparison when she described the creative process of Egyptian artists as a performing art.[65] Projecting the process of staging a play to the process of decorating a tomb, Arnold sees the chief designer of the tomb's decoration as the director of the play who does the 'casting' of the artists, choosing those who can deliver a certain quality of execution.[66] It is possible to imagine that the 'director' would choose the artists having particular styles in mind, but in reality the technical execution must have been controlled by the master artists responsible for the decoration of separate scenes, walls, etc. For example, a large scene was planned by the master artist to be executed in a certain style. In most cases, different parts and elements of it were rendered by different artists with different levels of skill and experience. Their execution of the same style was noticeably different. A master artist, secondary artist, advanced apprentice, or a beginner apprentice would demonstrate different quality of carving while realising the same style assigned by the master artist. It is possible to recognise different hands and different levels of accomplishment within the same style and avoid the common mistake of identifying different hands of individual arts as manifestations of different styles.

An analysis of one of the images of Karakhamun will be used to illustrate the disbursement of information and dynamics between two databases (figs. 1–2).



Fig. 1: Seated figure of Karakhamun, First Pillared Hall, east wall, north section (photo: Katherine Blakeney)

[64] For coffin painters working in tombs, see MOLINERO POLO, RODRÍGUEZ VALLS, *Coffin Painters*; for papyri scribes working in tombs, see Hofmann, *Bilder im Wandel* I, 110, figs. 73-74.
[65] ARNOLD, in D'AURIA (ed.), *Servant of Mut*, 8.
[66] ARNOLD, in D'AURIA (ed.), *Servant of Mut*, 8.

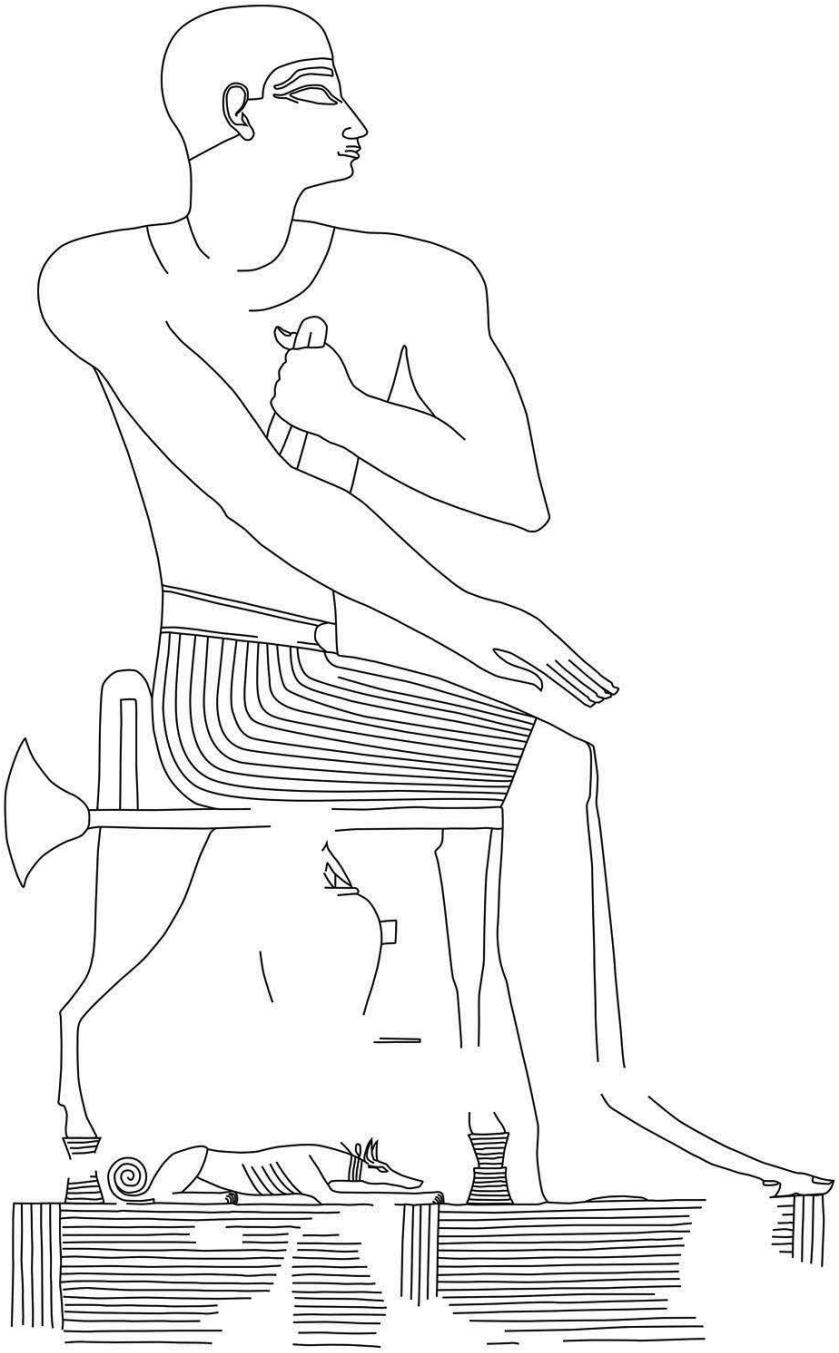


Fig. 2: Seated figure of Karakhamun, First Pillared Hall, east wall, north section (drawing: Katherine Blakeney)

Iconographic Database (fig. 3)

The iconographic database dissects every image into minute details to be sure that all the 'signs' and 'words' of the iconographic inscription are taken into consideration. It traces their possible sources and analyses all the adjustments and changes made to the borrowed ancient element or motif. This process helps to create a lexicon of the tomb's 'semiological language'. It builds a platform for the next steps of 'reading' the images, 'reassembling' them into larger compositions in specific locations, and eventually contextualising them within the decorative and textual programme of a certain room, the whole tomb, and the necropolis. The interpretation phase is based on observations and their contextualisation is reflected in the database.

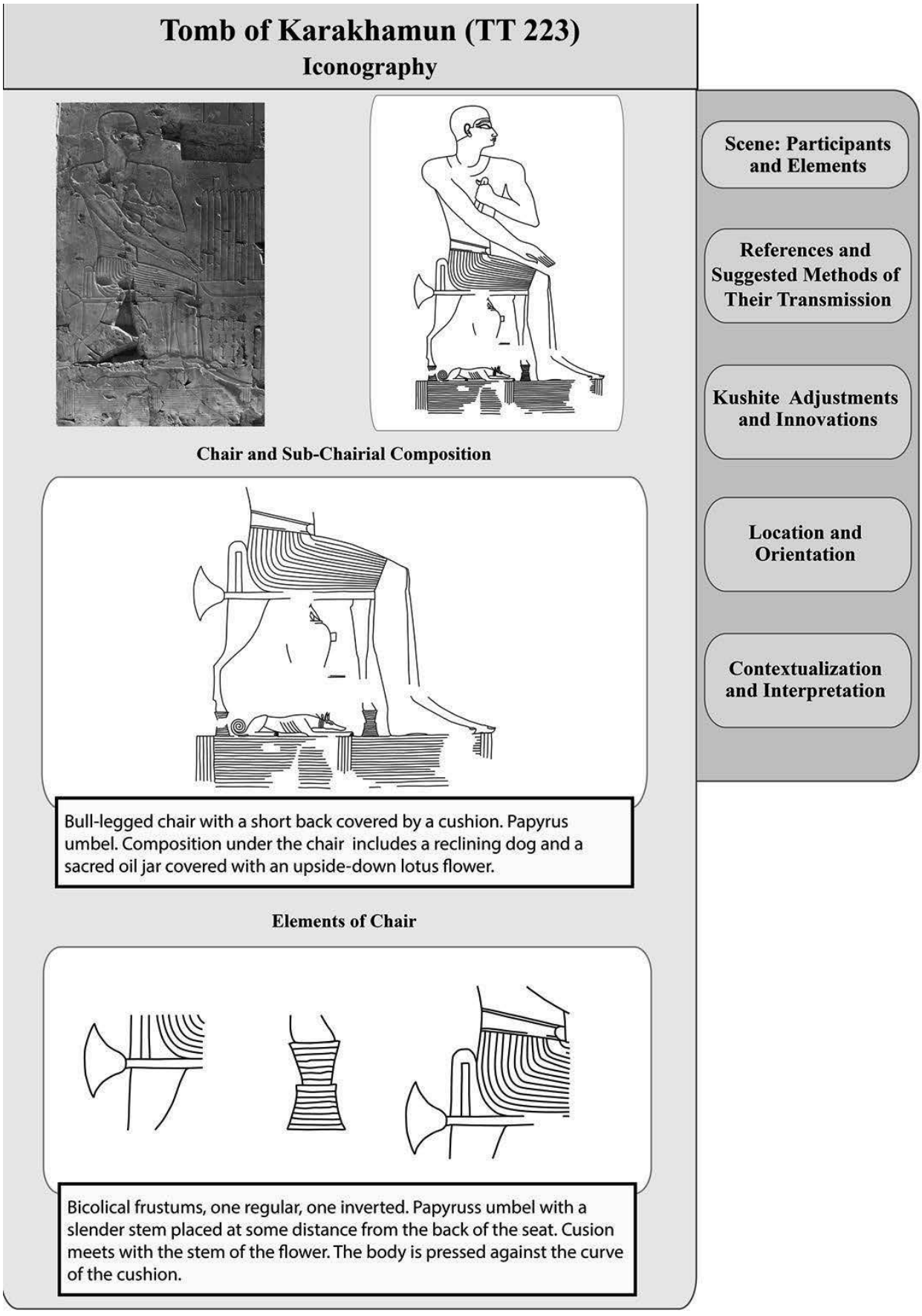


Fig. 3. Screenshot of page from database

Numerous features of Karakhamun's image recorded in the database refer to Old Kingdom iconography of the Fourth–beginning of Fifth dynasties. Among them are the position of the body, with the near arm extended towards the offering table and the far arm pressed to the chest with a folded cloth clenched in the hand, an arch on the near foot, no toes indicated, short kilt, bare torso, plain broad collar, and a bull-legged chair. Kushite artists must have worked from drawings made in the elite tombs of the Fourth and Fifth dynasties before adding their own adjustments. The following changes and adjustments were introduced by the Kushite artists (fig. 4):

1. Shape of bull-legged chair: Old Kingdom – bull-legged chairs usually do not have backs, they are rather stools with cushions; Karakhamun – back part as in a lion-legged chair.

2. Folded cushion: Old Kingdom – the folded cushion usually ends before the papyrus umbel; Karakhamun – the cushion meets with the stem of the flower.

3. Shape of papyrus umbel: Old Kingdom – the flower is closer to the seat, the stem is wider; Karakhamun – slender stem, some distance from the seat.

4. Position of the body: Old Kingdom – distance between the body of the seated figure and the cushion; Karakhamun – close to the cushion.

5. Shape of frustum: Old Kingdom – frustum under the legs of the chair, lower and more square and wider at the bottom. Examples of Old Kingdom biconical frustum are rare (a few examples are known with bull-legged chairs);[67] Karakhamun – biconical frustum (one regular and one inverted, elongated shape). The biconical frustum became one of the staples of Kushite and Saite images of tomb owners.

6. Kilt: Old Kingdom – most tomb owners of the Fourth and Fifth dynasties had plain kilts, with some rare exceptions;[68] Karakhamun – fully pleated.

7. Wig: Old Kingdom – most tomb owners of the Fourth and Fifth dynasties wear wigs; Karakhamun – close-cropped hair.

8. Objects under the chair: Old Kingdom – in most cases no objects; Karakhamun – A sacred oil jar covered with an upside-down lotus flower and a reclining dog under the chair (fig. 5).

The contextualisation of these images with the textual and decorative programme of the tomb and Theban Kushite art assists in 'deciphering' the message encoded in the scene. The iconographic choices made from the repertoire of Old Kingdom images of tomb owners and the adjustments made to the ancient sources of inspiration are not random. Not only do they connect the image of Karakhamun to ancient predecessors, but they also incorporate it into the theological space of a Kushite temple-tomb and temple imagery on the East Bank. When connected with the textual and decorative programme of the First Pillared Hall and the whole tomb, this scene reveals symbolic connotations.

1. Close-cropped hair was probably selected for one of the main images of Karakhamun to refer to the Karnak royal images of Shebitqo and Shabaqo.[69] The pleated kilt may be a royal reference as well to elevate Karakhamun's 'portrait'. Although the titles of Karakhamun do not give a clear picture of his position and responsibilities, the size and quality of his tomb are evidence of his high standing.[70] An additional meaning of the choice of close-cropped hair may be suggested in comparison with a mirror-image of Karakhamun on the south side of the east wall.[71] A fragment with the far shoulder retains traces of the bottom of a wig. The fact that Karakhamun to the left of the doorway is shown without a wig while to the right of the doorway with a wig could refer to the Old Kingdom tradition of representing a tomb owner in different stages of life

[67] ZIEGLER, *Catalogue*, 153.
[68] ZIEGLER, *Catalogue*, 180–1 [nr. 28].
[69] BISTON-MOULIN, THIERS, *Le temple de Ptah*, nrs. 59–61; MYSLIWIEC, *Royal Portraiture*, pls. 30–4.
[70] NAUNTON, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 103–7.
[71] The offering scene on the south side is badly damaged. Its reconstruction will be one of the goals of the 2018 season.

on the doorjambs of an entrance or a false door.[72] A more advanced age would be indicated by a longer kilt and the absence of a wig. In the case of Karakhamun, this difference may have been indicated only by the presence or absence of a wig.

2. A fully pleated kilt could also be a reference to royal attire.[73]

3. The reclining dog and large sacred oil jar under the chair of Karakhamun are the earliest known record of this composition. The iconography of the dog can be traced to the Old Kingdom. The combination of a dog image and the *ḥknw* sacred oil is specific to the Kushite and later Saite Period.[74] In the newly excavated TT 209, an almost identical dog image is combined with the word *ḥknw*, which may be interpreted as the dog's name or a replacement for a sacred jar image.[75] The same combination is repeated in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty tomb of Pabasa (TT 279).[76] The symbolism of the sacred oils and funerary association form a powerful composition with strong connotations of resurrection and rebirth, connecting it with the Osiride cycle of the tomb.

4. The choice of a bull-legged chair for the main image of Karakhamun in the tomb can be seen as more than interest in the most ancient iconography of an elite chair. The connection between chairs and funerary beds has been suggested.[77] The lion couch of Osiris as a symbol of his resurrection and rebirth was referenced in the depictions of mummification beds and lion-legged chairs of elite tomb owners. A bull-legged chair could be interpreted by the Kushite artists as a reference to the image of an Apis Bull carrying the deceased to the Netherworld.[78]

This suggestion is supported by elements of the tomb's decoration.[79] The theological association of the Apis with Ptah and Osiris brings a few elements of the decoration of the First Pillared Hall together as a reflection of this association.[80] The texts of BD 106 and BD 82 on the south-western pilaster of the First pillared Hall (SP6), flanking the entrance to the Second Pillared Hall on the south side, are architecturally and thematically connected with an Apis scene on the south thickness of the entrance. BD 82, 'Spell for Assuming the Form of Ptah', is placed on the eastern face of the pilaster. The theme of Ptah continues on the northern face of the pilaster with BD 106, 'Spell for Giving Offerings to NN in Memphis'.[81] *Pyramid Text* 670 (N 348) is inscribed on the north thickness of the entrance facing the Apis scene. It belongs to a resurrection ritual group and contains a comparison of Horus to a wild bull who 'he has killed for you the one who killed you, a wild bull'.[82]

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[72] As an example, see the false door of the tomb of Raemkai in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 08.201. See HAYES, *The Scepter of Egypt* I, 101.

[73] Compare with statues of Montuemhat and Horemakhet in a royal *shendyt*: RUSSMANN, *Egyptian Sculpture*, figs. 78, 80.

[74] On the symbolism of the depiction of sacred oil jars under the chairs of tomb owners, see PISCHIKOVA, *JARCE* 31 (1994), 63–77. On the combination of a dog image with a sacred oil jar, see MOLINERO POLO, *TrabEg* 7 (2016), 111–30; PISCHIKOVA, in D'AURIA (ed.), *Offerings*, 268–9. On the funerary connotations of dog images, see HOULIHAN, in REDFORD (ed.), *Oxford Encyclopedia*, 229–31. On the names of dogs, see FISCHER, *MMJ* 12 (1977), 173–8.

[75] MOLINERO POLO, *TrabEg* 7 (2016), 111–30.

[76] Pabasa (TT 279), Open court, west wall, south part (unpublished). PM I/1^2, 358 (15).

[77] I am grateful to Manon Schutz-Santander, PhD student at the University of Oxford working on ancient Egyptian beds, for discussing this connection.

[78] FAZZINI, *Egypt*, 26, pls. 35, 38, 42; GOFF, *Symbols of Ancient Egypt*, 35; LIPTAY, in KÓTHAY (ed.), *Art and Society*, 169–84.

[79] A similar example of the popular Old Kingdom fording scene, reinterpreted by a Middle Kingdom artist as part of the Hathoric cycle, is discussed by ARNOLD, in D'AURIA (ed.), *Servant of Mut*, 5–6.

[80] FAZZINI, *Egypt*, 26; JURMAN, in BAREŠ, COPPENS, SMOLÁRIKOVÁ (eds.), *Egypt in Transition*, 227; TAYLOR, *Death and the Afterlife*, 245–9, fig. 182.

[81] ALLEN, *The Book of the Dead*, 71, 85.

[82] ALLEN, *Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 267.

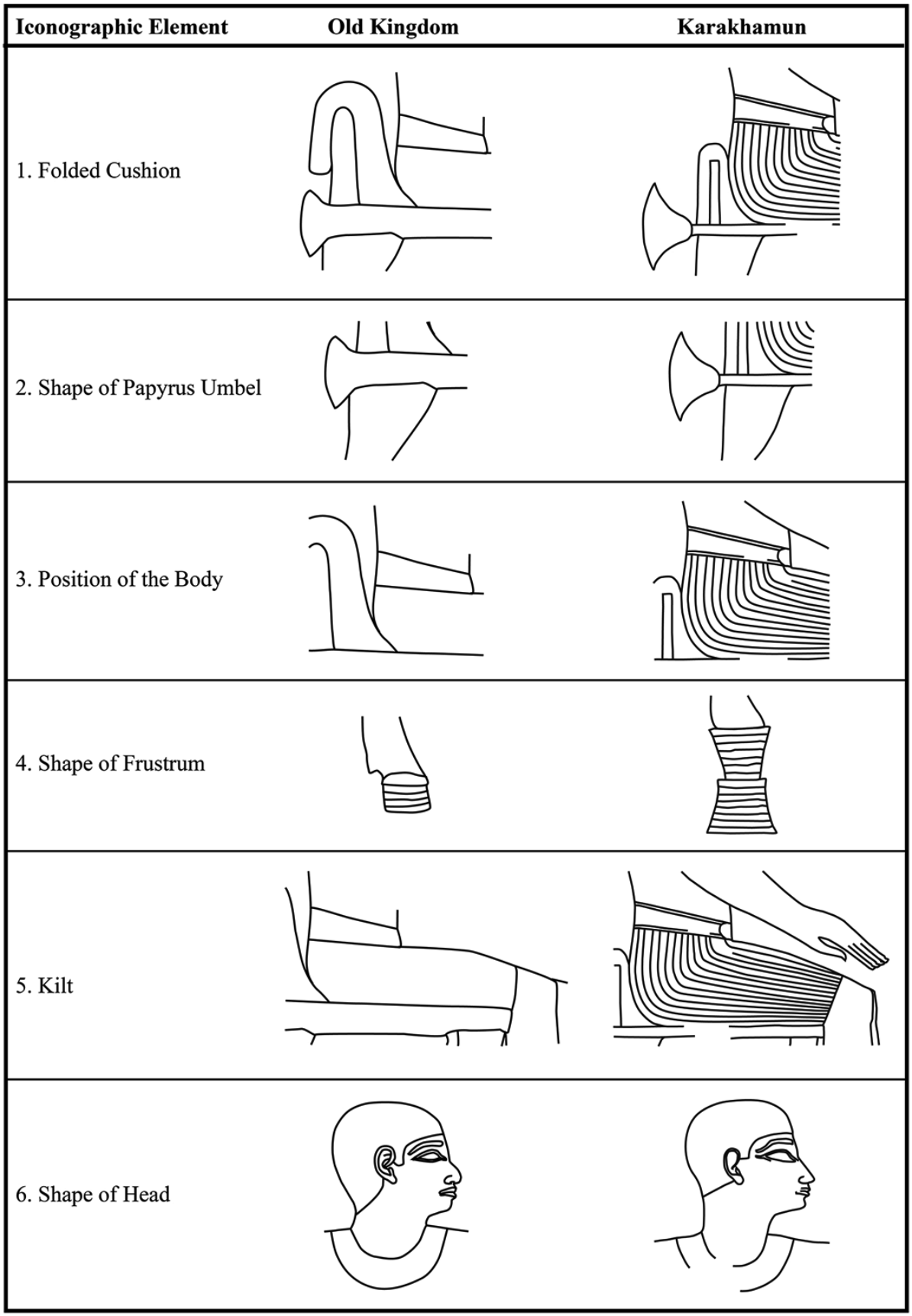


Fig. 4: Table of Kushite adjustments to Old Kingdom iconography. (1–3, 5) false door of Sheshi, Louvre, E 27 133; (4) false door of Huti and Ketisen, Fourth Dynasty, Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 1392; (6) relief from the tomb of Tepemankh, Fifth Dynasty, Louvre, AF 6 760 (drawings: Katherine Blakeney)

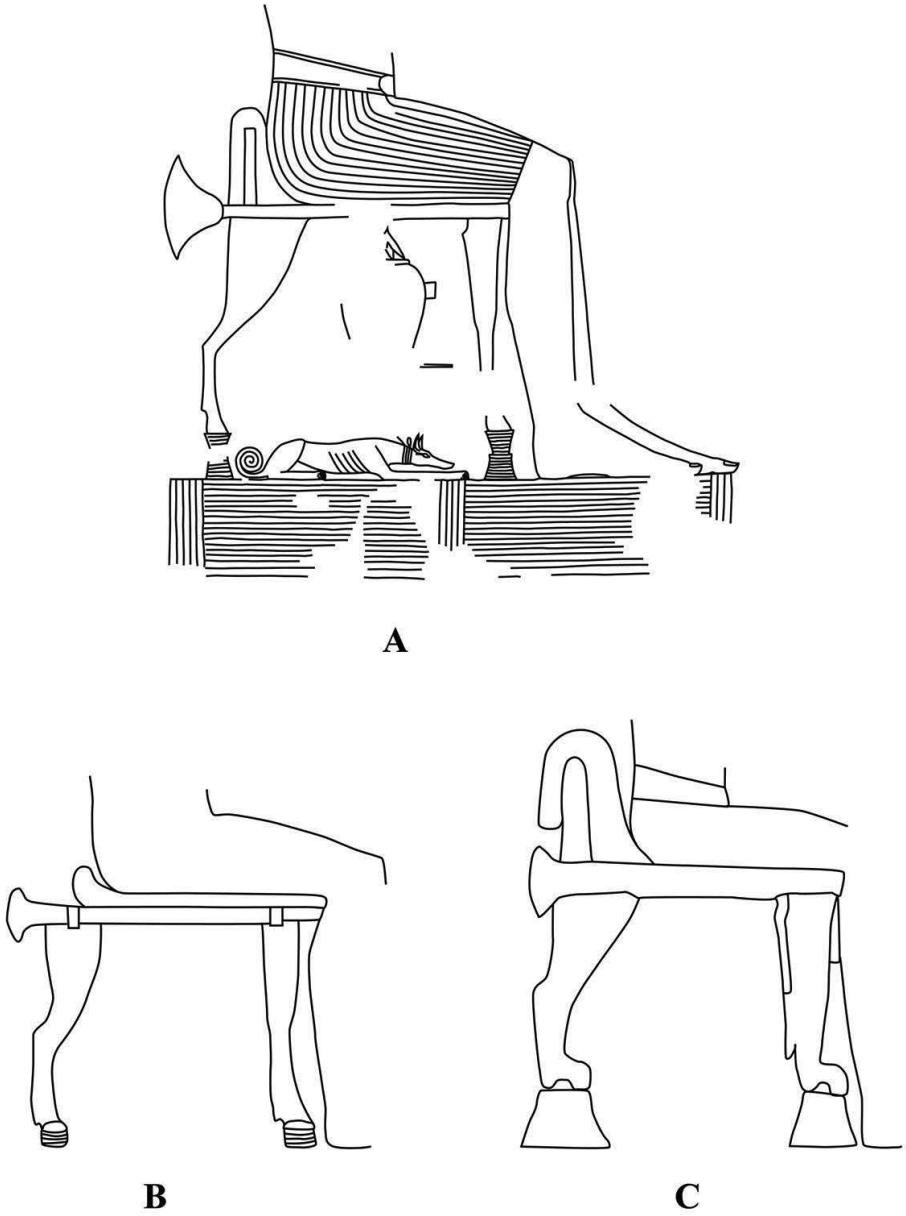


Fig. 5: Old Kingdom references for the chair of Karakhamun: (A) Karakhamun; (B) false door of Huti and Ketisen, Fourth Dynasty, Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 1392; (C) false door of Sheshi, Louvre, E 27 133 (drawing: Katherine Blakeney)

The only known parallel to this scene in Theban Kushite and Saite tombs, which definitely include the depiction of an Apis bull, is in the tomb of Padiamenope (TT 33) on the thickness of the entrance to Room IV.[83] Padiamenope is being led by Anubis and Maat to the Hall of Judgement, with an Apis bull emerging from a hillside behind the procession. Thomas describes the presence of Apis in this scene as unique and connects it to the Memphis tradition of Ptah and Osiris-Apis.[84] The identification of this scene in the tomb of Karakhamun establishes an earlier iconographic motif that could have influenced the artists of TT 33.[85]

[83] DÜMICHEN, *Der Grabpalast* II, 51, pl. 22; THOMAS, *A Typological Study*, 223–4, fig. 156. For similar scenes in the tombs of Harwa (TT 37) and Pabasa (TT 279), which do not include the depiction of Apis, see MOLINERO POLO, in KOUSOULIS, LAZARIDIS (eds.), *Proceedings*, 1442.

[84] JURMAN, in BAREŠ, COPPENS, SMOLÁRIKOVÁ (eds.), *Egypt in Transition*, 229–30; THOMAS, *A Typological Study*, 224. WILKINSON, *The Complete Gods*, 170–1.

[85] This scene survives in very few fragments. A fragment with the head of Apis was identified by Kenneth Griffin.

The addition of Apis to the scene of entering the realm of Osiris, besides theological reasons introduced by the creator(s) of the concept of Karakhamun's decoration, could have been introduced by another agency as well. The Project's research on the coffin painters working in the burial chamber of Karakhamun also leads to the assumption that they could have worked as draughtsmen in the carved areas of the tomb.[86] The motif of a running Apis bull sometimes carrying a mummy on its back painted on the footboard of a coffin was popular from the Twenty-first Dynasty through the Roman Period.[87] As this scene is recorded on Theban coffins of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, it is possible to assume that it was transmitted from a coffin by one of the coffin painters working in the tomb of Karakhamun. The 'Osirian interpretation' of this scene suggested by Jurman places the offering scenes of the First Pillared Hall within the Osirian cycle of the tomb, connecting it with the statue of Osiris in the false door of the Second Pillared Hall.

5. The position of Karakhamun's body, all the way back on the chair, pressed against the rising curve of the back cushion, is different from the more traditional Old Kingdom pattern with the back of the tomb owner separated from the back of the chair. It may seem a minor difference, but New Kingdom iconography of the enthroned Osiris usually shows his back firmly pressed to the back of the throne. The change of body position introduced in the figure of Karakhamun, which became a Kushite iconographic pattern, could have an Osirian connotation. A cushion that is longer in the back could also have derived from the iconography of the Osirian throne (fig. 6).

The temple-tomb of Karakhamun can be interpreted as primarily a temple of Osiris with numerous iconographic elements supporting the main theme. This conclusion corresponds with Budka's suggestion that Osiris and Abydos were key factors for the Kushites in Thebes.[88]



Fig. 6: Enthroned Osiris, tomb of Seti I (drawing: Katherine Blakeney)

Implementation Database (fig. 7)

The implementation database is constructed as a visual document because it deals with artistic execution. Stylistic analysis follows the process of an image's production because materials and techniques are essential to stylistic choices and results. Major areas covered by the database are the following:

[86] See MOLINERO POLO in this volume. See also MOLINERO POLO, RODRIGUEZ VALLS, "Coffin Painters in Karakhamun's Burial Chamber (TT 223), 25th Dynasty", paper given at the Second Vatican Coffin Conference, 7th of June, 2017; PISCHIKOVA, in RZEPKA (ed.), *Anonymous Festschrift*, forthcoming.

[87] JURMAN, in BAREŠ, COPPENS, SMOLÁRIKOVÁ (eds.), *Egypt in Transition*, 229; NIWINSKI, *The Second Find*, 13, fig. 19C, 66, fig. 100; TAYLOR, *Death and the Afterlife*, 246–7, fig. 182; WILKINSON, *The Complete Gods*, 171.

[88] See Budka in this volume.

- Scene
- Location: tomb, room, wall, part of the wall
- Material: stone, quality of the stone, plaster, quality of the plaster
- Preparation of the wall: smooth bedrock, cased wall, partially cased/repaired, thin layer of plaster, thick layer of dry plaster, thick layer of wet plaster.
- Preliminary stage, where possible (painted register line, preliminary drawings [colour, layers, line, details])
- Proportions of figures and objects. Grid lines.
- Composition: scale, space, overlapping, relationship between carved images and uncarved surface of the background
- Type of relief carving: raised, sunk, incised
- Technical characteristics: depth or height, treatment of the edges of the background and the images, chisel marks, polishing, complementation with additional plaster, modelling or carving on wet plaster.
- Surface of the image and composition of features: flat, modelled, partially modelled, detailed, combination of plain and detailed areas
- Details: patterns, ornaments, small features (nails, etc.)
- Modelling: areas of modelling, height, treatment of outlines
- Facial features and their layout on the surface: eyebrows, eyes, nose, cheeks, lips, chin
- Paint: colours, painted surface and edges of carving, painted details vs. carved, missing details where they were supposed to be painted, colouring vs. painting
- Implementation references
- Technical signatures

Implementation delivers its own multi-layered message to an art historian. The choice of relief type and carving technique is clear evidence that the artist did not have first-hand experience with the art of the Old Kingdom. Karakhamun's scene is at least twice as large in scale as an average Old Kingdom prototype would be. The Kushite artist had only an outline of the composition and was not aware of the fact that he transformed it into a more monumental scene. The artist adapted the scale to the dimensions of the wall, staying close to the original proportions. The Old Kingdom version of this composition in most cases would be executed in low raised relief.[89] The seated figures of Karabasken on the *Tornische* of his tomb are small in scale and executed in delicate low raised relief. The remains of the modelling on the surface, the intricacy of the details on the figure of Karabasken, and the line of inscription with his name and titles show the unity of the Old Kingdom iconography and style of execution. The reliefs were most probably executed by an artist trained in the north where he had a chance to observe Old Kingdom reliefs. The artists of Karakhamun did not have exposure to the style of execution 'attached' to Old Kingdom iconography and looked for 'implementation' references elsewhere. It seems that in this case the royal references in iconography were complemented by royal references in the style of execution. Shallow sunk relief with sharp edges, carved surface on the level of the background, and modelling limited to the face and legs correspond with the style of execution of the royal reliefs of Shabaqo in the temple of Ptah at Karnak.[90] Karakhamun's reliefs could have been executed by the same artist or team of artists, or even an artist imitating the style of temple reliefs in a temple-tomb (fig. 8).

[89] ZIEGLER, in ARNOLD (ed.), *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, 57–72.
[90] See, for example, BISTON-MOULIN, THIERS, *Le temple de Ptah*, nr. 61.

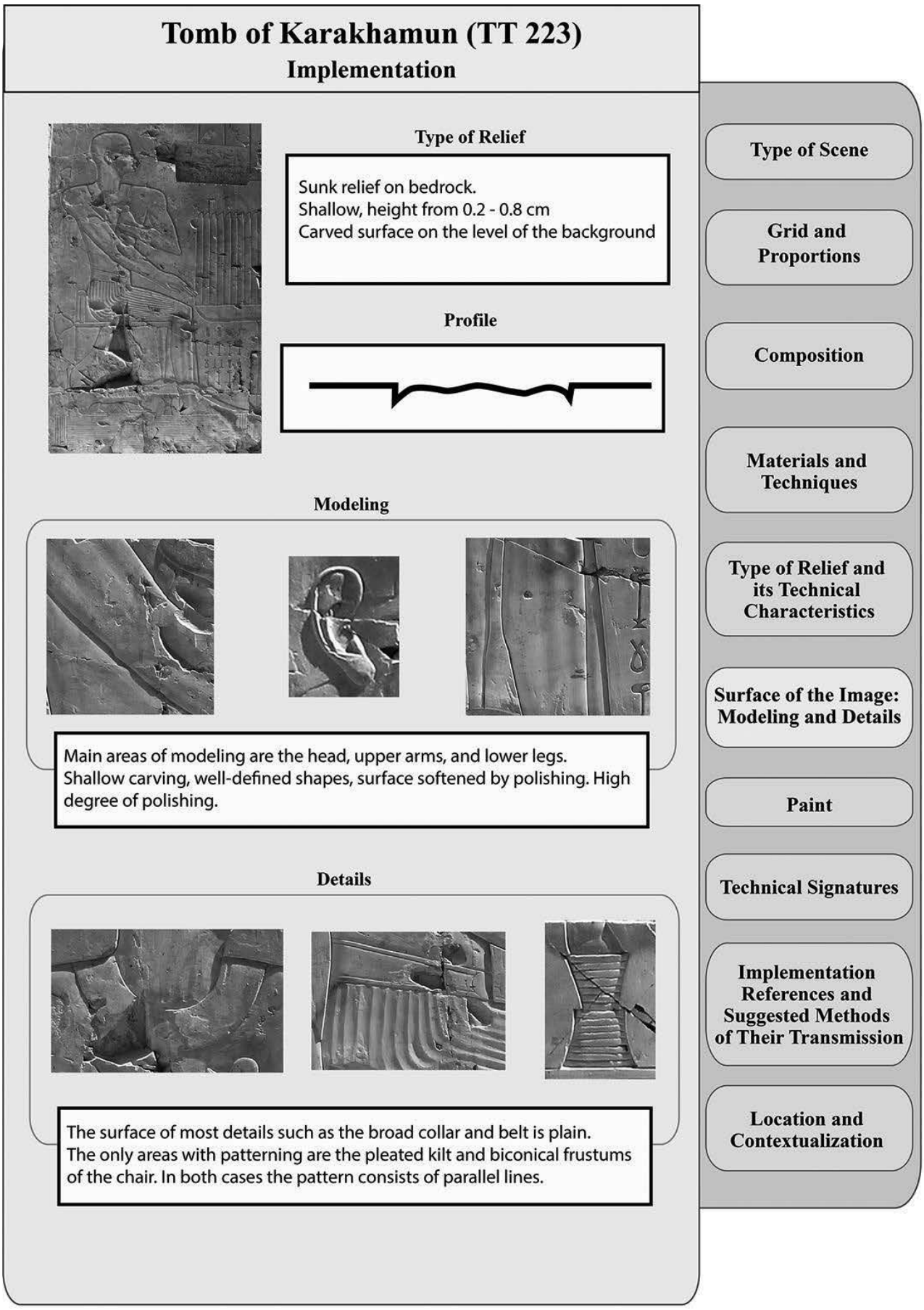


Fig. 7. Screenshot of page from database

When put into the context of the whole tomb, implementation information will allow to map the distribution of the styles of execution within the tomb. Mapping the distribution of implementation may supply additional information to the following areas of research:

1. Ritual and theological importance of different areas of the tomb.
2. The identity of the recipient(s) of the tomb's decoration (tomb owner, visitors, priests, gods, community). 'Path indicators' for ritual processions.
3. Methods of transmission of styles of execution, available references.
4. Mobility of the artists.
5. Background and training of the artists.
6. Organisation of work, including number of teams, artists, etc.
7. Technical signatures of individual artists.
8. Geography of style within a tomb, including vertical and horizontal directions of work, distribution of skills, etc.
9. Technical aspects of the process of tomb decoration including visibility, lighting conditions, hard to reach places, etc.
10. Agency of the patrons and artists in making decisions on styles of execution.
11. 'Reconstruction' of the criterions of selection of styles of execution.
11. Cultural memory connected to certain styles.
12. Symbolic meaning of styles of execution.
13. Interconnection of iconography and implementation in creating the ritual and theological space of a tomb.

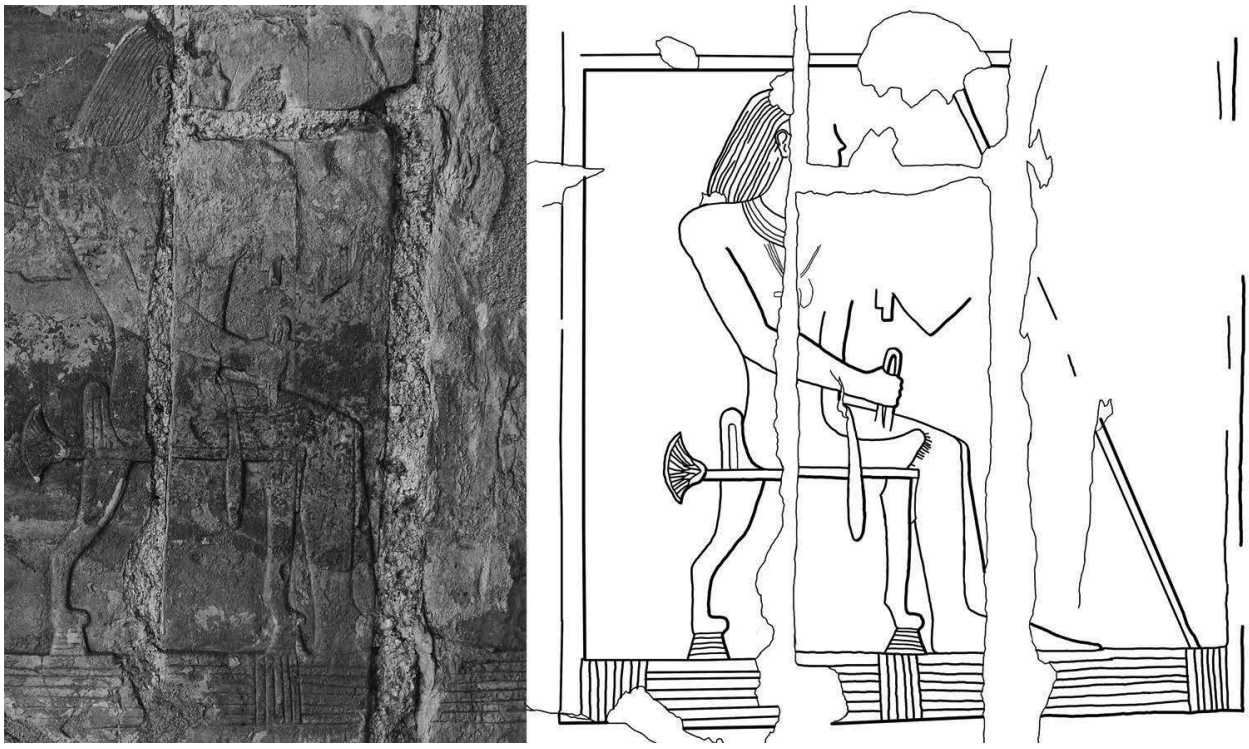


Fig. 8: Seated figure of Karabasken, Tornische (photo & drawing: Katherine Blakeney)

If iconography presents a written message composed by the tomb owner/tomb creator, the artistic style of execution brings forward the voice of a different agency: the agency of the recipient/user of the tomb. It reflects the perception of the recipient as anticipated by the artist. The artist plays the role of the recipient himself when interpreting iconography through the chosen style of execution. When analysed separately,

iconography and implementation do not overshadow each other, allowing to extract both layers of meaning from a work of art in depth. When the results of both databases overlap, they create a complex and multi-layered 'map' of meanings enhancing and enriching one another through the languages of both iconography and implementation.

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Conservation and Reconstruction of the Second Pillared Hall of the Tomb of Karakhamun (TT 223)

Abdelrazk Mohamed Ali

Abstract

Conservation and reconstruction of the ruined tombs of the South Asasif necropolis is the main goal of the South Asasif Conservation Project. This work is being supervised and performed by specialists from the Ministry of Antiquities' conservation department of Upper Egypt. This paper will summarise the key principals and methods of reconstruction developed and employed by the conservation team of the Project. They will be reviewed on the example of the reconstruction work in the Second Pillared Hall of the tomb of Karakhamun (TT 223), undertaken between 2012–2016.

Introduction

Conservation and reconstruction of the Second Pillared Hall of the tomb of Karakhamun (TT 223) was conducted by a Ministry of Antiquities (MoA) conservation team: Ahmed Ali Hussein (Chief Conservator), Afaf Fathallah Philips (Supervisor), Abdelrazk Mohamed Ali, Ali Hassan Ibrahim, Taib Hassan Ibrahim, Said Ali Hassan, Mohamed Ahmed Hussein Shebib, Hassan El Dimmerdash, Mohamed Abu Hakim, Taib Said, Mohamed Badawi (fig. 1).



Fig. 1: MoA conservation team, clockwise from top: Mohamed Badawi, Taib Said, Taib Hassan Ibrahim, Mohamed Ahmed Hussein Shebib, Ali Hassan Ibrahim, Mohamed Abu Hakim, Hassan Dimmerdash, Abdelrazk Mohamed Ali (photo: Katherine Blakeney)

The Condition of the Second Pillared Hall Before Conservation

The Second Pillared Hall (Room V) of the tomb of Karakhamun was cleared between 2009–2011.[1] The ceiling of the hall had completely collapsed, taking down the remains of the walls and the pillars. The degree of destruction of the architectural elements in the Second Pillared Hall is higher than in the first, mainly because the space behind the walls was used as a quarry. The hall measures 8 m x 9.50 m and has three aisles separated by two rows of pillars, two in each row. The central aisle leads to the false door with a statue of Osiris. The false door collapsed almost completely, with only 0.14 m still in situ and a ramp leading to the door and the feet of Osiris. Four more fragments of the statue of Osiris were found during the clearing of the vestibule in the tomb of Karakhamun in 2012 and the court of Karabasken in 2013. The south wall stood only 0.43 m high, the west about 0.35 m, and the north had only a small section (1.38 m x 1.20 m) in situ. The best-preserved wall is the north section of the east wall, connecting to a small section of the ceiling at a height of 2.65 m. The pillars stood from 0.11 m to 0.50 m high (fig. 2).



Fig. 2: Second Pillared Hall before reconstruction (photo: Katherine Blakeney)

Remains of two side rooms were uncovered on the south side of the hall. Only the foundations of the walls were preserved in the 3 m x 2.5 m room (V.A) in the west section of the south wall. The floor is completely destroyed in the room (V.B) in the east section of the south wall. They both contain shafts and undecorated burial chambers. The side room (VI) with an entrance on the north wall had only the outlines of the wall preserved on the floor. The decoration of the doorframe was damaged and its lintel collapsed.

[1] PISCHIKOVA, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 31–72.

On the north-eastern side of the Second Pillared Hall, natural shifting of the bedrock and pressure from the ceiling caused large and small cracks through the east wall. Other cracks were also found on the lower parts of the south wall as a result of the shifting of the bedrock. Additionally, on the lower parts of the pillars SP1, SP2, SP3, SP4, NP1, NP2, NP3 there are significant cracks. Tens of thousands of fragments from the walls, pillars, ceiling, and architrave were found during the excavation. After the fragments were cleaned and registered, they were organised into groups based on their location within the tomb: ceiling, architrave, pillars, and walls. Later, these fragments were further divided and organised according to the texts they belonged to. Fragments were joined in a sandbox and glued together with araldite.

Techniques and Materials Used in Conservation and Reconstruction

Limestone fragments found in the debris were cleaned of soot and dirt with a 5–10% solution of ammonium carbonate in distilled water and consolidated with a 5–10% solution of paraloid B-72 in acetone and primal AC33 in distilled water. Consolidation of weak areas was made with steel rods, lime plaster, and paraloid B-72. Fragments were reattached to the walls with paraloid B-72, araldite 2014 and 1306, and epoxy 150. Cracks were cleaned using an air compressor. Deeper cracks were injected with epoxy in order to stabilise them. Paraloid B72 was applied to a number of areas in order to strengthen the stone. The cracks were subsequently closed by mortar composed of two parts lime, three parts soft sand, one part of hiba, and 10% primal. Lacunae were filled with small chips of limestone and lime plaster with epoxy. Sections of walls and pillars remaining in situ were consolidated and reinforced with steel rods. Metal structures were built to take the weight of the reconstructed sections off the ancient pillars. As a result, the reconstructed section of the pillars, composed of ancient fragments and new limestone, rests on a metal frame built into the floor of the tomb. Courses of new limestone were added to support the fragments of the decoration. Deep sockets are carved in this limestone to receive the ancient fragments and ensure their stability and protection. New limestone was chosen because it is a natural material and it was the same type of stone that was originally used in the tomb. The limestone was quarried in 4 m x 2 m x 3 m blocks from Helwan. The blocks were transported to the site and then cut into the appropriate dimensions with a stone cutting machine (fig. 3).[2]

Preventive Conservation

The conservation team stabilised the bedrock above the north-eastern corner of the Second Pillared Hall. To do this, holes were drilled to receive steel rods. Araldite 1306 was injected into the holes and cracks were closed with mortar. After the upper part of the tomb was stabilised, we began conservation work in the lower part of the Second Pillared Hall. We cleaned the cracks and filled them with soft mortar by injection. Loose fragments were secured into their original position with araldite 1306 on the pillars SP1, SP3, NP2, the south-west wall, and the false door on the west wall.

Reconstruction of the Second Pillared Hall

The reconstruction of the Second Pillared Hall began in 2011, with the construction of the architectural features completed in 2016.[3] Thousands of fragments were reinstated in their original locations, but the reconstruction of the texts and images on the walls and pillars is still a work in progress.

[2] For more on conservation work in the tomb of Karakhamun, see ABDELRAZK MOHAMED ALI, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 161–72; PISCHIKOVA, *et al*., in PISCHIKOVA (ed.). *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis: New Discoveries*, 51–72; PISCHIKOVA, *et al*., in PISCHIKOVA (ed.). *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis: New Discoveries*, 25–50.

[3] The dimensions of the architectural features were calculated by the architect of the Project, Dieter Eigner, and the conservation team. See EIGNER, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 109–17.

Reconstruction of the West Wall[4]

Reconstruction of the west wall started with reinforcing the area behind, which was emptied during stone quarrying in the tomb undertaken by the later inhabitants. Chunks of limestone and mortar were used to fill an empty area, which measured from 2–3 m deep and 3–4 m high. The false door retained only 0.16 m of its original height.

The work on the false door started in 2009 when the first fragments were identified. A large number of fragments from the lower part of this structure were found during the excavation of the Open Court (I) in 2011–2012. This allowed us to plan of a full-size reconstruction of the false door in 2012 and realise it in 2013 and 2014. As most fragments were very small and fragile, the conservation team cut slabs of new limestone and inserted the fragments into 'pockets' carved into the slabs in order to consolidate smaller elements of the false door. These slabs were joined in situ to reconstruct larger features such as a central panel. The calculation of the architectural elements of the false door was done based on the fragments in situ. The profiles of the doorjambs were evident from the remains of the lower part of the door still remaining in place.



Fig. 3: Delivering new limestone to the tomb of Karakhamun (photo: Katherine Blakeney)

[4] The reconstruction of the west wall is supervised by Kenneth Griffin (BD texts) and Elena Pischikova (false door).

The original height of the original false door was calculated based on a reference point from the east wall of the hall. While the north-eastern pilaster was found collapsed, it had been photographed by Eigner in the 1970s when still intact.[5] The section of cavetto cornice topping the pilaster was reconstructed based on the photograph and a direct join that was found between the back of a cornice fragment and the broken bedrock above the pilaster (NP1). The direction of the cornice (east-west) showed that it originally topped an architrave flanking the central aisle and the height of the cornice indicated the height of the ceiling in the central aisle as 3.39 m. This fragment became an important reference for reconstructing the hall's architrave.

The door was built up to 3.39 m (including 0.44 m cavetto). Over 200 decorated fragments were installed into this architectural reconstruction. The false door consists of three superimposed doorframes, a central panel, and a central niche topped with a drum. All the frames are inscribed with different versions of the offering formula. A standing statue of Osiris was also located within the niche. Six fragments of the statue were found in the vestibule and courts of the tombs of Karakhamun and Karabasken: feet in situ, the lower part of the legs, the torso in three fragments, and the crown.

When preparing to reconstruct the false door, several sections of new limestone blocks were cut into different dimensions that fit together to form the base into which the fragments could be joined. We carved the block in the original shape of the false door. A large niche was made for the Osiris statue. The torus moulding and cavetto cornice were also reconstructed.

Finally, the blocks from the false door were joined with the south-western pilaster (SP4) and north-eastern pilaster (NP4). SP4 was found 0.65 m high and was reconstructed up to the height of 2.52 m. Most of its decoration, including texts and vignettes (BD 57: south face, BD 50/V47: east face, and BD 91: north face) was reconstructed. The north-western pilaster (NP4) was indicated only by the remains of the base. It was reconstructed to its original height with the texts of BD 44 on the south face, BD 51 and 104 on the east face, and *sꜣḫw* I, Spell 9 on the north face. A section of its north-eastern corner is the largest architectural fragment found in the Second Pillared hall.[6]

The northern section of the west wall, above the entrance to the burial chamber, had to be constructed from the ground up. A horizontal steel frame was erected from NP4 until the north wall. The frame consisted of three horizontal steel rods, which supported new limestone slabs. The texts of BD 48 and BD 49 were reconstructed on the wall.

The southern section of the west wall was found 0.36 m high, which was subsequently reconstructed up to its original height. Its decoration consists of the text and vignettes of BD 15h and BD 75. The base of a niche was discovered about 0.40 m above the floor with the remains of the feet of a statue. This niche was reconstructed as well.

Reconstruction of the South Wall[7]

We started reconstruction of the south wall from its west section, 3.60 m between the west wall and the entrance of the first side room (V.A), the chapel of Nesamenopet. Only about 0.50 m of the wall was still in situ. Horizontal steel frames were used to support new limestone blocks. This section of the wall was decorated with the offering scene, which included a seated figure of Karakhamun with a list of his titles above his head, an offering list above the offering table, and a standing figure of Karakhamun's brother, Nesamenopet. The figure of Nesamenopet was reconstructed in situ up to the nose line. This standing figure

[5] EIGNER, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten*, pl. 14B.
[6] On the reconstruction of the *Book of the Dead* texts, see GRIFFIN, *EA* 40 (2012), 10–11; GRIFFIN, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 173–99; GRIFFIN, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 251–68.
[7] Reconstruction of the south wall is supervised by Elena Pischikova.

was copied by Lepsius in 1844 and is known from his publication.[8] The figure was destroyed by the collapse of the wall, although thirty-three fragments of Nesamenopet were identified and reconstructed. They include the lower part of the body, a hand, a fragment of the torso, chin, and lips. The doorframe of the entrance to the chapel of Nesamenopet was reconstructed in 2016. It includes two seated figures of Nesamenopet on the bottom of the frame, offering inscriptions on doorjambs, and an offering scene of Nesamenopet on the lintel.

Only the foundations of the walls are preserved in the 3 m x 2.50 m room. A shaft in the south-western corner of the room is 6.80m deep with a roughly carved 2.50 m x 2.50 m undecorated chamber at the bottom. In 2016, the walls were repaired up to 1 m high with new limestone blocks. The second south side room (V.B) in the south-eastern corner of the room has no traces of decoration and only the outline of its configuration on the roughly carved floor with a 5.10 m shaft leading to the 3.50 m x 3.80 m undecorated chamber. The conservation team started rebuilding the walls of this room in 2016. The doorframe of the entrance to this room with the offering scene on the lintel were constructed in 2016. The eastern section of the south wall between the entrances to the side rooms was rebuilt as well. It was decorated with an abbreviated version of the offering scene on the western section of the walls. All the identified fragments of the offering scene were placed on the wall. A few columns of titles copied by Lepsius on the eastern section of the south wall show that it was still intact in the 1840s.[9]

Reconstruction of the East Wall[10]

The southern section of the east wall is the best-preserved architectural element in the Second Pillared Hall. The *Pyramid Texts* (PT 25, 75–77) on the wall have only minor losses. A few fragments were added to the wall in 2016. A small section of painted ceiling still remains in situ in the south-eastern corner of the hall at a height of 2.65 m from the floor. It is the only reference to the height of the side isles in the Second Pillared Hall. The cavetto cornice section above the north-eastern pilaster, discussed in connection with the reconstruction of the false door, is the main reference for the height of the central isle of the hall, which was 3.39 m from the floor. Therefore, the difference between the height of the main and side isles was about 0.70 m. The adjacent north-eastern pilaster (NP1) was completed with new limestone. It was decorated with the texts of BD 27 (west face) and BD 63A (south face). The work on its decoration will be continued in 2018.

The southern section of this wall was about 1 m high in its northern end and gradually sloped southwards to a height of about 0.40 m. We placed a horizontal steel frame above this section because of a major crack. We complemented the ancient wall with new limestone blocks and a large ancient block was placed into its original position near the ceiling. The adjacent south-eastern pilaster (SP1) was preserved up to about 0.65 m. To reconstruct it to the original height, a horizontal steel frame was built and welded with the vertical steel frame of the pilaster. After the steel frames were welded together, new limestone blocks were used to build the remaining section of the pilaster.

Reconstruction of the North Wall[11]

The length of the north wall was originally about 8 m, but only a small fragment of the wall (1.38 m x 1.20 m) was found in situ. The reconstruction of the wall started with the doorframe to the side room (VI), cut into the eastern part of the wall. The room measures 2.50 m x 1.70 m and has a 4 m shaft leading to a small 1.50 m x 0.90 m burial chamber. The room itself and the burial chamber are roughly carved and devoid of decoration. The only decorated element of this chapel was its entrance doorframe. The inscriptions on the doorjambs were deliberately damaged and the lintel with an offering scene was found broken into fourteen

[8] L*D* III, 282d.
[9] L*D Text* III, 288 (bottom right).
[10] Reconstruction of the east wall is supervised by Miguel Molinero-Polo.
[11] Reconstruction of the north wall is supervised by Miguel Molinero-Polo.

fragments of various sizes. In order to stabilise the eastern doorjamb, we placed three steel rods at 45° angles connecting the jamb to the bedrock. These steel rods were placed 0.40 m apart. After the jamb was secured to the bedrock, the cracks were filled with soft lime mortar. The western jamb was reconstructed with four courses of new limestone blocks. To create support for the lintel in its original position 1.80 m above the floor, a horizontal steel frame was fixed on the jambs. Large fragments of the lintel were connected with steel rods, secured with araldite 1306, and placed on a metal platform above the entrance. The gaps were filled with small pieces of new limestone and lime mortar.

A 6 m long horizontal steel frame was constructed between the doorframe of the side room and the west wall to support the new limestone slabs and relieve the pressure from the remaining fragments of the ancient wall. This section of the north wall was then reconstructed with five courses of new limestone blocks. Throughout the length of the north wall, vertical steel frames were built every 3m in order to support the ceiling, which will be built in the future. The northern wall was decorated with the largest offering scene in the tomb. Fragments of the seated figure of Karakhamun (torso, arms, legs, and head) and an offering table were reconstructed on the wall. Twenty-eight columns of the offering list and *Pyramid Texts* are still work in progress.

Reconstruction of the Pillars[12]

All four pillars, two on the south side (SP2, SP3) and two on the north side (NP2, NP3) were found collapsed with an average remaining height in situ of about 0.50 m. Architectural reconstruction of the pillars was completed in 2016. The dimensions of the reconstructed pillars were based on their lower portions still in situ. The height of the sides of the pillars facing the central aisle of the hall was estimated based on the position of the cavetto cornice fragment above NP1, discussed in the false door section, and the width of the best-preserved fragments of architrave. The height of the sides of the pillars facing the side aisles was estimated based on the position of the small ceiling section in the north-eastern corner of the room and the height of the northern section of the east wall, the best-preserved wall in the hall. After the consolidation of the remaining section, a vertical steel rod was placed into every pillar. Horizontal steel frames built into the floor of the tomb were placed above the ancient sections of the pillars to take the weight off the remains of the original structure. The new limestone blocks used by the conservators to reconstruct the pillars were about 1.05 m x 0.50 x 0.50 m. Three to four courses of blocks were used in the reconstruction of the pillars. Between each layer of blocks and around the steel rod, soft lime mortar was used. After the pillars were reconstructed the ancient fragments were positioned and secured onto the pillars.[13]

Architrave and Cavetto[14]

After the construction of the pillars was completed, the team moved to the reconstruction of the architrave topped with a cavetto cornice over the central aisle of the hall. Prior to placing the stones on the pillars, two horizontal steel frames were put inside each stone. Large limestone blocks were erected over each pillar. Each block extended halfway onto each pillar. After the stones were erected, the horizontal steel rods within these stones were welded with a horizontal steel frame located on the top of each pillar and connected with the vertical steel rod in the pillar. Ancient sections of the architrave were incorporated with new stone during and after its construction. About a hundred blocks of various sizes were identified as fragments of the architraves with offering formulas carved in painted sunk relief or sections of painted cavetto cornice. Both architraves were fully reconstructed during the 2015 and 2016 seasons (figs. 4–5).

[12] Reconstruction of the pillars is supervised by Kenneth Griffin.
[13] See n. 6 above.
[14] Reconstruction of the architrave and the entrance door is supervised by Elena Pischikova.



Fig. 4: Conservators Mohamed Abu Hakim, Ali Hassan Ibrahim, and Taib Said reconstructing the northern architrave and cavetto cornice in the Second Pillared Hall (photo: Katherine Blakeney)



Fig. 5: Second Pillared Hall after reconstruction (photo: Katherine Blakeney)

Entrance

The two doorframes (front and back) of the entrance to the Second Pillared Hall were constructed in 2016. Only about 1 m high sections of the jambs of the entrance were found in situ, which were complemented with new limestone blocks (fig. 6). After the jambs of both doorframes were completed, three slabs of new limestone were placed across them to reconstruct the ceiling of the entrance structure. The reconstructed top sections consist of lintels and a cavetto cornice above the front doorframe. The overall height of the door frames, including the front cavetto cornice, is 3.30 m (front) and 3.39 m (back). The heights of the doorframes were calculated based on the height of the ceiling levels in the First and Second Pillared Halls.

The front frame was designed as a two-step door outlined with torus moulding and flanked by two single-stem papyrus semi-columns. The inscriptions were re-carved for the Twenty-sixth Dynasty usurper of the tomb, Ankhefendjehuty. The rear door frame remained inscribed for Karakhamun. It features two seated figures of Karakhamun, his titles and offering texts, as well as an offering scene on the lintel. Reconstructions of the decoration of the entrance area, including the *Pyramid Text* (PT 670) and a scene of Karakhamun accompanied by Maat, Anubis, and Apis, are a still work in progress and will be continued in 2018. Reconstruction work will also continue in the First Pillared Hall and the *Tornische* of the tomb (fig. 7).



Fig. 6: Entrance to the Second Pillared Hall before reconstruction (photo: Katherine Blakeney)

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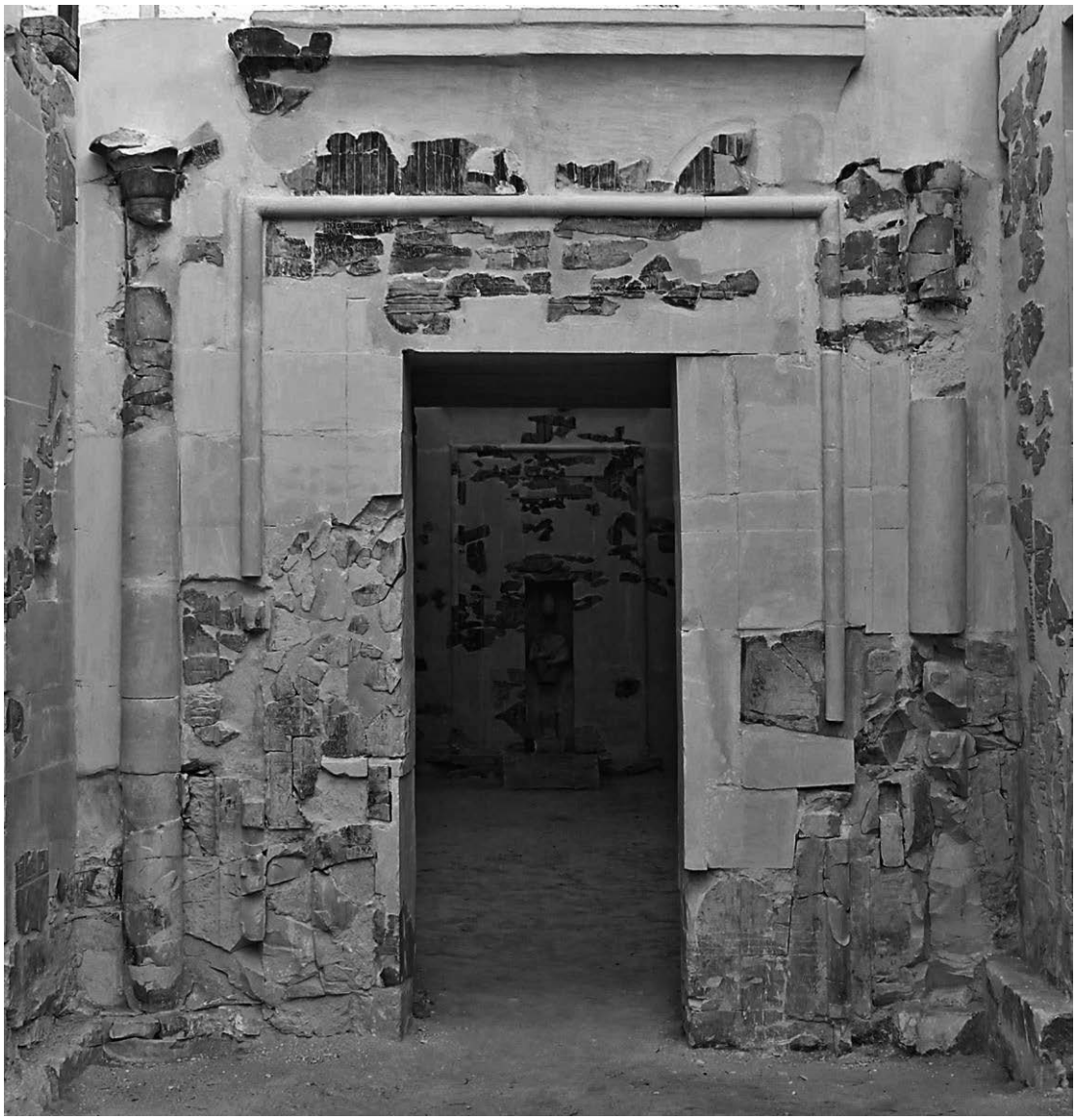


Fig. 7: Entrance to the Second Pillared Hall in the process of reconstruction (photo: Katherine Blakeney)

A Preliminary Report on the Hours of the Night in the Tomb of Karakhamun (TT 223)

Kenneth Griffin[1]

Abstract

The tomb of Karakhamun contains the earliest version of the *Hours of the Night* attested in a private sepulchre. It is also the earliest source to contain the series of Hour Watch hymns, which form the basis of the *Hours of the Night* during the Graeco-Roman Period. This paper presents a preliminary report on the *Hours of the Night* within the tomb of Karakhamun prior to their intended reconstruction during the 2018 season.

Introduction

The pillars within the First Pillared Hall of the tomb of Karakhamun are decorated with the *Ritual of the Hours*.[2] The *Hours of the Day*[3] are located on the four pillars to the northern side of the court (three hours per pillar), which are arranged to be read from east to west. On the other hand, the *Hours of the Night*,[4] on the pillars of the southern side of the court, are arranged so that they read from west to east. In doing so, the hours follow the solar cycle, a pattern already present in the memorial temples of the Eighteenth Dynasty.[5] The tomb of Karakhamun contains the earliest attestation of the extended version of the *Hours of the Night*,[6] which consists of an introduction (Part A), excerpts of the *Book of the Dead* (Part B), and a series of Hour Watch hymns.[7] While only the lower parts of the pillars are preserved in situ, many fragments belonging to the *Hours* have been identified, already facilitating improvements to several uncertain readings and lacunae present in the parallel versions. This article will present a brief overview of the *Hours of the Night* within the tomb of Karakhamun prior to their intended reconstruction during the 2018 season.

The Hours of the Night

As noted above, the *Hours of the Night* are arranged to be read from west to east, with three hours per pillar. The first three hours are inscribed on SP5 (Southern Pillar 5), hours four–six on SP4, seven–nine on SP3, and the final three on SP2.[8] The texts of the hours are written retrograde over eight columns, a method also used

[1] I am most grateful to Elena Pischikova, the Director of the South Asasif Conservation Project (SACP), for the permission to work on this ritual. None of this work could be accomplished without the excellent work of the SACP team members, particularly the Egyptian conservators. I am also grateful to my colleagues Erhart Graefe and Miguel Molinero Polo, who also trawl through thousands of fragments from the tomb of Karakhamun. Much of this paper was written while I was in residence at Wilkinson House, Luxor, during the summer of 2017. I am most indebted to Pearce Paul Creasman and the University of Arizona Egyptian Expedition for their use of the facilities at this time. Thanks are also due to Meg Gundlach for proof-reading this paper.

[2] MOLINERO POLO, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 139, 156; PISCHIKOVA, *BMSAES* 12 (2009), 18; PISCHIKOVA, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 88.

[3] For the *Hours of the Day* in the tomb of Karakhamun, see GRAEFE, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*; GRAEFE, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 91–5.

[4] For the *Hours of the Night*, see GRIFFIN, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*.

[5] GRIFFIN, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 98.

[6] For the dating issues surrounding the tombs of Karakhamun and Harwa, see EINAUDI, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*.

[7] For the different parts in the *Hours of the Night*, see GRIFFIN, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 106–14. Note that Part C was previously referred to as 'awakening hymns'.

[8] PISCHIKOVA, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, fig. 3.4

within the tomb for the *Book of the Dead*.[9] The texts are carved in sunk relief before being filled with blue pigment, which is also used for the column dividing lines. Additionally, red pigment is used to fill several signs, such as *r* ( ), *m* ( ), *t* ( ), *k3* ( ). On some pillar faces, particularly for the second and eighth hours, the hieroglyphs are heavily worn as a result of livestock rubbing against the surface during the more recent occupation of the tomb.[10] This type of damage is present throughout the tomb, particularly along the southern wall of the First Pillared Hall that contains BD 17. Furthermore, the name of Karakhamun was hacked out in most cases, in order to be replaced by those of Nespakashuty D.[11] This practice occurred throughout the First Pillared Hall, with many of the name plaques inscribed for Nespakashuty still in situ. In some cases, particularly the Third Hour, the name of Karakhamun has not been cut out, but instead the signs were chiselled off before being plastered over, a practice more akin to *damnatio memoriae*.

Each hour is accompanied by a vignette in which three figures are depicted. Only the vignette of the First Hour differs from the others, in that Karakhamun is depicted standing (on the left) in adoration before Re (the deity encountered in this hour) and the female personification of the hour. This vignette is now in the Ägyptisches Museum Berlin (ÄM 2110.1), having been acquired by Lepsius in 1844 during his Prussian expedition.[12] The remaining vignettes, which are heavily fragmented but brightly painted, can be reconstructed based on the parallel scenes in the tomb of Padihorresnet (TT 196).[13] These vignettes are fronted by the deities encountered in the introduction of each hour, who stand holding *w3s*-sceptres.[14] Next, the female personification of the hour is represented, each with her hands by her sides and a star atop her head.[15] The final figures are perhaps all male deities, holding *w3s*-sceptres, but are not named in the texts of the hours. While all the figures are labelled in the vignettes in the tomb of Padihorresnet, only the female personification of the Ninth Hour is so far named in the tomb of Karakhamun.

First Hour of the Night

Only a few hieroglyphs are preserved on the base of the pillar containing the First Hour of the Night.[16] Nonetheless, these hieroglyphs proved useful in assigning ÄM 2110.1 to the First Hour—the remains of hieroglyphs below the vignette follow directly on from the base of the pillar. Furthermore, ÄM 2110.1 should join directly to several fragments recovered from the tomb of Karakhamun, thus providing a good reconstruction for the upper half of the pillar. In total, thirty-eight fragments of this hour have been identified, with many large fragments joining together. Most of the fragments were found in the adjacent shaft and burial chamber of Padihor (V. 5.1 & V. 5.2).[17] The text of the First Hour consists of BD 22 written over the first three columns, followed by BD 56, which starts at the bottom of column three and concludes towards the base of column five. The remainder of the pillar is inscribed with the First Hour Watch hymn, in which Karakhamun becomes the manifestation of Re.[18] The Hour Watch ritual can be reconstructed thanks to the parallel text written in the coffin of Besenmut (CCG 41047), which is dated to the beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dyn-

[9] For a discussion on the use of retrograde writing, *cf*. CHEGODAEV, *DE* 35 (1996); FISCHER, in *L'écriture et l'art de l'Égypte ancienne*; GOELET JR., in D'AURIA (ed.) *Offerings to the Discerning Eye*; NIWIŃSKI, in *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri*; SIMPSON, in JASNOW, WIDMER (eds.), *Illuminating Osiris*.
[10] PISCHIKOVA, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 42–3.
[11] PISCHIKOVA, in OPPENHEIM, GOELET JR. (eds.), *The Art and Culture of Ancient Egypt*.
[12] GRIFFIN, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, n. 27.
[13] GRAEFE, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet* II, pls. V7–V8 [26–37].
[14] For the names of the deities, see GRIFFIN, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, table 6.3.
[15] For the names of the personifications, see GRIFFIN, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, table 6.2.
[16] MOLINERO POLO, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 156.
[17] For Padihor, see GRAEFE, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 251–7.
[18] GRIFFIN, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 115.

asty.[19] Karakhamun's version concludes with the wish that he be rescued 'from everything evil' (*m-ˁ ḫt-nb<t> ḏw<t>*). However, Besenmut's version continues with 'because indeed he is you and vice versa. If Osiris NN is healthy, you are healthy and vice versa'. It seems likely that these final passages were omitted due to lack of space, although since they represent the only two known sources for the First Hour Watch, this cannot be determined for certain.

Second Hour of the Night

A small number of signs are preserved at the base of the pillar face containing the Second Hour of the Night, though they are largely worn due to the reuse of the tomb by later occupants.[20] ÄM 2110.1 also depicts the front (right) side of the vignette, which shows the upper half of Sekhmet,[21] the deity whom the personification of this hour 'stands for'.[22] In addition to this, a large fragment containing the feet of Sekhmet has been identified, which joins with other fragments containing the text of the hour. In total, twenty-four fragments of this hour have been identified. The Second Hour consists of the final invocation of BD 71, which occupies the first three and a half columns. The remaining space is occupied by the Second Hour Watch hymn, were Karakhamun becomes the manifestation of Min.[23] Given the amount of space reserved for the Hour Watch hymn, the scribe often uses the full writing of words and the name of Karakhamun is preceded by a string of titles. For example, in the coffin of Besenmut,[24] part of the hymn was read by Elias as *špss nty m ḥwt-bnw nty ḫr ḥnn.f*, 'the august eternal image that is in the Mansion of the Phoenix which holds his phallus'.[25] Here the word for phallus is written only with  , thus making its reading ambiguous. However, in the tomb of Karakhamun the word is written fully as *mḫꜣ* (), one that also means phallus, thus providing the intended reading.[26]

Third Hour of the Night

The Third Hour is the best-preserved pillar face of SP5, with close to a fifth of the height present at columns four to six (fig. 1).[27] The surface was plastered over at some stage, with several hieroglyphs still partially covered. Twenty-eight fragments belonging to this hour have been identified so far, including two large adjoining fragments spanning seven columns. A fragment containing the feet of a male deity, who stood behind the personification of the hour, has been identified. Additionally, three further adjoining fragments likely depict the personification of the hour. The text of this hour is made up of the third invocation of BD 71 and the Third Hour Watch hymn—BD 71 occupies the first three and a half columns, with the Hour Watch ritual covering the remainder.[28] Like the Second Hour, the scribe has filled the extra space by including the full or additional titles of Karakhamun. For example, in columns six to seven, the full title *ˁḳ ḫr ḥꜣt pr ḫr pḥ* is written instead of the more commonly used abbreviated form of *ˁḳ ḥꜣt*.[29] The only parallel to the Hour Watch ritual is again the coffin of Besenmut.[30]

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[19] GAUTHIER, *Cercueils anthropoids*, I, 133; II, pl. 10; GRIFFIN, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 100.
[20] MOLINERO POLO, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 156.
[21] GRIFFIN, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, fig. 6.6.
[22] For a discussion on the *ḥˁ.s n* X-deity formula, see GRAEFE forthcoming.
[23] GRIFFIN, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 115.
[24] GAUTHIER, *Cercueils anthropoids*, I, 134–5; II, pl. 10.
[25] ELIAS, *Coffin Inscription in Egypt after the New Kingdom*, 555.
[26] *Wb* II, 175. 5.
[27] MOLINERO POLO, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 156.
[28] GRIFFIN, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 115–6.
[29] For the titles of Karakhamun, see NAUNTON, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*.
[30] GAUTHIER, *Cercueils anthropoids*, I, 126; II, pl. 10.



Fig. 1: Third Hour of the Night (photo: K. Griffin)

Fourth Hour of the Night

Around one third of the text of the Fourth Hour of the Night is preserved in situ.[31] Here, the name of Karakhamun has been chiselled over rather than being completely excised. Thirty-three fragments of this hour have been identified thus far, including a group of nineteen that connect and can be located slightly above the stump of the pillar. The text of this hour is composed of the first invocation of BD 71, which occupies the first two and three-quarter columns, with the Fourth Hour Watch hymn written over the remainder of the pillar.[32] The coffin of Besenmut contains the only complete attestation of this Hour Watch hymn,[33] although traces are also preserved on P. CCG 58027 (formerly Papyrus Boulaq 7).[34] However, the endings of the three texts differ slightly, with Karakhamun having the additional phrase *mwt mwtt ḫt-nbt ḏwt*, 'male and female dead, and everything evil', and P. CCG 58027 [*mwt mwtt ḫt-*]*nbt ḏwt ḥmwt-r3*, '[male and female dead, and] every[thing] evil, etc'.

Fifth Hour of the Night

The Fifth Hour of the Night in the tomb of Karakhamun is one of the best-preserved, with over one third of the pillar face intact and an additional twenty fragments belonging to this hour identified (fig. 2).[35] However, the text of the hour—the first litany of BD 68 written over nearly four columns of text, followed by the Fifth

[31] MOLINERO POLO, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 156.
[32] GRIFFIN, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 116–7.
[33] GAUTHIER, *Cercueils anthropoids*, I, 126–7; II, pl. 10.
[34] GRIFFIN, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 104; PRIES, *Das nächtliche Stundenritual*, 30, 32. The Fourth Hour of the Night on the birth house at Dendera, which is also published by Pries, does not match those of Karakhamun and Besenmut.
[35] MOLINERO POLO, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 156.

Hour Watch hymn on the remainder of the pillar—has no complete parallel.[36] In fact, the text in the tomb of Karakhamun is already the most complete version, despite the many lacunae. Besenmut's version stops after the introduction of the Hour Watch hymn, in which the deceased is said to the manifestation of Osiris-Wenennefer.[37] P. CCG 58027 is heavily damaged for this hour, with only a few short sections preserved.[38] More recently, an unpublished papyrus (P. Carlsberg 669 A) containing a number of Osirian rituals has come to light.[39] This papyrus has several sections that directly parallel those of Karakhamun and P. CCG 58027, providing a better understanding of the content of the hour. The hymn of this hour includes the section 'he has come in darkness in order to moor the great *Neshmet*-barque', the sacred barque of Osiris, as well as a description of Osiris enduring within his sarcophagus (*ḏbꜣt*).



Fig. 2: Fifth Hour of the Night (photo: K. Griffin)

[36] GRIFFIN, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 117.
[37] GAUTHIER, *Cercueils anthropoids*, I, 127–8; II, pl. 10.
[38] PRIES, *Das nächtliche Stundenritual*, 33–7.
[39] I am grateful to Andrea Kucharek for bringing this text to my attention and for providing the transcription.

Sixth Hour of the Night

In the tomb of Karakhamun, more than one third of the text for the Sixth Hour is preserved on the pillar (fig. 3).[40] An additional fifteen fragments have been identified, including one containing the feet of Seth, the deity encountered in this hour. The text consists of the introduction to BD 68, which is written over the first four and a quarter columns, followed by the Sixth Hour Watch hymn over the remaining surface.[41] The Hour Watch hymn can be largely reconstructed thanks to P. CCG 58027 and the text from the mammisi at Dendera, though neither is fully preserved.[42] The text in the tomb of Karakhamun has already helped to fill some lacunae as well as clarifying difficult sections. For example, the manifestation of the deceased in the Hour Watch hymn is identified as Isis in the list from P. CCG 58027 and the vignette of the papyrus, while in the mammisi at Ismant el-Kharab a female deity is represented. However, the tomb of Karakhamun and the mammisi at Dendera name *Rs-wḏ3*, the 'Intact Awakening'. In his analysis of the texts at Dendera and P. CCG 58027, Pries interpreted *Rs-wḏ3* as an epithet, noting that it probably followed the name of Osiris.[43] Though the well-preserved section in the tomb of Karakhamun clearly emphasises that *Rs-wḏ3* is written alone, it is still possible that it is used as a designation for Osiris, particularly with regards to the content of this hour. The ending of Karakhamun's text also differs slightly from that of Dendera: the former reads as *nḥm.k sw m-ˁ ḫt-nbt ḏw<t>*, 'may you save him from everything evil', while the latter as *nḥm.k sw m-ˁ nh<s> nty ii r sḥ nty.f im.f NN ntf nṯr ˁ3 m k3r*, 'my you save him from the Sethian, the one who comes to the chapel where he is, NN, he is great in his shrine'.



Fig. 3: Sixth Hour of the Night (photo: K. Griffin)

[40] MOLINERO POLO, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 156.
[41] GRIFFIN, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 117.
[42] PRIES, *Das nächtliche Stundenritual*, 38–41.
[43] PRIES, *Das nächtliche Stundenritual*, 41.

Seventh Hour of the Night

For the Seventh Hour, roughly a fifth of the text is preserved in situ (Fig. 4).[44] However, ninety-five fragments belonging to this hour have been identified, including thirty-one from the vignette. This vignette, which is the most complete from the *Hours of the Night* in the tomb, depicts the falcon-headed deity Khonsu accompanied by the female personification of the hour and another male deity. Though the figure of Khonsu was originally identified as Re-Horakhty, especially since his crown is a sun-disc with encircling *uraeus* as opposed to the solar-disc and lunar-crest expected with Khonsu, the latter is explicitly named in the text.[45] The text of this hour is composed of BD 74 and the Seventh Hour Watch hymn.[46] The Hour Watch hymn can be reconstructed based on P. CCG 58027, the only other preserved version of the hymn.[47] According to P. CCG 58027, the manifestation of the deceased in this hour is Nephthys, although this section is not preserved in the tomb of Karakhamun. Given the large number of fragments identified thus far, this hour will be one of the first to be reconstructed during the 2018 season.



Fig. 4: Seventh Hour of the Night (photo: K. Griffin)

Eighth Hour of the Night

Less than a fifth of the Eighth Hour remains in situ and what is left is heavily worn as a result of livestock rubbing against the surface.[48] A total of sixty-two fragments have been identified thus far, many of which directly join with each other. In particular, most of the fragments are located along the right side of the pillar face, with column seven missing only a few signs, and this hour will therefore be the first reconstructed during the 2018 season. The Eighth Hour is composed of BD 28, written over almost five full columns, and the

[44] MOLINERO POLO, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 156, fig. 9.10.
[45] GRIFFIN, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, fig. 6.3; PISCHIKOVA, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, fig. 4.13.
[46] GRIFFIN, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 117–8.
[47] PRIES, *Das nächtliche Stundenritual*, 42–7.
[48] MOLINERO POLO, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 156.

Eighth Hour Watch hymn, written over the remainder of the pillar face.[49] The Hour Watch hymn can be fully reconstructed based on the tomb of Pabasa and P. CCG 58027.[50] The restricted space for the Hour Watch hymn has resulted in words being abbreviated, with some even omitted entirely. Additionally, the name of the manifestation of the deceased is written as Bebon, rather than Geb as it appears in P. CCG 58027.[51] This is perhaps the result of the scribe mistaking the writing of  for , which have a fairly similar orthography, during the transmission of the text. However, it is also possible that Bebon is the correct manifestation with Geb being the error and further sources for this hymn are needed in order to determine this.

Ninth Hour of the Night

Around a fifth of the Ninth Hour is preserved in situ within the tomb of Karakhamun, supplemented by an additional fifty-six fragments.[52] This includes two fragments depicting the female personification of the hour who, unusually, is named within the vignette. Additionally, a large group of adjoining fragments spanning seven columns have seen identified. Just over five columns are taken up by BD 26, with the rest containing the Ninth Hour Watch hymn.[53] As with the Eighth Hour, the Hour Watch hymn has been squeezed into the final columns, often being abbreviated. The hymn is also preserved in the tomb of Pabasa and P. CCG 58027, as well as partially preserved in the Roman mammisi at Dendera.[54] Karakhamun's text closely mirrors Pabasa's version, while differing slightly from P. CCG 58027 on occasions. As with the other faces of this pillar containing the Seventh and Eighth hours, the Ninth Hour will be one of the first to be reconstructed during the 2018 season.

Tenth Hour of the Night

Only around one fifth of the pillar face remains in situ, with the eighth column almost completely destroyed (Fig. 5).[55] So far, only four fragments of this hour have been identified, making it the poorest reconstruction to date. However, it is possible to determine that BD 25 concludes just before the end of column three, with the Tenth Hour Watch hymn introduced by the *ḏd-mdw*-formula directly after.[56] The Hour Watch hymn ends at the bottom of column seven, indicating that the final column likely contained additional wishes for the deceased. Unlike the Eighth and Ninth hours, the scribe had excess space with which to compose the text, in addition to including longer titles. The hymn can be reconstructed in full thanks to the parallel versions in the tomb of Pabasa, the mammisi at Dendera, and P. CCG 58027.[57] What is important to note is that at Dendera the written content of the Tenth and Eleventh hours have been reversed though the numbers stated are in order.[58] Additionally, the manifestations of both hours are reversed in the list contained in P. CCG 58027, despite being correctly identified within the text itself.[59] This pillar face also provides three excellent examples where the name of Karakhamun was removed and replaced by name plaques.

[49] GRIFFIN, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 118.
[50] PRIES, *Das nächtliche Stundenritual*, 47–51.
[51] GRIFFIN, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 112.
[52] MOLINERO POLO, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 156.
[53] GRIFFIN, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 118–9.
[54] PRIES, *Das nächtliche Stundenritual*, 51–7.
[55] MOLINERO POLO, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 156.
[56] GRIFFIN, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 119.
[57] PRIES, *Das nächtliche Stundenritual*, 68–74.
[58] PRIES, *Das nächtliche Stundenritual*, 58.
[59] For the manifestations, see GRIFFIN, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, table 6.5.



Fig. 5: Tenth Hour of the Night (photo: K. Griffin)

Eleventh Hour of the Night

For the Eleventh Hour, only a few hieroglyphs belonging to the first six columns are preserved in situ.[60] However, twenty-three fragments of this hour have been identified to date. BD 24 is written over the first four and a half columns, with the Eleventh Hour Watch hymn on the remaining surface,[61] resulting in the text of the Hour Watch being condensed in order to accommodate the available space. As with the previous two hours, the Hour Watch hymn can be fully reconstructed based on the parallels in the tomb of Pabasa, the mammisi at Dendera, and P. CCG 58027.[62] In the sections that are persevered, Karakhamun's text closely matches that of Pabasa's.

Twelfth Hour of the Night

For the Twelfth Hour of the Night around one third of the text is preserved in situ, with an additional twenty fragments identified in storage (Fig. 6).[63] BD 67 is written over the first three and a half columns, with the final Hour Watch hymn over the remainder.[64] The execution of the hieroglyphs on this pillar face are some of the most exquisite in the tomb of Karakhamun, perhaps an indication that it was one of the first surfaces to have been carved. The Hour Watch hymn is well preserved in the tomb of Pabasa and P. CCG 58027, while

[60] MOLINERO POLO, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 156.
[61] GRIFFIN, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 119.
[62] PRIES, *Das nächtliche Stundenritual*, 58–68.
[63] MOLINERO POLO, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 156.
[64] GRIFFIN, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 119–20.

the version at Dendera is only preserved in places.[65] The text of P. CCG 58027 differs slightly from that of Pabasa and Karakhamun, with the earlier two sources clearly sharing a common model. For example, a line in P. CCG 58027 reads as *pȝy.k ḫprw ꜥȝ ꜥnḫ nty m ỉwnw šmꜥ*, 'your great living manifestation, which is in the Upper Egyptian Heliopolis',[66] while Pabasa's text and the preserved parts in Karakhamun's read as *snn.k ꜥȝ ꜥnḫ m ỉwnw šmꜥ*, 'your great living image in Upper Egyptian Heliopolis'. Additionally, this line is directly followed in the versions of Karakhamun and Pabasa by *my ir.k m ḫprw.k n ỉtm rw-ꜥȝ-pḥty-m-ḥꜥw*, 'come, in your manifestation of Atum, the great and powerful lion in the flesh', which is completely absent in P. CCG 58027.



Fig. 6: Twelfth Hour of the Night (photo: K. Griffin)

[65] PRIES, *Das nächtliche Stundenritual*, 74–80.
[66] PRIES, *Das nächtliche Stundenritual*, 76–7.

Conclusion

The tomb of Karakhamun contains the earliest version of the *Hours of the Night* attested in a private sepulchre, a text that becomes commonplace during the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth dynasties.[67] It is also the earliest source to contain the series of Hour Watch hymns, which form the basis of the *Hours of the Night* during the Graeco-Roman Period. While the pillars within the tomb are heavily damaged, hundreds of fragments belonging to the *Hours of the Night* have been identified thus far. The tomb of Karakhamun holds huge potential for our understanding of this ritual, particularly as it currently stands as the most complete source for the Fifth Hour. Reconstruction of the pillars containing the *Hours of the Night* is scheduled for the 2018 season, when many more fragments are expected to be identified.

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[67] For the sources of the *Hours of the Night*, see GRIFFIN, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, table 6.1. To this, add the tomb of Montuemhat (TT 34), the burial chamber of Psamtik (within the TT 36 complex), the *ḳrsw*-coffin of Namenekhpare (Cairo CG 41010), and P. Carlsberg 669 A (containing the Hour Watch hymn of the Fifth Hour).

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Palaeographical Peculiarities and Scribal Handwriting in the Burial Chamber of Karakhamun (TT 223)

Miguel Á. Molinero Polo & Andrea Rodríguez Valls*

Abstract

The images covering Karakhamun's Burial Chamber stand out not only for their bright colours, but also by their accompanying texts. The latter are written mainly in cursive hieroglyphs, as if they were transferred from a papyrus or a coffin onto the walls and ceiling. Hence, they provide the oldest examples of this writing during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. This article focuses on the peculiarities of these signs: the process of copying the textual compositions, the spatial distribution of the hieroglyphs, the differences of ductus depending on the orientation of the texts, as well as a significant number of particular palaeographic features. Due to the lack of adequate comparisons, it cannot be determined whether the latter are specific to their authors or to the calligraphy used in the period when the tomb was built. These characteristics, some of which have only been recognised in specific panels of the Burial Chamber, are used as a basis to identify the distinctive forms of writing of at least two different scribes.

Introduction

The interest in cursive hieroglyphs among specialists in Egyptian palaeography is largely a recent phenomenon. Their relative ease of identification makes systematic catalogues as a tool for reading documents in this writing unnecessary. On the other hand, the idea that there is scarcely any evolution in the ductus of the signs—quite widespread among the specialists—seemed to make their analysis even less attractive. However, important progress has been made in the last two decades. The idea that cursive hieroglyphs could be considered as a stage of development between hieratic and hieroglyphic scripts has been rejected: they are now seen as a cursive writing with its own identity,[1] depending on hieroglyphs as an abbreviated version, but independent from the hieratic.[2] Moreover, a brief catalogue of these signs has also been published, although based on a very limited number of sources.[3] As for the cursive hieroglyphs of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, two studies have focused on the identification of the specific form of some signs, which may be a chronological indication (as signalled by the study of Gardiner V28[4]) or a testimony of the cultural characteristics of the period (A50 and V16 as evidence of archaism).[5] None of these forms appear among the signs examined in the following pages.

This article aims to provide a perspective on the different writings used during the Kushite Period through the detailed palaeographical analysis of a unique document, the texts of the main Burial Chamber of Karakhamun (TT 223). They were written with black paint, mainly in cursive hieroglyphs, on its plastered walls and ceiling, with the same technique as the one used to trace texts on the wooden objects of the funerary equipment. The signs present a series of peculiarities that were examined following the basic principles

* The authors thank the editors of this volume for their careful reading and useful comments. We are also grateful to L. Díaz-Iglesias Llanos for her comments on a first draft of this paper and for inviting us to the Seminar *Literatura funeraria del Egipto antiguo. El Libro de la Salida al Día*, organised by J.M. Galán and herself, held at the Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales, Madrid, in autumn 2017, where some of the issues of our research were exposed and discussed. We also thank E. Pischikova for including us in the research team of the SACP.

[1] ALLAM, *ASAE* 81 (2007), 33–7.

[2] GRAEFE, in VERHOEVEN, *Ägyptologische 'Binsen'-Weisheiten*, 119–42.

[3] ALI, *GM* 180 (2001), 9–21.

[4] TAYLOR, in BACKES, MUNRO, STÖHR (eds.), *Totenbuch-Forschungen*, 357–64. From here on, the signs will be referred to by their Gardiner codes (*Egyptian Grammar*, 442–543).

[5] SHEIKHOLESLAMI, in HAWASS, DER MANUELIAN, HUSSEIN (eds.), *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt*, 408–12.

of palaeographic analysis used in the discipline,[6] with a specific emphasis on the materiality of the writing process. Once these particularities were identified, it was possible to recognise that some of these features were related to specific areas of the chamber. The authors of this article are aware of the difficulty and degree of uncertainty involved in identifying the calligraphy of a scribe. Several Egyptologists have already highlighted the subjectivity of certain features: the shape of the signs of a single individual may change for various reasons, from the adaptation to the different kinds of surfaces and type of document (literary, administrative), to the personal situation as well as the possible variations in the course of a lifetime, whereas the ductus of two different people may be similar if they learnt from the same teacher or if it represented a local tradition.[7] Even so, we consider that in the case of TT 223, the grouping of several distinctive features is sufficiently clear to allow distinguishing at least two scribes' hands, or two groups of them.

The Burial Chamber of TT 223

Karakhamun's Burial Chamber was rediscovered by the South Asasif Conservation Project (SACP) in the summer of 2010. At that time, it was severely damaged. Besides cracks and fallen blocks on every surface, a large section of the northern wall was found dislocated and displaced, while the eastern wall was completely lost, as was the eastern third of the ceiling. Since then, a large proportion of their fragments have been identified and relocated back to their original places. The identification of the hieroglyphs on every fallen block has been a fundamental guide for this reconstruction.[8] One of the first conclusions of this process has been to acknowledge that the decoration of the chamber was completely finished by the ancient artists.

The ensemble of the texts written in the Burial Chamber is small and it has a quite restricted scope:[9] a) the name of the deceased and one of his titles, identifying his two figures beside the door;[10] b) two parts of spell 125 of the *Book of Going Out in Daylight*: the 'declaration of innocence before the forty-two judges' (BD 125B) in the columns; and the 'address to the deities who are in the Hall of the Two Goddesses Maat' (BD 125C) in the horizontal line;[11] c) the legends of the judgement scene represented on the eastern wall;[12] and d) the identification of the asterisms and deities represented on the astronomical chart that covers the ceiling.[13] The usual practice in Late Period tombs—as well as in most *Book of the Dead* papyri—is that funerary compositions are written in reverse. The only text of the Burial Chamber susceptible to this disposition is spell 125B, since legends (c) are not usually written in that manner and astronomical charts (d)

[6] FISCHER, in CAMINOS, FISCHER, *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy*, 29–50.

[7] BOUVIER, *Annales de la Fondation Fyssen* 17 (2002), 13–4; DORN in VERHOEVEN, *Ägyptologische 'Binsen'-Weisheiten*, 175–7, with references to previous studies on this subject.

[8] MOLINERO POLO, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 269–72.

[9] The codes used to refer the location of each text in the Burial Chamber are:

- CS and CN correspond to the texts in the southern and northern part of the ceiling.
- HL N and HL S correspond to the text on the horizontal line regarding their actual cardinal orientation.
- JSO, JST, and JSD correspond to the texts included in the judgement scene for Osiris (O), Thoth (T), and the deceased (D).
- N and S (also NW, NE, SE, and NW) correspond to texts written on the columns of the northern and southern walls.

All those abbreviations are followed by the number of column or line, if required. The numbering follows the usual reading order of the confessions before the judges and the decans of the astronomical charts, beginning, in both cases, with the ceiling and walls in the west.

[10] MOLINERO POLO, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 272–3.

[11] MOLINERO POLO, RODRÍGUEZ VALLS, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis. New Discoveries*, 202–9. On the antecedents of the text, see MOLINERO POLO, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 276–85.

[12] On this scene, see MOLINERO POLO, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 285–8. For the texts, see MOLINERO POLO, RODRÍGUEZ VALLS, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis. New Discoveries*, 206, 209.

[13] MOLINERO POLO, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 201–38.

have a specific order. In the declaration of innocence, each invocation to the judges occupies a single column, in front of the god to whom it is addressed. As an individual text, it fits the iconographic orientation of the scene and is not retrograde. But taken together—as in our own publication in which they appear one after another—the columns make up a text that is read in reverse and surely the master copy used as a model, if it did not include the images, would have been that way as well.

So far, about 1100 signs on the walls and 300 signs on the astronomical ceiling have been recognised.[14] They correspond to more than 130 different hieroglyphs. This is not a large number when compared to the total amount available to an Egyptian scribe. It has to be remembered that Gardiner's list records over 750 and more have been added after his work.[15]

Working Procedures for the Production of Texts and Images in the Burial Chamber

The limestone bedrock was carved rather crudely, resulting in a very rough surface. This might have been left on purpose in order to obtain a greater adherence of the cover. After this, the walls and ceiling were plastered with two different layers: a thicker one for a general levelling and a very thin one to create the flat surface over which to paint the figures and the background for the texts. Thus, if the hieroglyphs show irregularities, they cannot be attributed to the preparation of the walls that might have been originally rather smooth and regular.

Although a general grid framework has not been identified, long straight lines were traced on the ceiling with a yellow paint, probably to guide the placement of the figures in the astronomical chart. In fact, the lines are only documented on fragments found in the debris, *i.e.*, those that have lost the blue paint and whose original placement is uncertain. Regarding the walls, at least one preliminary red vertical line is clearly visible to the left of column SE1.[16] For the figures of the judges, a silhouette, also in red paint, is preserved beneath several of them. Therefore, it could be assumed that a general preliminary sketch in red paint was drafted. It allocated the space to the deities and texts by means of vertical lines delimitating the columns. This was followed by the creation of the figures with paint.[17] Firstly, the body was painted as a patch of colour over the preliminary sketch. Next, the definitive contours and the inner details were drawn in black (fig. 1a). Nevertheless, for half of the judges, those with green body and red face, the last stage of work was the filling of their wigs with blue paint (fig. 1b). The poor state of preservation has not allowed distinguishing differences attributable to different authors, so far, between the figures of the northern wall and those of the southern one.

As for the drafting of the columns of texts and the horizontal line, the first step was to apply the intense yellow background. Next, the dividing strips closing the columns were traced. The placement of the dividing strips was established with a series of short strokes traced with black paint at a middle height of the register,

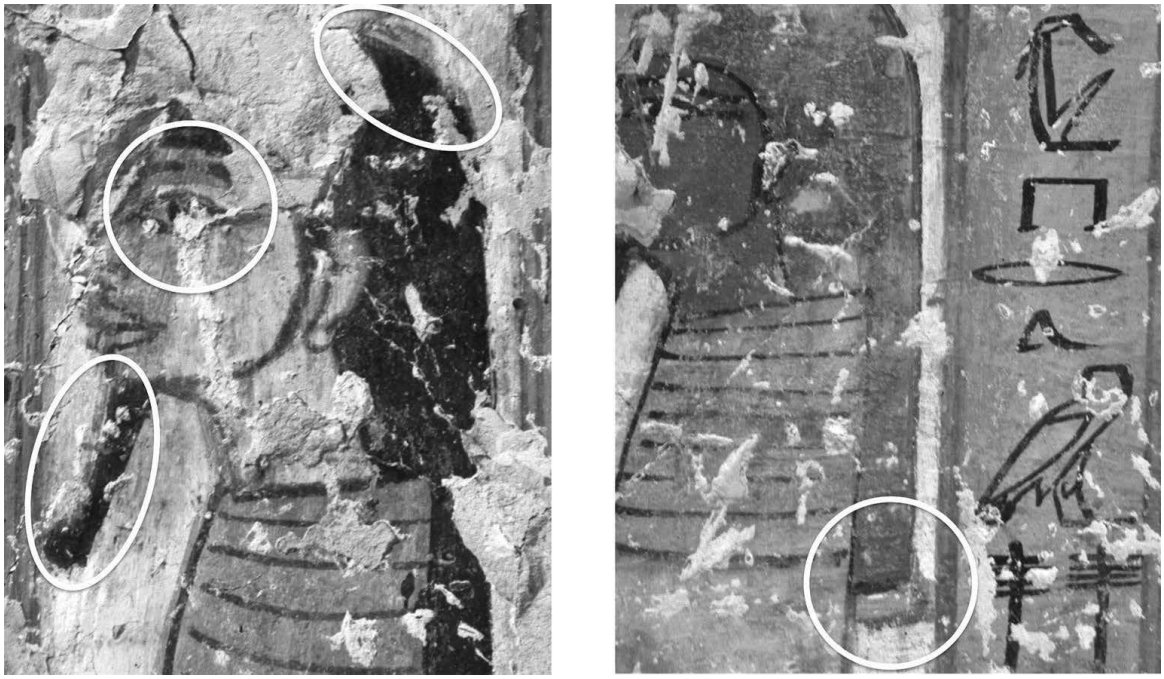
[14] For a complete catalogue of the signs in the Burial Chamber, see MOLINERO POLO, RODRÍGUEZ VALLS, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis. New Discoveries*, 164–98.

[15] However, a part of that total number should be of limited use. As an example of a more significant percentage, of the 5537 signs counted in TT 1, the different hieroglyphs number 311, that is, they do not reach half of those catalogued by Gardiner. See HARING, *The Tomb of Sennedjem*, 3.

[16] In column N1, there are three red strokes—one in the middle of the column and one on every side of it—but nothing similar can be found elsewhere in the chamber. Therefore, it cannot be determined whether they are simple spots of paint fallen when finishing the stars of the ceiling—that have a central red point—or evidence for the preparation of the writing area with red ink.

[17] BRYAN, in LLOYD (ed.), *A Companion*, 1004 mentions a phase dqw/dgA, the background painting, between sketches and colour patches, but in Karakhamun's ceiling the blue paint of the background sky was laid at the end of the procedure. As for the walls of the Burial Chamber, we have not been able to identify this whitewash as a specific phase, mainly due to the poor state of preservation.

clearly visible (fig. 2) in the north wall;[18] the black vertical lines were probably traced freehand. They were followed by the hieroglyphs, written without a previous draft. At the end, the dividing strips were covered with blue paint (fig. 3).



a b

Fig. 1: (a) Preliminary sketch in red paint visible under final figure. First deity, north-east wall (related to column NE1); (b) Preliminary sketch in red paint visible under blue wig. Twelfth deity, north wall (related to column NE11)

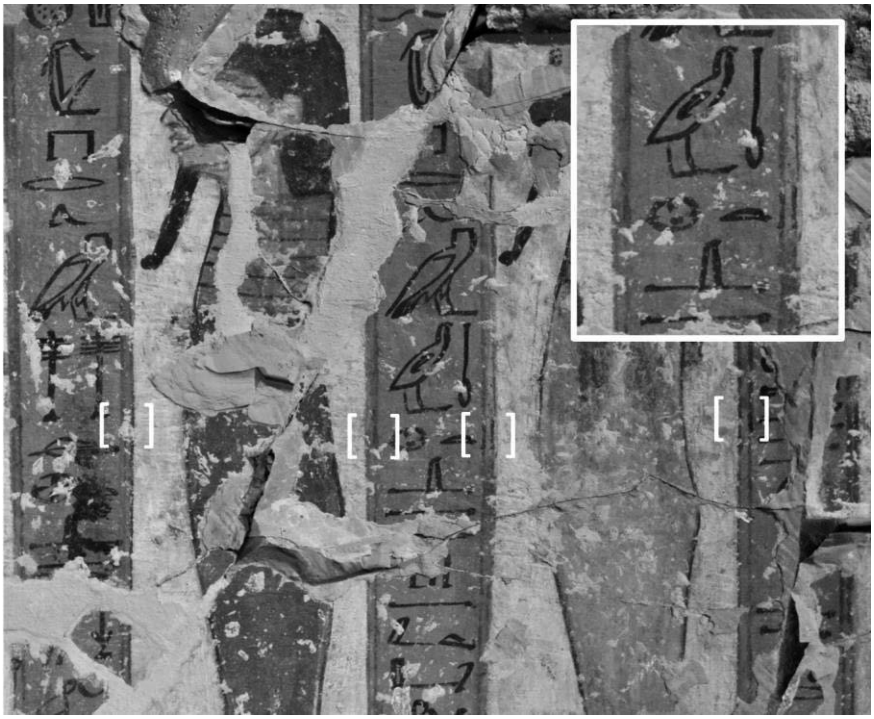


Fig. 2: Short strokes to signal the placement of the columns of text. Columns N12–N14

[18] An example of a similar procedure to indicate the space that must correspond to each column, probably corresponding to two scribes, one using points and another one strokes, can be seen in TT 11, Djehuty, of the Eighteenth Dynasty. See DÍAZ-IGLESIAS LLANOS in ROSATI, GUIDOTTI (eds.), *Proceedings*, 178, fig. 4.

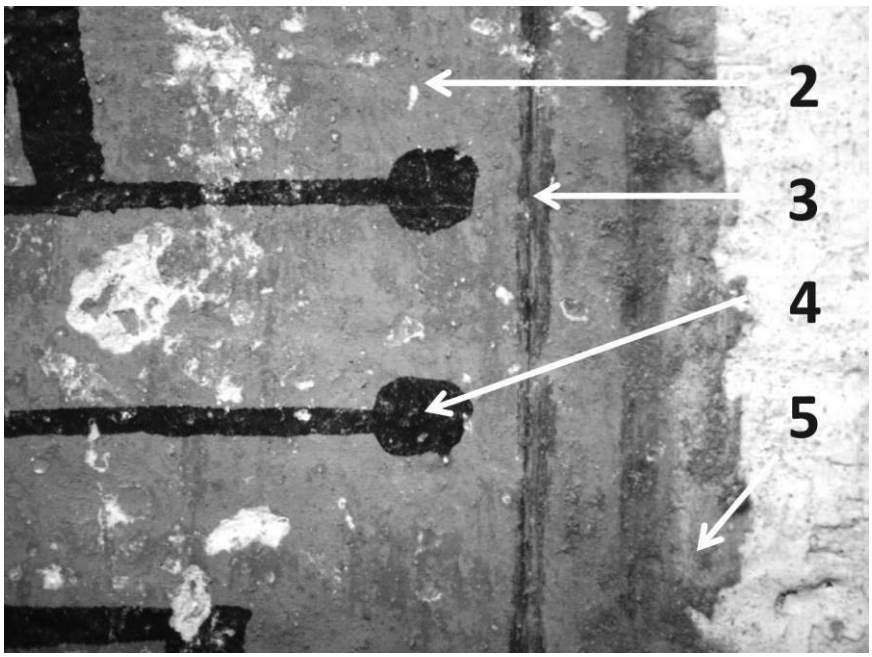


Fig. 3: Production phases in the columns of texts. Column N6

It is appropriate to wonder how many phases were needed for the execution of the walls and at what moment the judgment scene was painted in relation to the rest of the chamber. The colour palette of the latter is more varied than that of the judges, but that may not be significant in temporal terms given that it responds to its complexity, with a greater number of characters and diverse objects. Recently, it has been proposed that the procedure in Theban tombs was that walls and ceilings were plastered and painted in sections.[19] If this is the case, the walls of the Burial Chamber in TT 223 had to be executed independently and the long walls even on several occasions. Yet, it cannot be stated whether all the figures and background of texts were finished first, in sections, and then all the hieroglyphs of the walls were added or the latter were written directly after the painting of the figures as the conclusion of every section. To identify this circumstance, it would have been interesting to determine whether figures and background were the work of an artist or artists different to the one who wrote the texts or whether figures and texts were made by the same persons. An indication for this question could be found in the decans of the ceiling, which seem to have been copied at one time at the end of the process.

The process of decorating the ceiling was slightly more complicated. After the guidelines, a sketch of the figures was probably traced, although it is not visible now; it might have been made with red paint, especially if the same procedure as on the walls was followed. Next, the bulk of the figures were created with a solid yellow paint. Their contours were emphasised with black ink, as well as the inner details. In a fifth phase, the red colour was set, as it can be seen in the stars of the frame. Following this, the remaining blank surface was covered with the blue painting of the sky that clearly overlaps over the black silhouette of the figures. The next stage sees a first version of the hieroglyphs being traced with a yellow paint; this is lighter than the final one and can be observed under several signs. Finally, the definitive hieroglyphs were written again with a more intense yellow paint, correcting the size and disposition of several of them (fig. 4).

The signs on the walls were traced with lines, strokes, and dots, without preliminary sketches. This is the case even for the most complex ones, those depicting birds and animals. Thus, their general appearance is a simplified and linear version of monumental script, characteristic of documents written with cursive hiero-

[19] TAVIER, in KÓTHAY, *Art and Society*, 211, n.19.

glyphs. The treatment to the signs of the legends in the judgement scene was different, since their silhouette was filled in with paint, a process that is identical to the ceiling.

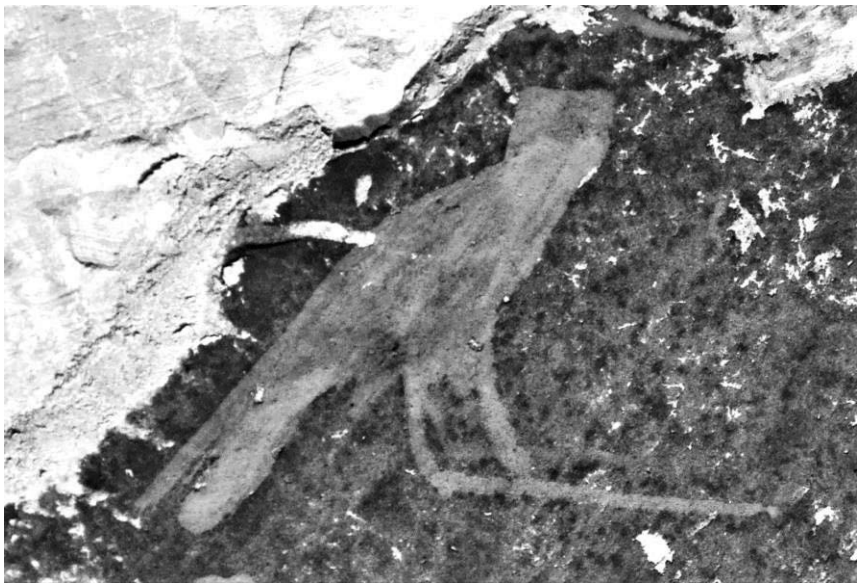


Fig. 4: Initial version of the signs in the ceiling visible under final sign. G17 in CN1

The care with which the texts were written and the skill of their authors is evident in the small number of graphic errors. Nevertheless, besides the inversion of a reduced number of signs on the south wall, which will be discussed below, certain mistakes were identified in the process of copying before being modified. The brush for one of these corrections was different (A40  in column N15), but this is the only clear occurrence of a tool broader than the first. Therefore, it cannot be stated from the available evidence that the general procedure of work implied that the texts were checked by a different scribe to the one who wrote them. What is evident is that they were revised and it is also interesting to identify the actions that were followed in order to remove the mistakes. Signs could be written again to make them bigger without erasing the previous one; this kind of modification occurs mainly on the ceiling, but it is not clear if it can be qualified as a correction since it is possible that the whole set of texts were faintly written in a first version before being traced by the now visible version (fig. 5a). A sign could be written over a previous one without erasing the former (Z2 written over I9 in N17, fig. 5b). The removal of previous wrong signs, followed by the rewriting of the correct ones (blurred spots and scratches under the signs N38 and X1b[20] in S13, fig. 5c) is also attested. An omitted detail could be added (the beard of the aforementioned A40 deity, in N15, fig. 5d); this was identified only because the brush was different. If there were other cases in which the scribe made an addition using the same brush, it is impossible to recognise them now. Orthographic problems, *i.e.*, signs employed instead of the expected ones, have been also identified, but they will not be considered at this time.

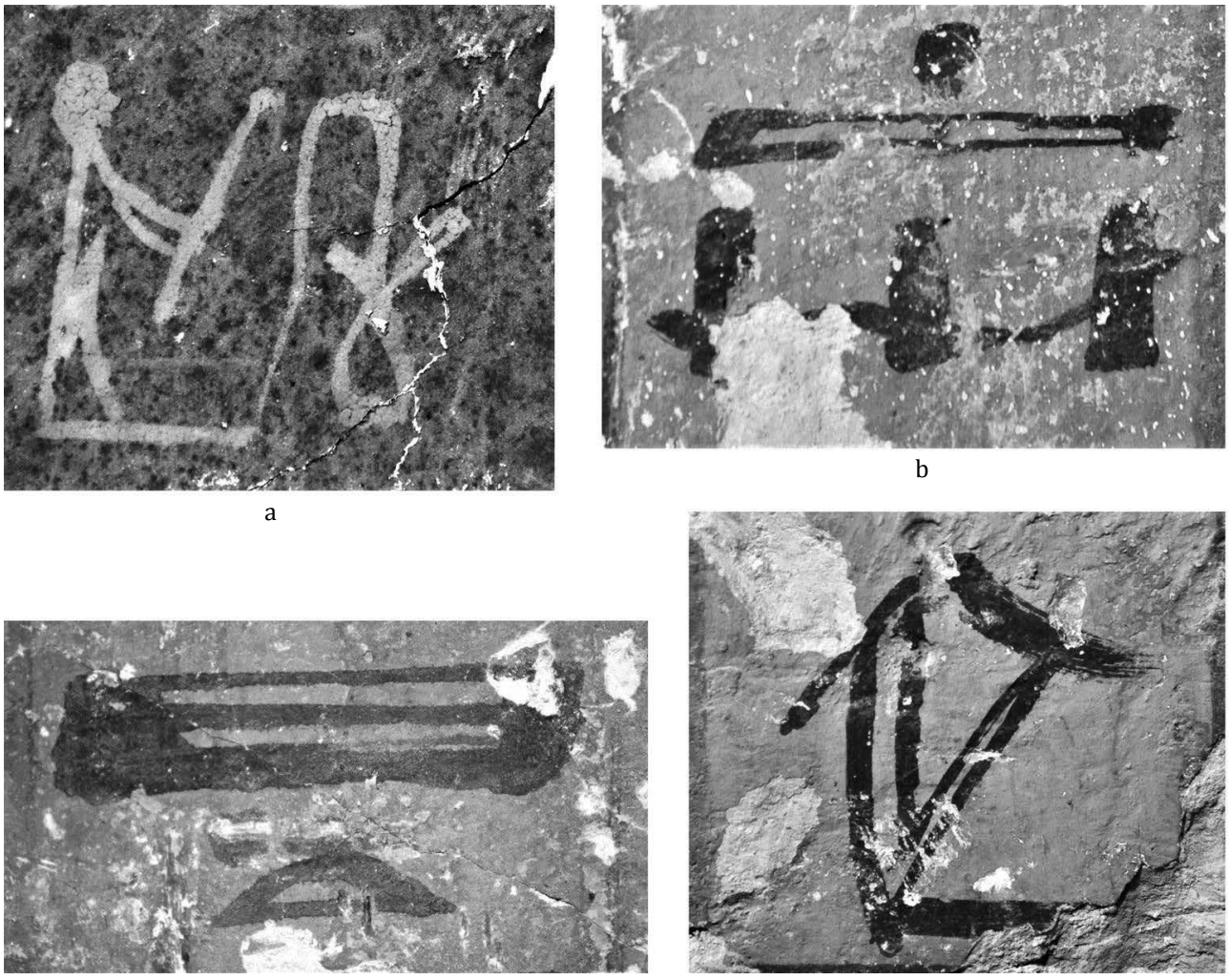
Allocation of Writing Types by Areas

The description of three types of hieroglyphs made by Fischer,[21] following a plate in Gardiner's *Grammar*,[22] set out different traditions of writing:

- Type 1 corresponds to signs 'in temples and tombs' with painted or outlined elaborate details.

[20] If a sign shows 'a' or 'b' behind the column number—or eventually Gardiner's code—it means that it appears more than once in the referenced column; the letters of identification are initiated from above.
[21] FISCHER, in CAMINOS, FISCHER, *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy*, 39–44, fig. 4.
[22] GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, pl. 1.

- Type 2 to signs sculpted 'on stone and the like' without interior markings.
- Type 3 to cursive hieroglyphs, the abbreviated scripture.[23]



a b c d

Fig. 5: Correction of mistakes. (a) A24 and V4 in column CN1; (b) Z2 written over I9 in column N17; (c) blurred spots and scratches under the signs N38 in S13 and X1 in S13b; (d) beard of A40 in N15

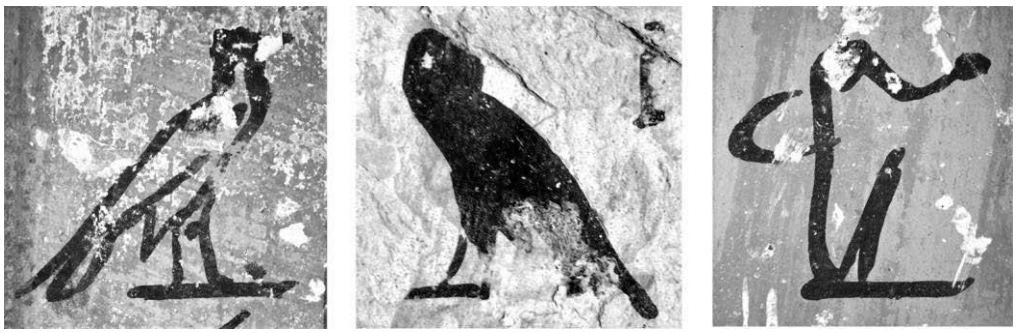
It could be possible to apply this classification to the painted hieroglyphs analysed in this article. Gardiner exemplified Type 1 with the text of a painted tomb, while Haring has also qualified the signs of the Burial Chamber of Sennedjem (TT 1) as Type 2, even though they are painted and not sculpted.[24] This circumstance must be kept in mind every time that Type 1 or Type 2 are mentioned in this study. In Karakhamun's Burial Chamber, there is a thorough distinction among the types of hieroglyphs used in the different areas containing texts, although this distribution has fuzzy boundaries:

- No text was written with signs of Type 1, the most elaborate script. However, some hieroglyphs with internal details appear occasionally, mainly in the horizontal line (fig. 6a).
- On the ceiling and the justification scene, all signs are filled in with paint—when the form allows it—and, in general, the conforming lines and strokes are not easily distinguished (fig. 6b). It seems that the author wanted to create a hieroglyphic writing without details (Type 2), similar to the one used in both

[23] ALI, *GM* 180 (2001), 9–21 has proposed that this type should be considered a cursive script in the full sense and, consequently, it should be removed from the Gardiner and Fischer table of hieroglyphic writings.
[24] HARING, *The Tomb of Sennedjem*, 8.

pillared halls of the tomb, probably with the intention to highlight the scenes of which they were part of. Nevertheless, around 20% of the signs of the legends associated with the 'monumental scenes' show some interior details or blank spaces, allowing to consider them as a transitional type that could be qualified either as a linear Type 1 or as an elaborated Type 3.[25]

- The horizontal line in which BD 125C was copied shows an intermediate situation in which there are as many Type 2 hieroglyphs as those with some inner details that could be ascribed to the aforementioned linear Type 1 or elaborated Type 3, besides those whose shape does not allow a classification.[26] Parkinson and Quirke[27] pointed out that cursive hieroglyphs were almost always written in vertical columns. Perhaps for this reason, the draughtsman tended to use other types of signs while writing a horizontal text. Moreover, the height of the line, double that of the width of the columns, made it appropriate to trace more monumentalised signs.
- Finally, cursive hieroglyphs (Type 3) are extensively used in the columns of the walls (BD 125B) (fig. 6c). However, among them, around 20% of the signs—not the most common ones and not every time they appear—are filled in with black paint. In particular, the birds are the most frequent subjects of this practice (fig. 7).



a b c

Fig. 6: (a) Sign traced as Fischer's Type 1. G1 in N2; (b) sign traced as Fischer's Type 2. G17 in JSD4; (c) sign traced as Fischer's Type 3. A1 in N5b

The available writing space determines the size of the squares for the signs (table 1), although the scribe could dispose of this space with a certain freedom. The horizontal line and the legends of the judgement scene display a greater spacing between signs than the columns of the addresses to the judges, in accordance with their monumental character. In the latter—or, more specifically in the northern columns—it is not uncommon that the hieroglyphs touch or overlap the dividing strips (fig. 8). It seems that the authors wrote with a freer hand in the columns of BD 125B, except for some parts of the south wall, and respected more carefully the available space in the horizontal line and in the weighting of the heart scene. On the ceiling, columns are not delimitated by strips.

[25] On the legends of the judgment scene, on the eastern wall, out of fifty signs, thirty are traced clearly as Type 2 [A40, D36, D40, D46, D52, D58, E34, F35, G7, G17, G26, G43, I10, M17, N17, N25, N29, O29, P8, Q1, R8, T18, V30, V31, W9, W18, W24, X1, Y5, Aa11]; nine show inner details and are traced with a linear silhouette, being either a linear Type 1 or Type 3 [D2, D4, D21, N3, O49, U23, V28, X1, Aa134]; and eleven are of undetermined typology because their exact layout cannot be determined [D35, D54, N35, S29, S38, T14, V13, Z1, Z1a, Z2, Z4].

[26] Out of sixty-four different hieroglyphs in the horizontal line, half of them belong to Type 2 [A24, A40, A42, D36, D40, D46, D53, D58, G1, G17, G37, G43, M17, N5, N29, N37, N41, P8, Q3, R8, R12+S1+S45, T30, U17, V31, W9, W10, W24, X1, Y1, Y5, Z11, Aa11], while the other half is undetermined, either as Type 1 or 3 [A1, A2, D2, D4, D21, F32, G43, M17, N5, N37, O28, O49, W11, Aa1, Aa134] or the layout itself cannot allow identifying a specific type [D35, D54, I9, I10, M30, N35, O34, S29, S34, T14, U2, V13, Z1, Z2, Z4, Z11, Aa15].

[27] PARKINSON, QUIRKE, *Papyrus*, 24.

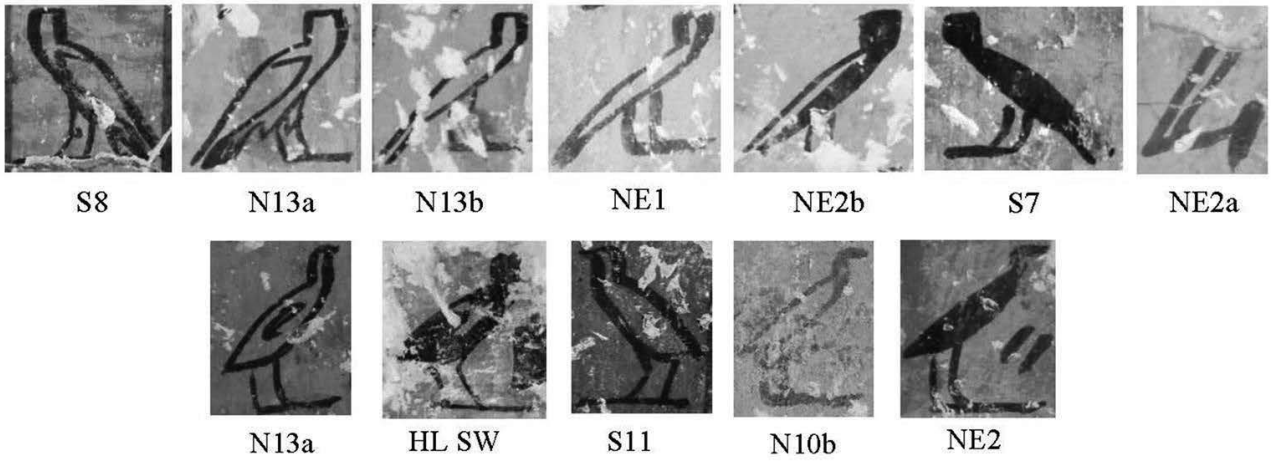


Fig. 7: Variability of bird signs in the columns of the walls using G17 and G43

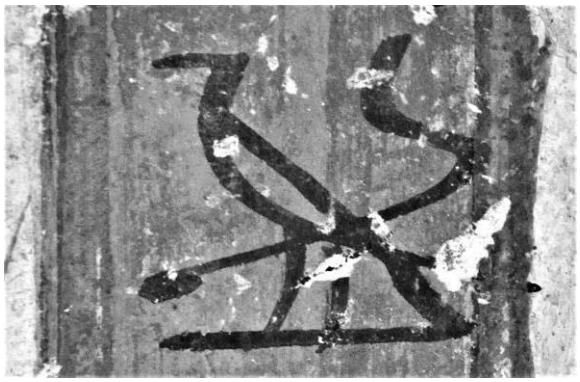


Fig: 8: Hieroglyph overlapping dividing strip. G3 in S13

	Horizontal Line	Columns	Entrance Scenes	Judgement Scene (JSO and JST)	Judgement Scene (JSD)
Total width/height of columns/line[28]	14.8–15.2 cm	7.5–8.5 cm	*ca*. 8.5–9.0 cm	8.5 cm	7.3/6.5/6.5/5.7 cm[29]
Writing square	11.8–12.2 cm	6.5 cm[30]	7.5–8.0 cm	7.3 cm	6.5 cm

Table 1: Measurements of legends of figures, horizontal line, and columns of text on the walls of the Burial Chamber

In short, there is a conscious distribution of the type of writing: cursive hieroglyphs for the *Book of Going Out in Daylight* texts. as in the papyri and coffins with this composition, the horizontal line showing a more detailed version of the signs; painted imitation of monumental hieroglyphs in the judgment scene and the astronomical chart. In illustrated papyri, the combination of texts in hieratic or cursive hieroglyphs with vignette in a more monumental writing is rather common.[31] The situation observed in the horizontal line is not specific to Karakhamun's Burial Chamber. There are numerous cases of other burial chambers with such characteristics. To give two examples, TT 82, the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Amenemhat, has a horizontal

[28] Including both lateral dividing strips.
[29] Every line is narrower than the upper one, decreasing gradually probably due to lack of space.
[30] 6.6 cm in the middle of columns, 6.4 cm at their lower part.
[31] As an example, see P. Nany (MMA 30.3.31), dating to the Twenty-first Dynasty. See particularly the beginning of the papyrus, with the vignette of the owner offering prayers—with texts in a monumental type of script—and facing the negative confession of BD 125, written in columns of cursive hieroglyphs, including some signs with inner details.

line of large signs at half height on its four walls,[32] and in TT 1, dating to the Ramesside Period, some sections of the walls have bigger and more elaborate signs than others.[33] Additionally, contemporary Late Period coffins contain carefully painted hieroglyphs in a monumentalised style on the exterior of the central planks of the lid and framing posts of the *ḳrsw*-coffins.[34]

Haring states that in Sennedjem's Burial Chamber, written with Type 2 signs, the inclusion of internal markings was done, apart from a few cases, when it was necessary to distinguish some signs from others.[35] In the legends of the justification scene and the horizontal line of Karakhamun, in addition to the hieroglyphs that Haring highlights in TT 1, some others appear whose silhouette would be easily recognisable and did not require the inclusion of inner details or the omission of filling (signs D2, N3, U23, X1). Significantly, in the two pillared halls of TT 223, also sculpted in Type 2, more elaborated signs are identified, some that seem to correspond with those of the Burial Chamber, although no more precise detail can be given at present. Thus, in Karakhamun's tomb, the practice of introducing internal details into some Type 2 signs would appear to be broader than what legibility requires.

No evident hieratic signs have been recognised.[36] In texts with cursive hieroglyphs, it is not unusual to find some, at least for the most common signs.[37] In the texts of the Burial Chamber, this absence seems very conscious and there is an appealing example: N35 , is never written as a simple—and easy—horizontal stroke, but always as a rippled line in the horizontal line and as a line with two strokes, one at each end, in the other texts. It seems as if the scribes were careful not to introduce into the space of the Burial Chamber any signs used in daily life, as if it could have reduced the effectiveness of texts. These were only written with the hieroglyphs reserved for less accessible documents and, therefore, more appropriate for their function in this chamber.[38]

It is appropriate to wonder whether the combination of different typologies of signs, especially when found in the same column or line, can be attributed to the time of the copying of the texts in the Burial Chamber. The usual approach was that master copies reached the tomb in a cursive script and that the scribe transcribed the texts mentally into hieroglyphs when he was already in front of the wall. In that case, the combination of types that have been documented in TT 223 could be attributed to that moment when the artist decided how to draw the sign and would even have some freedom to choose its shape. Nevertheless, Haring has raised the difficulty that the process of copying the texts in this way would have been. Following the proposal of Vassilika[39] and knowing the collection of ostraca that Lüscher has identified as *Vorlagen* for the tomb of Nakhtmin (TT 87),[40] Haring states that between the pattern books—purely hypothetical since none have survived—and the transfer to the wall, there had to be an intermediate model, a draft that was taken to the tomb. This had to be in hieroglyphs or in cursive hieroglyphs, in the same script that appears in the chambers, because it would have been very complex to proceed to the graphic transposition of the signs from one type to another, from one orientation to the opposite, and with the specific spelling of each writing

[32] DAVIES, GARDINER, *The Tomb of Amenemhet*, pls. 37–45.
[33] HARING, *The Tomb of Sennedjem*, 7.
[34] SHEIKHOLESLAMI, in HAWASS, DER MANUELIAN, HUSSEIN (eds.), *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt*, 407.
[35] HARING, *The Tomb of Sennedjem*, 7. For example, in the case of circles, to recognise N5 (sun), X6 (loaf), and Aa1 (placenta or sieve) similarly written in the tomb (HARING, *The Tomb of Sennedjem*, 141, §293) from N9/N10 (partially covered moon), O49 (city) (HARING, *The Tomb of Sennedjem*, 84, §142, 98, §182).
[36] The sign V1 is used several times in Karakhamun's Burial Chamber. Nevertheless, long before the Late Period, this sign had already been introduced into the standard hieroglyphic repertoire and, therefore, it cannot be taken into account here.
[37] In Sennedjem's Burial Chamber, Haring (*The Tomb of Sennedjem*, 7) has catalogued a high number of signs that indicate hieratic influence. In the tomb of Nakhtamun, another one with Type 2 hieroglyphs, a single hieratic sign has been identified (SERVAJEAN, *Le tombeau de Nakhtamon*, v, 93, § 182).
[38] On the kind of documents written with cursive hieroglyphs, see PARKINSON, QUIRKE, *Papyrus*, 26.
[39] VASSILIKA, *Ptolemaic Philae*.
[40] LÜSCHER, *Die Vorlagen-Ostraka*.

in a narrow space, with heat, smoke, lack of oxygen, and limited light.[41] In the case of Karakhamun's Burial Chamber, that would mean that the models would have reached TT 223 with that combination of signs in which a majority type includes a high percentage of signs of another. It should be deduced, therefore, that this combination would have been in the repertoire of forms of each type of script. Furthermore, as a result, the same 'atypical' signs must be found in other documents of the period, although this requires an analysis that is beyond the scope of this paper.

Orientation of the Signs

The texts of the horizontal line and of the columns run eastwards from the entrance in the western wall, continuing along the northern and southern walls. The hieroglyphs are in accordance with the figures pronouncing them, as is usual in ancient Egyptian representations.[42] On each side of the entrance, an image of Karakhamun is shown entering into the chamber to face the judges while reciting BD 125B and 125C. Thus, there are two different directions of the signs in the horizontal line, depending on the wall, northern or southern, and there is no inconsistency between the texts in the columns and the judges in front of them, since the words confront the deity to which they are directed. The legends of the judgement scene also have the direction of the figure to which they are related, Osiris, Thoth, and the vindicated deceased. However, there are some orientation peculiarities that should be discussed.

The signs of the northern columns, which face to the right, seem more carefully traced than those of the south wall, which face to the left. Since cursive hieroglyphs are usually written facing to the right—they were mirrored only in compositions that required symmetrically disposed texts—the scribes were accustomed to writing in that direction and thus the signs of the northern columns seem to be written more skilfully.[43] Significantly, on the southern wall three signs are reversed (O4  in S14, R14  in S11, and V4 in S17), probably due to the habit of writing them looking to the opposite direction.[44] It is remarkable that this reluctance to reverse the signs in contexts where other hieroglyphs face left is also apparent for two of these three signs in other tombs: O4 never appears mirrored in TT 1 and TT 5, but it is correctly written looking to the appropriate side in TT 215.[45] As for R14, all examples in TT 1 face right, although in half of the cases it is contrary to the neighbouring signs; only once did the artist try to change the orientation, but the single element that was reversed is the feather.[46] The relative position of the long and short vertical lines that form the lower part of the sign remained unchanged, the same situation observed in TT 223.

In the columns, different forms of a single sign have been detected on the north wall in respect to the southern one. Thus, depending on the orientation, the scribe made a different sequence of movements producing a slightly different shape. Obviously, this difference is only retained for signs presumably written by the same draughtsman.

- A1  in N5 and S13a (figs. 9a–b). Both are very similar at first glance, but some differences are remarkable: in the southern sign, the forehead protrudes from the neck, the head and left arm are traced

[41] HARING, in VERHOEVEN, *Ägyptologische 'Binsen'-Weisheiten*, 75–9.
[42] FISCHER, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs*, 16.
[43] This is frequently documented in coffins, as with CG 41053 (pertaining to Tjesmutperu) and SR/11320/4, Cairo 21-11-16-10 (belonging to Naneferheres), both in Cairo Museum, or RO.III-b (pertaining to Ankhhor) in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden.
[44] In CS8 the sign is written as an inverted Y3, *i.e.*, Y4, but this might not be an inversion but a preference for this hieroglyph version.
[45] HARING, *The Tomb of Sennedjem*, 92, §164, n. 3. O4 is not documented in the tomb of Nakhtamun but R14 shows the same problem, see SERVAJEAN, *Le tombeau de Nakhtamon*, 185, where all the examples of § 180 show the feather in the same direction, except for one of them in which the vertical lines have been reversed.
[46] HARING, *The Tomb of Sennedjem*, 107.

with the same stroke, the line defining the body has a different undulation and the bent legs are depicted with overlapping lines, without leaving a blank space between.

- D40  in N1 and S14 (figs. 9c–d). Both occurrences have the upper arm depicted with two vertical lines, one horizontal line as forearm, curved line depicting only the upper part of the hand and curved-end stick. However, S14 has a completely vertical upper arm, a finer and bigger hand, and a thicker and differently shaped stick.
- D57  in N2 and S14 (figs. 9e–f). For these two versions of the sign, the main differences are found in the feet. In N2 it is traced with two curved strokes and in S14 it is triangular. Additionally, the knife has a wavier form in S14 and the upper leg is wider and clearly distinguishable, which can be due to the special care of the scribe in tracing the sign on this direction.
- G43  in N13a and S11 (figs. 9g–h). The conception of this complex sign is similar in both walls. However, in S11, the body is traced with thicker lines, clear bent legs, protruding claws from the rear leg, and, most evidently, no wing.

Similar situations have been documented in other tombs regarding how the orientation influences the shape of the signs.[47] In TT 1, signs facing right seem to have been made more quickly and therefore more carelessly. Haring attributes it to the fact that the painter was more accustomed to signs facing right.[48] On the contrary, the TT 223 signs show differences in both writing directions but they cannot be qualified in terms of carelessness.

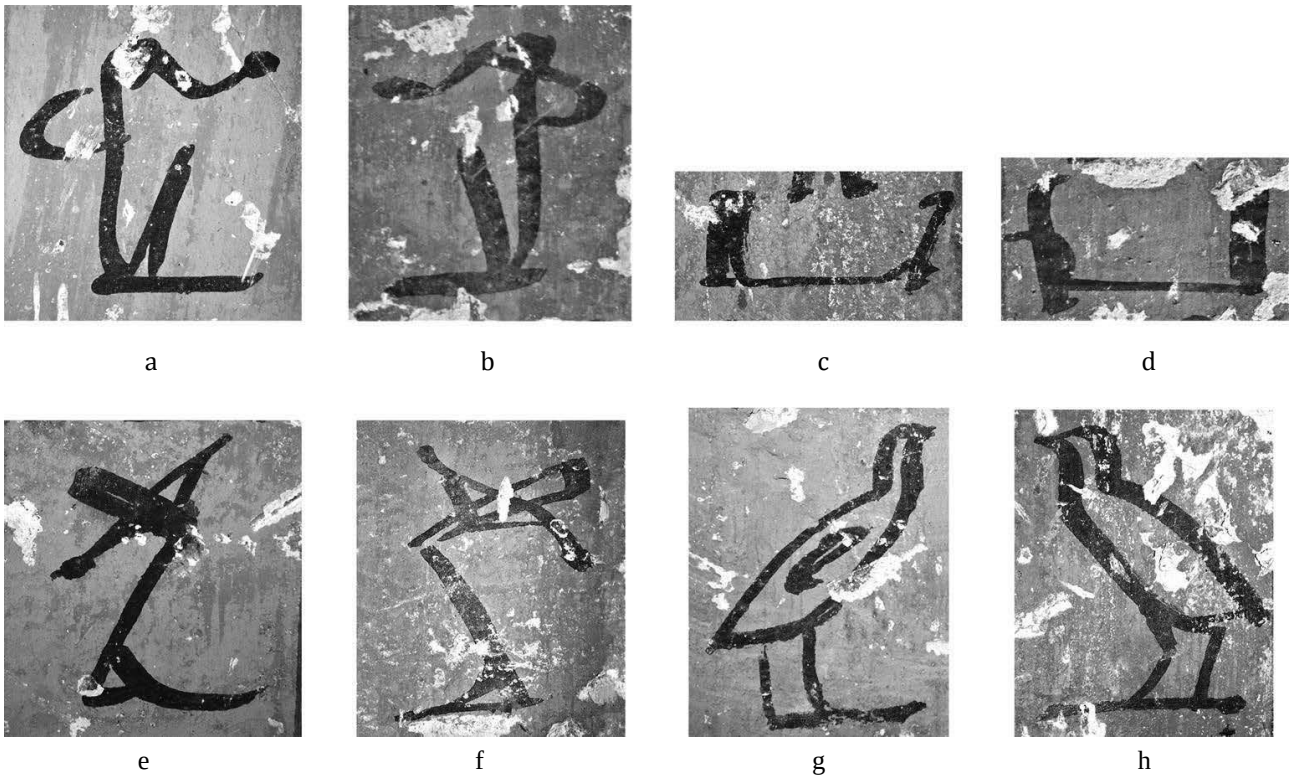


Fig. 9: Different shape of signs from columns in north and south walls. (a) A1 in N5; (b) A1 in S13a; (c) D40 in N1; (d) D40 in S14 (e) D57 in N2; (f) D57 in S14; (g) G43 in N13a; (h) G43 in S11

[47] In Tjanuny's tomb (TT 74), from the Eighteenth Dynasty, two examples of the sign G47 are written in the opposite direction with slight differences, beside a third one with a different shape that was probably produced by a different artist. See LABOURY, in ANDREU-LANOË (ed.), *L'art du contour*, 41, fig. 6.
[48] HARING, *The Tomb of Sennedjem*, 4, 10–2.

A final issue related to the orientation of the hieroglyphs is their position regarding the possible location of the deceased for whom the chamber was built. As already mentioned, the texts of Karakhamun's Burial Chamber are oriented according to the scene on which they were included. However, in general terms, in Egyptian coffins and burial chambers, the orientation of the scenes corresponded to the position of the deceased who was to be buried in them, and, therefore, would start reading the texts on the walls nearest to the head.[49] Ideally, in the early dynasties of Egyptian mortuary architecture, the head would be to the north and the feet to the south, with the eyes looking in the direction of the rising sun. Yet this would not be possible in the rectangular Burial Chamber of TT 223, which is oriented east–west. This is also the direction of the pit excavated in its floor, intended to hold a coffin of great proportions, surely one of the *ḳrsw*-coffin type. Since the deceased was expected to read the texts in the position he was laying, in the present case, since the BD spells begin in the west, this would be the side where Karakhamun's head was supposed to rest. This position would fit with another meaningful iconographic element of the chamber: the figure of Nut in the astronomical ceiling, with her head westwards. In coffins, the head of the deceased was expected to be placed under the head of the goddess represented on the inner side of the lid, which would be the case also in this Burial Chamber, since the ceiling fulfils the same function. Additionally, there is a third argument that can sustain the proposed orientation of the coffin. In TT 391, the neighbouring Kushite tomb of Karabaskeni, the huge sarcophagus, which was discovered during the 2016 season, also has its head to the west. It must be noted though that in this case the entrance to the chamber is located in the east, whereas in TT 223 it is located in the west.

Brushes, Black Paint, and Ductus

Thanks to the available writing space—the walls of the entire Burial Chamber—and the limited number of spells, the hieroglyphs composing the texts are bigger and more elaborated than those of papyri and coffins. Therefore, a broad number of meaningful features are noticeable, specifically from the columns and the horizontal line, making it possible to identify several aspects of the writing process.

In the columns of the north wall and in the entire horizontal line, every stroke that makes up the signs is discernible. On the contrary, in the south-western columns, the strokes conforming the signs are barely recognisable, and the number and order of these strokes cannot be determined. Since the strokes conforming the signs of the former columns show a different width, depending on the pressure submitted by the hand while writing, it is possible to deduce the tool used to trace them. After having performed some experimental tests with different possibilities, it is concluded that a hard-tipped tool—like a reed pen—cannot have produced the ductus of these signs. Therefore, some kind of brush must have been employed. Additionally, in the north-western and south-eastern corners, the evidence that the tool had loose bristles is documented, since in some signs, one or more bristles were separated from the bunch and produced a thin line parallel to the main stroke (fig. 10). In short, the painters must have used brushes with a medium–hard tip.

In all likelihood, these brushes must have been made of local vegetable fibres, as pointed by Tavier in an experimental study,[50] similar to the third type described by Lucas and Harris: a piece, presumably of date palm, bruised at its end.[51] Several examples were found by Davies within the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Montuherkhepeshef (TT 20, fig. 11).[52] A similar brush to this one might have been used by the painters in Karakhamun's Burial Chamber.

Regarding the tip of the brushes, some signs show strokes of variable width, depending on the direction of the line: the brush used to write them should have had a rectangular section; they are found in the columns

[49] FISCHER, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs*, 36–40.
[50] TAVIER, in KÓTHAY, *Art and Society*, 211.
[51] LUCAS, HARRIS, *Materials and Industries*, 133–4.
[52] DAVIES, *Five Theban Tombs*, 5, pl. 17.

of the northern wall and the eastern columns of the southern wall (fig. 12a). Other signs have a regular width in their tracing and they can be attributed to a tool of square or rounded tip; they can be seen in the south-western columns and in the legends of the astronomical chart on the ceiling (fig. 12b). For the moment, the number of brushes used on the walls cannot be determined. Naturally, each painter involved on the decoration of the tomb should have had his own painting tools, most probably a different brush for every colour.[53]

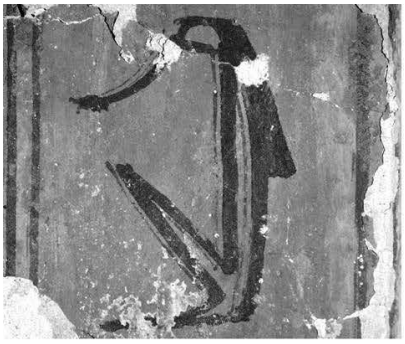
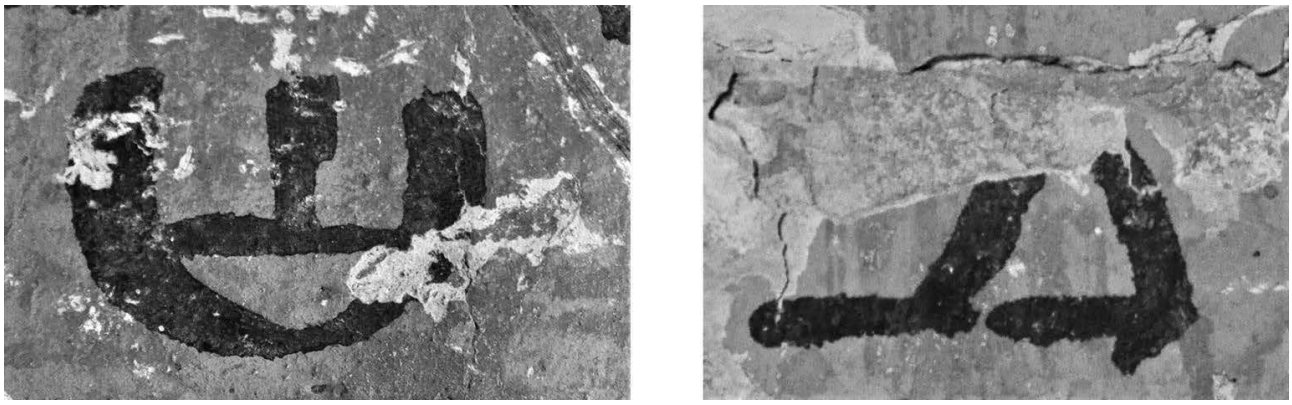


Fig. 10: Loose bristles separated from the bunch. A40 in SE1



Fig. 11: Brushes found at TT 20, Cairo, Egyptian Museum (photo: A. Rodríguez Valls)



a b

Fig. 12: Differences on the tip of the brushes. (a) N41 in S8; (b) D54 in S7

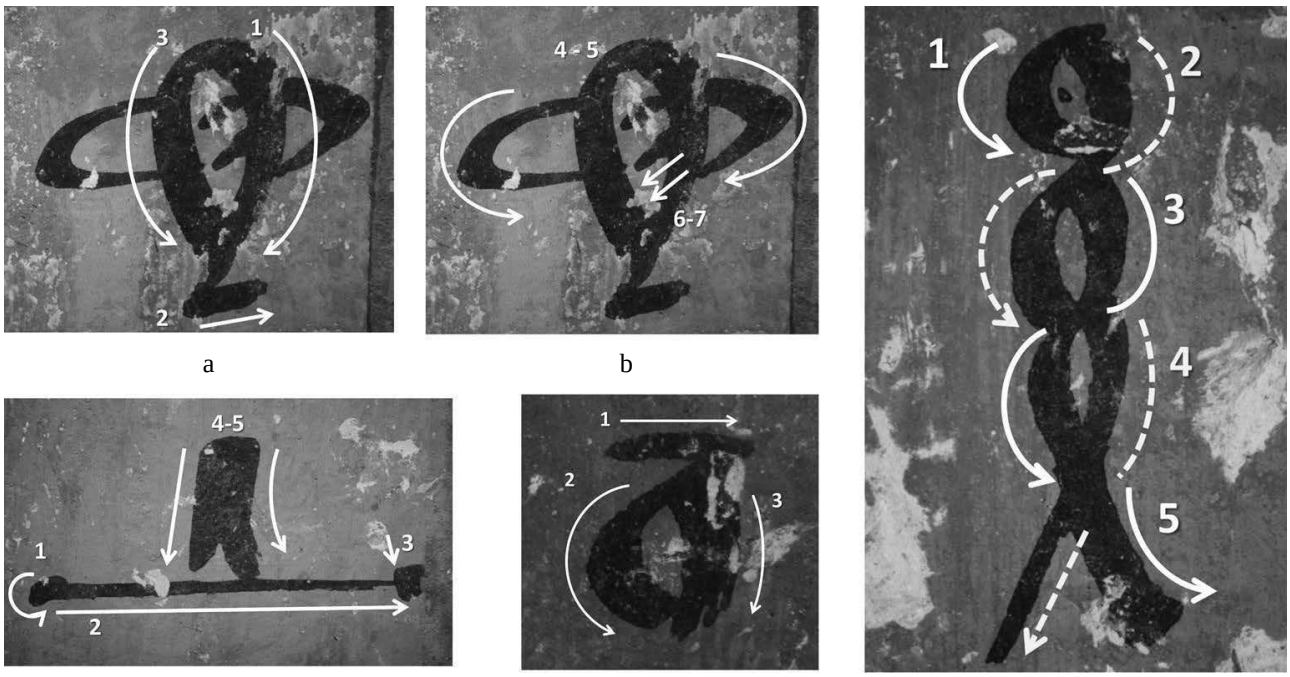
Besides the differences between signs produced by the change in orientation, others can be attributed to the brush and paint. They may have occurred because the tip of the brush became worn or the paint suffered some variation. Thus, in the eastern columns of the northern wall, it seems that the painting used by the artist was very thick, perhaps lacking water, or the bristles of the brush were getting dry, because the strokes show longitudinal lacunas without colour, as if the paint did not cover all the bristles of the brush or because these were separated by the paste. On the contrary, in the south-western columns, this problem does not exist and it seems that the paint had more water. However, this resulted in the black colour being less intense, while some signs dripped as the paint was applied. Moreover, the strokes are generally a bit thicker than on the opposite wall.

In the columns on the northern wall, the visibility of the strokes allows suggesting the order in which they were traced. Four examples of writing are highlighted here:

[53] Nevertheless, a palette (BM EA 5512) belonging to a scribe Meryre must be highlighted. The pen slot of this palette shows a predominance of black at the top and red at the bottom, thus suggesting that two ends of a single pen were used for the two colours and that the pens were replaced in the slot with the more frequently used black tip toward the top. British Museum, EA5512. The authors thank L. Díaz-Iglesias Llanos for bringing this object to our attention.

- D2  in N4 (figs. 13a–b). The painter traced the right part of the face and neck and then, probably, ended the neck with the horizontal stroke. With the next stroke, the head was closed. Then the ears were drawn and the sign was completed by making two marks to configure the facial features.
- D35 in N15 (fig. 13c). The artist traced the stroke ending the left hand, then a horizontal stroke to define the forearms followed by the second point to close the horizontal line. Finally, two leaning vertical lines complete the sign.
- V28  in S10b (fig. 13d). The sign was started from the upper left part with a single curved stroke. This was followed by the scribe tracing two wavy strokes like an inverted S-letter. Next, a fourth stroke was created like the two previous ones, except that the end to the left is straight. Finally, a slightly curved stroke depicted the right hanging rope was painted.
- W24  in S10 (fig. 13e). The draughtsman traced the mouth of the vessel with a horizontal stroke, followed by the left part of the body with a curved stroke. Finally, a second curved stroke to close the body from the left was added.

The possibility of identifying the order of the strokes, *i.e.*, the ductus, is especially significant to recognise the authors' individuality, which will be one of the conclusions of this study.



a b c e d

Fig. 13: Order of strokes in several figures. (a–b) D2 in N4; (c) D35 in N15; (d) V28 in S10b; (e) W24 in S10

Palaeographical Peculiarities

The detailed analysis of the signs allows identifying numerous specific features in the hieroglyphs of the Burial Chamber of TT 223. These traits manifest a conception of certain signs with slight differences from previous forms. They also reflect specific—perhaps personal—gestures of some of these artists in the process of writing.

Some groups of signs reveal a specific arrangement:

- The sign N35 with terminal strokes downwards and longer than the rest of the ripples is very common:[54] what is specific is that in the horizontal line the three strokes of the plural are always narrower than the ripple line (fig. 14).
- The three strokes of the plural Z2 have a pyramidal layout in the south-western columns (fig. 15).[55]



Fig. 14: Specific disposition of N35 and Z2 in the horizonal line



Fig: 15: Pyramidal layout of Z2 in south-western columns. Z2 in S7

Two signs show a very specific form, which manifest a certain misunderstanding on the part of the scribe, probably due to unfamiliarity or erroneous simplification of what the hieroglyph represents:

- The 'mast with sail' sign (P5) appears once, in S8 (fig. 16). The sail is drawn with two long horizontal lines connected by two curves and, inside, two crossed strokes that must be a conventional and not realistic depiction of the ropes. The mast is also unusual: very high and with two upper ends not commonly represented, although they appear in the mast sign P6 . The ignorance of how the rigging of a sail works, or simply the difficulties for the scribes to represent it, can be illustrated by the diversity of forms with which the sign could be written. Compare, for example, P6 in two Ramesside tombs (TT 1 and TT 335),[56] different from each other and from that of TT 223.
- The sign of the 'butcher's block and knife' (T29 , a combination of T28 and T30) appears only once, in S14, and is also drawn as a strange combination (fig. 17). The knife is not well preserved, but it seems a common T30 . Regarding the block, it is too high; it has a curved top and too many strips to represent T28 . It shows a mountain, N26 as a base, also absent in usual T29 sign. It seems that the scribe drew an O51 sign ('a pile of grain') instead of a butcher's block, showing a complete misunderstanding of the original hieroglyph.

Preference for one sign in homophone pairs:

- The n-sign is always written with the water (N35) and never with the red crown (S3).

[54] FISCHER, *Calligraphy*, 10. The number of angular ripples of the *n*-sign in the horizontal line is variable, seven or eight.

[55] Gardiner documents this disposition in Middle Kingdom (*Egyptian Grammar*, 535–6). Being an example, this must not be taken as if it is only attested in that period.

[56] HARING, *The Tomb of Sennedjem*, 191; SERVAJEAN, *Le tombeau de Nakhtamon*, 178.

- The owl  (G17) is always used for the *m*-sign in the columns, but both, the owl and  (Aa15), are used in the horizontal line.
- The signs  (S29) and (O34) seem, to a certain extent, interchangeable for the scribes of TT 223, since both are used in words whose common orthography preferred the other one.
- For the writing of the plural determinative, there is a preference depending on the format of the text: the horizontal set  (Z2) is used alone in the columns, but in the horizontal line the number of occurrences of horizontal and vertical sets  (Z3) is equivalent.
- The sign Y1 always appears horizontally, both in columns and the horizontal line.



Fig. 16: Unrealistic depiction of ropes in the sail. P5 in S8



Fig. 17: Unusual combination of signs for the hieroglyph of the butcher's block and knife. T29, in S14

There is a very frequent appearance of what could be called 'serifs', using a typographical term[57] (fig. 18). A general feature of cursive scripts is the practice of terminating straight lines, either horizontal or vertical, usually at both ends, with short strokes, also in painted burial chambers. Taking TT 1 for comparison, since they are very clear in its publication, Karakhamun's Burial Chamber signs have a higher frequency of serifs. In general terms, the signs with serifs in TT 1 are also present in TT 223,[58] while the latter has some thirty-four signs with serifs—some might be questionable—that do not have them in the former. In most cases, they stick to the norm and the strokes are at the end of straight lines. However, there are eight exceptions that present a small stroke at the end of curved lines: A1  and A17  (at the end of the arms), A40  (end of the beard), F16  (base of the horn), G3  and U1  (blade of the sickle), V4  (unleashed cord of the lasso), and S34  (*ʿnḫ*-sign). The latter is a notable example since, in addition to the

[57] Serif definition: a slight projection finishing off a stroke of a letter in certain typefaces. Oxford Dictionaries, https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/serif <accessed 15/08/2017>.

[58] Both tombs coincide in the serif in the signs: D58, I9, M17, N31, N35, O34, P5, P8, Q1, R8, S29, S34, S42, T3=T5, T14, T22, W18=W17, Z9, Aa15. TT 1 has examples of which, in TT 223, the lower part is not preserved and, therefore, it cannot be indicated if they included serif or not: R14, S38, Z11 y Aa27.

usual serifs in the straight lines, it includes another one in the upper end of one of the two curved strokes with which the upper part of the sign has been drawn (fig. 19).



Fig. 18: Signs with serif. T3 and Z9 in N16



Fig. 19: The *ʿnḫ*-sign with serifs. S34 in HLNa

Sennedjem's tomb includes certain signs that are usually rectangular, but possibly for speed in execution have been represented as straight lines and, in these cases, they are delimited by serifs.[59] They are very significant since they reflect the most frequent way to trace these strokes: the scribe did not need to memorise in which signs they could be included, they were placed at the ends of any straight line. However, in TT 223, it is also extended to some curved lines. Some of these serifs were part of the technical process of the elaboration of the sign, the mark—intentionally thickened—left in the place where the brush rested to begin writing the sign, while others were an additional stroke. Nevertheless, the depiction of a well visible serif might be understood as an aesthetical decision of the scribe.

Some features may reflect specific gestures of the process of writing the texts. Column N12 is headed by an A2  sign of Type 1, very different from those in the preceding and following columns. Moreover, the entire N12 column is written with nice and carefully traced signs, in contrast with the neighbouring columns, especially N11, in which some hieroglyphs seem traced more sloppily than in the rest of the wall. Nevertheless, a similar sequence of strokes in all the signs in this area of the wall prevents deducing that they were traced by different hands. Therefore, our proposal is that the distinctive features of N12 could be attributed to the return to the wall of the scribe after a pause. The exact nature of this interruption cannot be determined.[60]

Finally, the characteristics of the signs in two columns near the north-west and south-east angles perhaps help to determine the handedness of the scribe. In both cases, the column next to the angle (NW2 and SE1) shows writing imperfections in several signs: problems with the paint, unsteady strokes, and, in general,

[59] N16, N37, R4, Y1. These signs are written with their usual rectangular shape in the TT 223 and, therefore, do not include serif.

[60] In the longitudinal hall of TT 29, sections of work of 1.5 m are identified, bounded by visible brush strokes on the white background, which Tavier interprets as parts of the task that each artist could assume in one shift due to purely technical reasons. See TAVIER, in KÓTHAY, *Art and Society*, 211, n. 19. Nevertheless, the change in the signs of column N12 cannot be correlated by other evidence with the start of a section of labour.

leaning down shapes (fig. 20). There are no clear reasons why the artist had problems writing these columns, since they are perfectly accessible for the right hand. In contrast, the N1 column, which is difficult to access for the right hand, has well-defined hieroglyphs. An explanation could be that the *sš-ḳdwt* who wrote these columns was left handed (fig. 21). Parkinson and Quirke have noted that most representations of scribes show them writing with the right hand, but there are some exceptions to this rule.[61] In an article focused on statues in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, Engelbach noted the physical features shown on these Old Kingdom artworks and pointed out that of over one hundred, only four of them hold the 'textile' with the left hand and not with the right.[62] He considered that these *kꜣ*-statues pertained to left-handed persons, since the proportion of left-handedness in life would be similar to the percentage of pieces with this feature.[63] Harris has expressed a favourable opinion to Engelbach's statement: after examination of many other images and the rarity of left-handed figures, he thought that such left-handedness representation was deliberate.[64] If these examples are considered a reflection of reality, it could be inferred that in Egyptian society people with this specific handedness had no cultural obstacles to develop a professional career related to art and writing.



Fig. 20: Problems with the paint and unsteady strokes in NW2

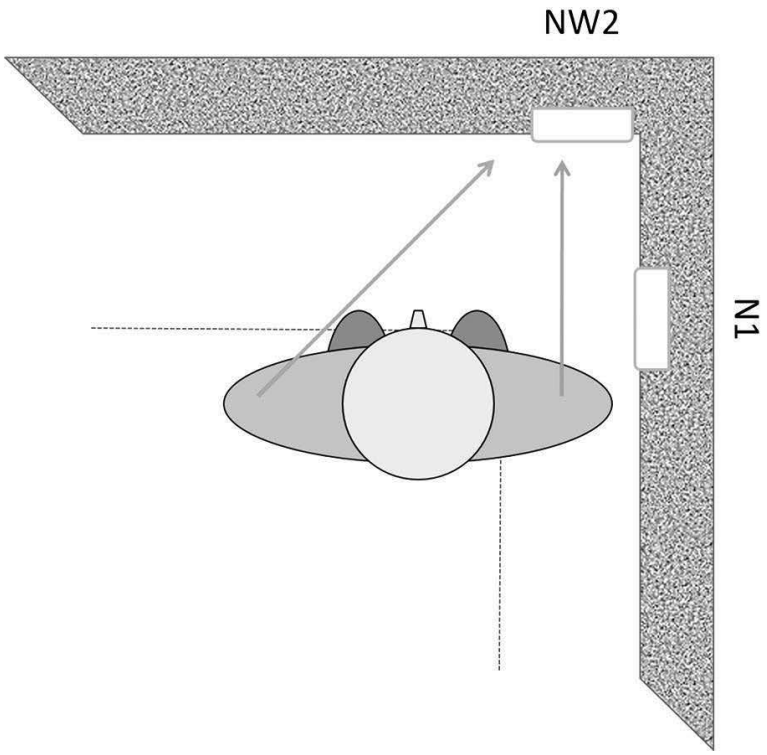


Fig. 21: Difficult access to column NW2 with the left hand

[61] PARKINSON, QUIRKE, *Papyrus*, 37.
[62] ENGELBACH, *ASAE* 38 (1938), 286.
[63] Engelbach argued that the percentage was between 4–8%, after the figures of the Statistical Department he consulted. See ENGELBACH, *ASAE* 38 (1938), 286, 295. However, more recent studies offer a higher percentage of left-handed people: RAYMOND *et al.*, *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London B: Biological Science* 263, 1627. Based on previous studies, they pointed out that between 10 and 13% of humans are not right-handed. Additionally, they also indicate that this variability has a cultural component. Engelbach asserts that there was no cultural priority on the right or left side, based on references from the *Pyramid Texts*, although his argument would need to be revisited. See ENGELBACH, *ASAE* 38 (1938), 296.
[64] HARRIS, *JEA* 41 (1955), 122–3. The authors thank Richard Parkinson for this reference.

Different Handwritings

Munro has stated that cursive hieroglyphs reveal themselves to be a truly hieroglyphic script in being more 'static', that is, resistant to historic palaeographical change than hieratic, although individual handwriting may vary considerably.[65] Nevertheless, from a similar palaeographic perspective, several Egyptologists have emphasised the subjective character of formal particularities of signs and criticised its unreflective use as evidence for the identification of scribes' hands.[66] In parallel with this idea, but from an artistic point of view, Laboury has stated that the identity of an artist is not distinguishable in the final form of his painted hieroglyphs, which can be fluctuant, but in the way the sequence of strokes was made; therefore, in his opinion, the sign execution constitutes a kind of technical signature.[67] In Palaeography, this sequence of strokes is the ductus: number, order, and direction of strokes that compose a writing sign.

Following the criteria of these researchers, caution is necessary in the use of formal aspects to set up the individuality of scribes. Their critics affect palaeographic studies that compare signs found in different documents without considering the variation on their layout that can be produced by the nature of the documents (administrative, literary, private, etc.), the kind of surface where they are written, or, the state of humour of the scribe or even his age. However, our study on the Burial Chamber in TT 223 compares cursive hieroglyphs in a single chamber, on the same writing surface, and made in such a short period of time that the changes in the script by mood or age of their *sš-ḳdwt* have no place. Therefore, even considering the opinions that suggest caution, but aligning rather with Munro's statement, the authors of this article consider that the set of distinctive features documented in the signs of Karakhamun's Burial Chamber are, on the whole, sufficiently consistent to identify different hands. Furthermore, as has been pointed out in the previous paragraphs, the authors emphasise that the ductus also changes depending on the orientation in which the sign was traced. This means two different 'technical signatures' produced by one single scribe. Thus, the variations relative to the orientation have also been considered.

In the Burial Chamber, the identification of different handwritings has only been possible on the columns of the walls, those with spell BD 125B. Due to the type of signs and monumental character of the horizontal line, the eastern wall, and the ceiling, the study of their authorship cannot be applied on the same criteria used for the columns.

Since there is no general study of Late Period cursive hieroglyphic palaeography, some characteristics of the Burial Chamber script may correspond to the whole generation of scribes and not to individuals involved in the creation of TT 223. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that there are no general catalogues of cursive hieroglyphs, similar to those of hieratic and hieroglyphs, which could allow analysing whether there has been a diachronic transformation of this script. The characteristics of the handwriting of the walls on which our conclusions are based are:

a) It has already been stated that at least two different types of brushes were used, one for the south-western columns—in which the brush had a square or rounded section—and one in the northern and south-eastern columns—with a rectangular section brush (*cf*. fig. 11).

b) Some palaeographical peculiarities can be found in specific sections of the walls:

- There are two different forms of writing the negative D35: in the south-western columns, the two forearms of the sign appear clearly differentiated, leaving a blank space between the elbows; in the rest of the columns, the majority of the D35 signs have a simplified execution, the forearms traced with a single horizontal stroke (figs. 22a–b).

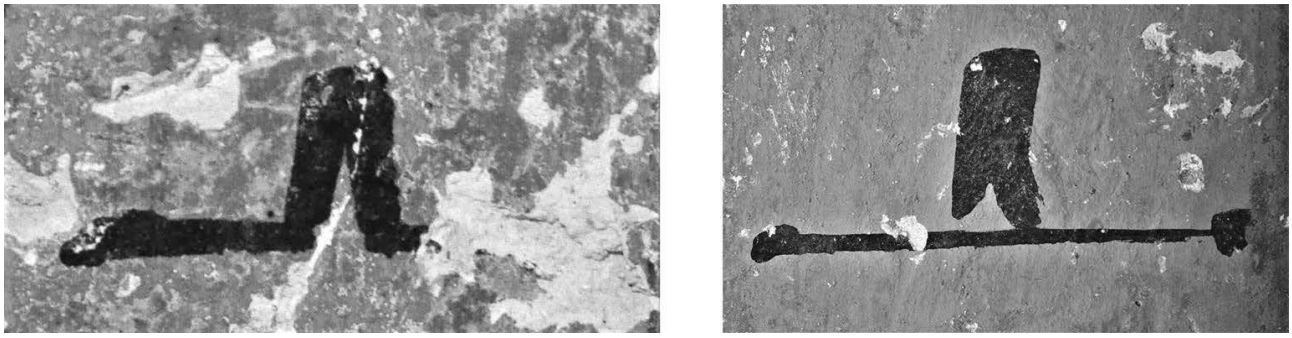
[65] MUNRO, *Untersuchungen zu den Totenbuch-Papyri*, 192–7.
[66] BOUVIER, *Annales de la Fondation Fyssen* 17, 12–3; DORN in VERHOEVEN (ed.), *Ägyptologische 'Binsen'-Weisheiten*, 175–7, with references to previous studies on this subject.
[67] LABOURY, in ANDREU-LANOË (ed.), *L'art du contour*, 41; LABOURY, in KÓTHAY (ed.), *Art and Society*, 204.

- Serifs are more frequent in the northern and south-eastern columns (*cf*. figs. 18–9), but they also appear in the horizontal line, judgement scene, and ceiling.
- The pyramidal layout of the plural sign Z2 appears only in south-western columns (*cf*. fig. 15).

c) The size of the square is further evidence of authorship. The width of the columns is similar on every wall. However, the size of the signs inside them differs: those of the northern and south-eastern columns are approximately 6 cm, but those of the south-western columns are 5 cm (*cf*. table 1).

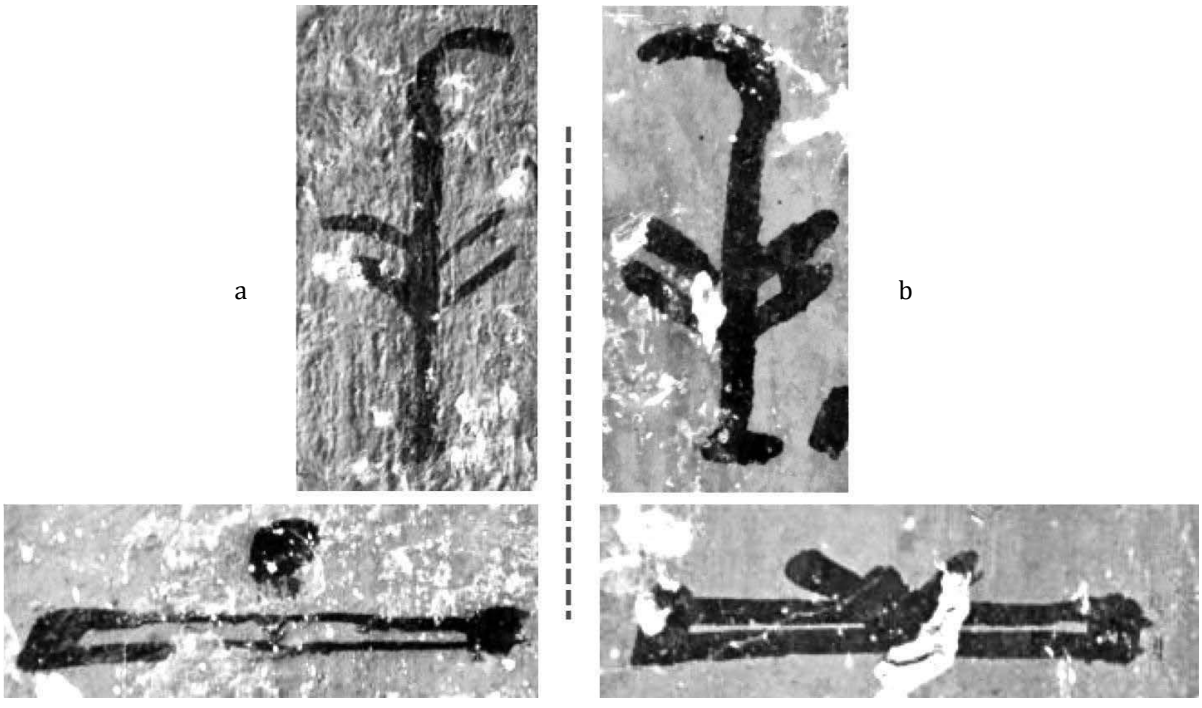
d) Naturally, there are clear differences in the ductus. This may seem to be subjective evidence, but it is an additional feature when joined to the previous ones (fig. 23):

- From SW1 to S7 columns, the preserved signs seem to have been made slowly, and show bold lines without different thickness. Additionally, in some cases, the black paint leaks from the line.
- From S8 to SE1 columns (SE2 is lost), the signs show a similar layout to those of the northern wall. The ductus is more fluid, more elegant, the brush produces lines of variable width depending on the movement of the hand, and the strokes are slender. The slight differences in their execution between the north and south-eastern walls are attributable to the change on the writing direction.



a b

Fig. 22. Two forms of writing D35. (a) four strokes, D35 in S2; (b) three strokes, D35 in N15



a b

c d

Fig. 23: Differences in the ductus of scribes A (left, 23a and 23c) and B (right, 23b and 23d).
(a) M23 in N12; (b) M23 in S7; (c) Y1 in N17a; (d) Y1 in S5

To sum up, there are two different writings that could be attributed, at least, to two different hands (fig. 24). Scribe A was in charge of the columns of the northern wall (including NW and NE ones) and a part of the southern wall, from S8 to SE2 (the latter being lost, only SE1 is preserved), while Scribe B wrote only the other half of the southern wall, from SW1 to S7 columns (fig. 25).

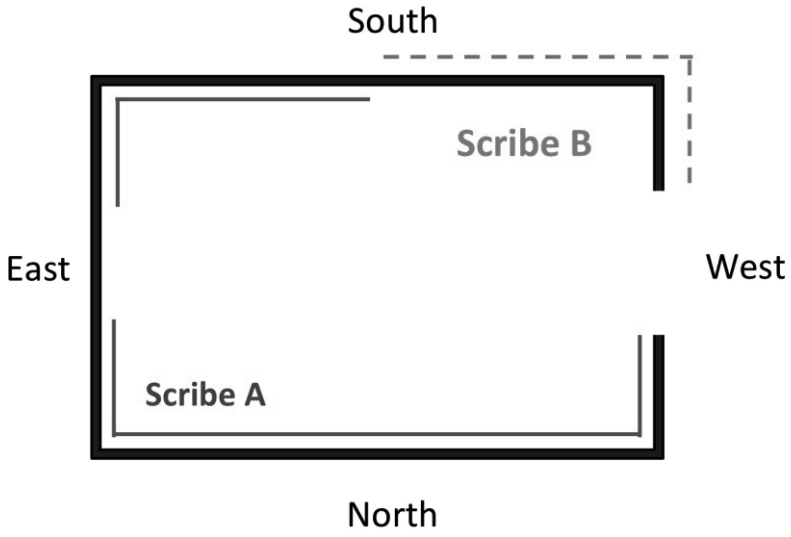


Fig. 24: Walls of the Burial Chamber corresponding to each scribe



Fig. 25: Columns S8 (scribe A) and S7 (scribe B)

The differences between Scribe A and Scribe B are remarkable even though they worked together in the Burial Chamber. This makes it difficult to suggest that they shared a 'common tradition' (using an expression of Taylor),[68] *i.e.*, it does not seem that they learned to write with the same master or that one scribe was the other's apprentice. On the other hand, if they were part of a single workshop, in spite of such different writings, then the usual association of ductus and sign forms with workshops would be erroneous. Another possibility would be that Karakhamun's Burial Chamber was the result of a collaboration of artists from different workshops. This would imply a desire—or need—to finish the work with a certain urgency.

In addition to the features that support the presence of two scribes, it is possible to wonder if there is any other indication as to how many artists participated in the production of Karakhamun's Burial Chamber. Opinions in the discipline about the authorship of the painted tombs are quite varied. Subjective arguments, based on the perception of the aesthetic values of the chambers, are being replaced in the last decades by opinions based on the information obtained from old documents and in the analysis of technical evidence that informs on the production process. If the phases of the work and the artists responsible for them—who Bryan has recognised in New Kingdom ostraca—are considered, the scribes would be the authors of the preliminary sketches, the outlines of the figures, and the inner details to complete them.[69] Although Bryan does not say it explicitly, it could be considered that texts correspond to this last phase and, therefore, to these scribes. Under these conditions, the two artists documented in the Burial Chamber would have been the authors of the figures. But while the palaeographic features that identify these two scribes are clear, it has not been possible to identify equally significant technical details that allow for distinguishing differing traits in the scenes that could be attributed to more than one draughtsman. However, the poor state of conservation of the chamber precludes seeing them today, even if they were evident at the time of production.

For New Kingdom burial chambers, the decoration of TT 1 has been assumed to be the work of a single artisan.[70] Nevertheless, in Deir el-Medina there are other burial chambers in which more than one hand has been documented. This is probably the case of TT 3, whose texts on the walls seem to be the work of a scribe different to the one who wrote those on the ceiling.[71] As for TT 359, it has been possible to distinguish the scenes and texts that would correspond to each of the brothers Nebnefer and Hormin and, possibly, to some additional author.[72]

For the construction period of TT 223, Sheikholeslami's opinion is that there were at least two types of artists involved in the production of the funerary equipment: those in charge of the figurative decoration and those who wrote the texts on it. The premise for this approach is that stelae are documented with blank spaces for the texts, waiting for the intervention of the one responsible of that task who never made it, and by the presence of texts that do not fit with the writing area, showing words with widely spaced signs or, on the contrary, others that are crammed.[73]

The question as to whether the authors of the texts were the same as those of the scenes is still open and it must be considered the extent to which the palaeography can bring new developments to this subject. The other painted Burial Chamber of the Kushite Period, that of Ramose (TT 132), shows signs completely different from those of Karakhamun.[74] The two Twenty-fifth Dynasty papyri with identified funerary spells

[68] MUNRO, *Der Totenbuch-Papyrus der Ta-schep-en-Chonsu*, 22.
[69] BRYAN, in LLOYD (ed.), *A Companion*, 1003–4.
[70] HARING, *The Tomb of Sennedjem*, 22. This hypothesis is supported by the style of the paintings and the unity of the composition. The hieroglyphs, at any rate, do seem to be the work of a single person: they were made without preliminary sketches and show the same palaeographical peculiarities throughout the whole Burial Chamber.
[71] HARING, *The Tomb of Sennedjem*, 22, n. 38.
[72] KELLER, in DAVIES, *Colour and Painting*, 73–93.
[73] SHEIKHOLESLAMI, in HAWASS, DER MANUELIAN, HUSSEIN (eds.), *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt*, 407–8.
[74] See GRECO, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 173–200.

are written in cursive hieroglyphs,[75] P. Tashepenkhonsu[76] and P. Padinemty.[77] However, at least the former is the work of a scribe different from the two identified within the Burial Chamber because it uses a form of the sign V28  that is not documented in TT 223. Perhaps the identification of signs similar to those of the scribes of Karakhamun's Burial Chamber in contemporary coffins may provide some additional light.[78]

This study has been concluded within the framework of the project *Paleografia jeroglífica y jeroglífico cursiva del Periodo Tardío*, HAR2017-87615-P, of the Spanish Agencia Estatal de Investigación, MINECO.

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[75] The master copy—not preserved—for several specimens of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty has also been dated to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty: P. Tasheretenaset, P. Djedkhi, and P. BM EA 10588; perhaps also P. Turin 1842, but this is not complete and cannot be affirmed with certainty. MUNRO, *BMSAES* 15 (2010), 204. See also MUNRO, *Die Totenbuch-Papyri des Ehepaars.*

[76] MUNRO, *Der Totenbuch-Papyrus der Ta-schep-en-Chonsu*.

[77] MUNRO, *BMSAES* 15 (2010), 203, n. 3: P. New Haven ACC 1999 1216-e + P. Paris Louvre E. 17032: http://www.totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm112523 <accessed 15/08/2017>.

[78] MOLINERO POLO, RODRÍGUEZ VALLS, forthcoming.

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Preliminary Report on the Usurpation of the Tomb of Karabasken (TT 391) by the High Steward of the God's Adoratrix, Padibastet

Erhart Graefe

Abstract

In 2015, the excavations by the South Asasif Conservation Project brought to light a Staircase-vestibule giving access to the Open Court of TT 391. This Staircase-vestibule was decorated outside and partly inside by the High Steward Padibastet, who was already known by his rock-stela discovered in 2013 within the Open Court of Karabasken. Furthermore, following the clearance of the Pillared Hall of the tomb in 2016, a secondary chamber with a shaft still covered by debris was discovered. Ushabtis of Padibastet were uncovered in both the Pillared Hall and the Burial Chamber, which would all seem to indicate that he once was buried in this tomb.

Introduction

In a recent publication[1] and during the 2016 Conference 'Thebes in the First Millennium BC',[2] I already reported on the discovery of a rock stela of Padibastet in the Open Court of TT 391[3] and the fact that this High Steward decorated the Staircase-vestibule[4] to this court. During the 2016 season of the SACP, a secondary room cut into the left side of the Pillared Hall of this tomb was found. Inside, a shaft full of debris was discovered. In the Pillared Hall, as well as in the Sarcophagus Chamber of Karabasken, a complete ushabti and fragments of others bearing the name of Padibastet were recovered. Already in 2014 the SACP found, on the outer staircase, a coffin fragment (2014.341) with 6+x horizontal lines of text, two of which read as: $^{(x+2)}$[...] *ỉmj-rᶜ šmᶜt mỉ* [*ḳṭ=ś* …] $^{(x+3)}$[…]*bȝśȝ mȝᶜ-ḫrw* […]. This fragment may well have been part of an inner coffin for Padibastet, one mentioning his father or his grandfather Pabasa. Therefore, it seems probable that Padibastet had been buried in a burial chamber at the end of this as yet unexcavated shaft, which had evidently been plundered in antiquity and/or recently. Furthermore, the Project discovered some stone fragments of inscriptions, e.g. one with the name 'Pabasa' (father or grandfather of Padibastet?), which cannot derive from the Staircase-vestibule. It may be that they belong to a yet-to-be-excavated decoration of a portal within the Pylon of the tomb's superstructure.

The Entrance to the Open Court of TT 391

The entrance[5] has the form of a Staircase-vestibule, which leads down to the Open Court (fig. 1). It continues the long outer series of steps, which begin at the point where there should have been a pylon. Its outer face is a portal with lintel (the cavetto corniche on top is not preserved). Lintel and door frames contain three columns of text each; one on an inner plane and two on an outer one. The portal is framed by a torus moulding. On the outer planes of both sides, below the inscriptions, Padibastet is shown seated, looking to the door opening. The inner columns of text extend right down to the bottom line ending with the name of Padibastet. The texts always begin in the middle of the lintel running to the right or left side respectively, ending on the

[1] GRAEFE. A New High Steward.
[2] Under the title 'A new High Steward of the God's Adoratrix Nitokris: Padibastet, Grandson of Pabasa (TT 279) and Successor of Padihorresnet (TT 196)'.
[3] After I had given a talk on my work with the SCAP Mission at the Freie Universität of Berlin on December 15th, 2016, Karl Jansen-Winkeln asked the question why I had made Padibastet the successor of Padihorresnet in the time of Psamtik II and not his forerunner as a successor of Pabasa. My reason is that Padibastet was not a son but a grandson of the former. Nevertheless, formal proof as to who was the reigning king of Padibastet would be welcome.
[4] PISCHIKOVA *et al*., in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of Karakhamun and Karabasken*, 37.
[5] Dimensions: width *c.* 2.15 m; height *c.* 3.24 m (without corniche).

bottom (inner columns) or above the figures of Padibastet (outer columns). Four fragments with hieroglyphs from the right side could be restored. Unfortunately, it was impossible to take a new photograph of the whole portal after the restoration since, in compliance with the regulations of the Ministry of Antiquities, a metal gate was installed to ensure the safety of the tomb. In fig. 1 those fragments have been mounted into it digitally (*cf*. fig. 3b).

Fig. 2 represents the inscriptions of the portal with the use of printed standard-hieroglyphs, with both the vignettes inserted as photographs. Fig. 3a shows some examples of hieroglyphs in detail, which differ from their representation in standard-hieroglyphs. Their locations within the columns is hinted at with small numbers in fig. 2. The lines or columns of inscriptions are counted beginning in the middle of the upper line of the lintel.



Fig. 1: Entrance to the Staircase-vestibule of TT 391 prior to the installation of a metal door. Four fragments on the right side having been added digitally (Erhart Graefe after photograph of Katherine Blakeney)

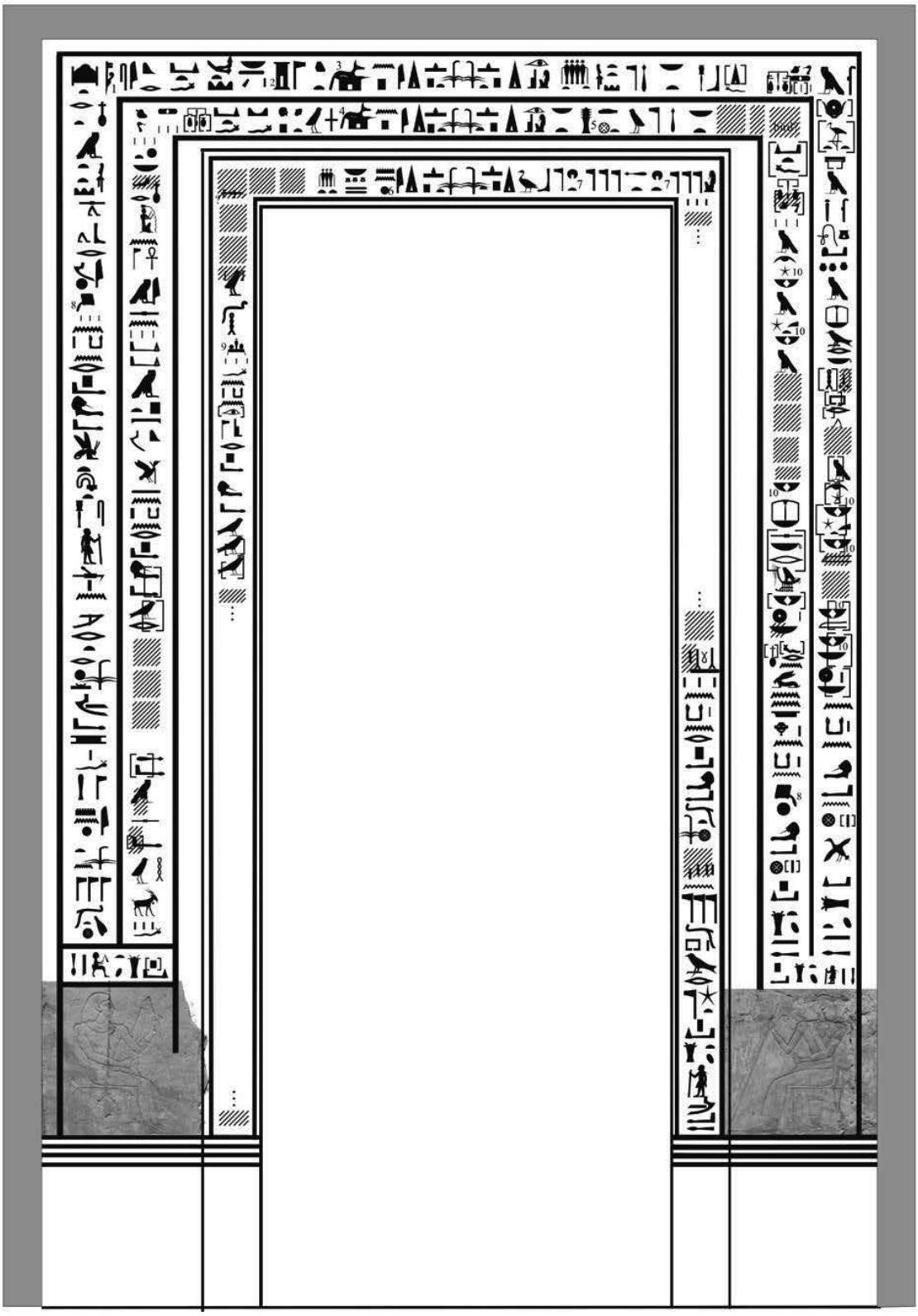


Fig. 2: Decoration of the entrance to the Vestibule-staircase to TT 391. The small numbers refer to fig. 3a

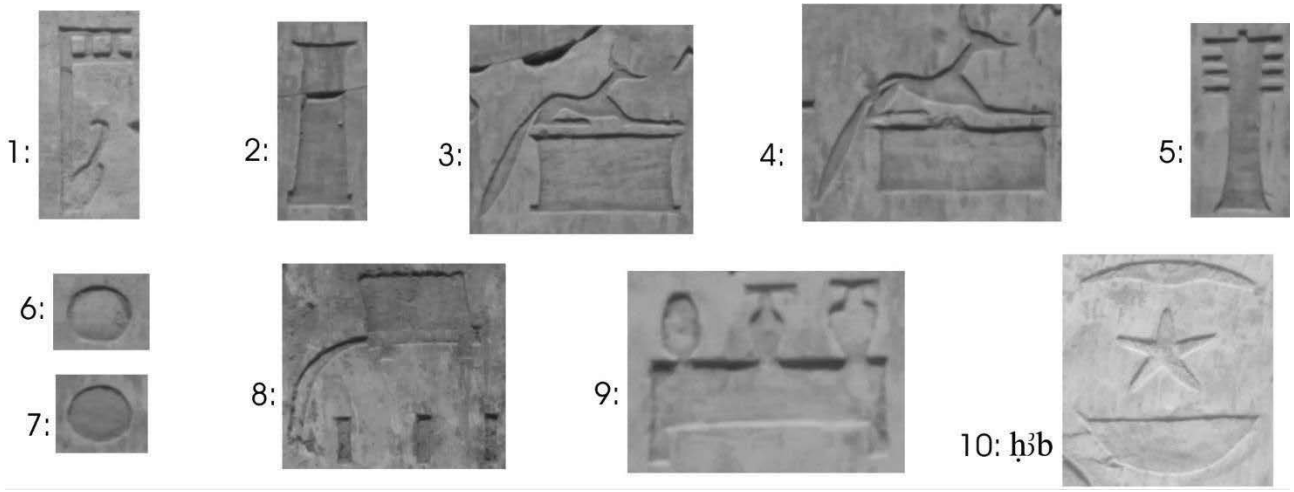


Fig. 3a: Some details of signs differing in shape to their equivalents in computer-hieroglyphs (after photography of Katherine Blakeney)



Fig. 3b: Assemblage of four fragment from cols. 1–2 of the right side, found loose

Translations

The textual layout of the door frame is asymmetrical, from the point of view of content as well as form. On the right side, all columns terminate with the owner's name, on the left the horizontal line above his representation serves as the name's ending of the two columns of text (the end of the inner column of the left is destroyed, but surely it also finished with the owner's name). On the left this horizontal legend was framed by separating lines, on the right it was not, as it appears now. On the left, the artisan let the outer separating line of column 2 continue down too deeply until the height of Padibastet's breast. It is very clear that at least

two different workmen were responsible for executing the hieroglyphs. Fig. 4 shows characteristic specimen from both sides.

The left side is mainly filled with conventional honorific titles, while the right side with functional titles. In order to obtain more space for the honorific titles, the amount of offering phrases of the left had to be shortened. On both sides, the title of 'Overseer of the prophets of the gods' had to be shortened, normally being written as 'Overseer of the prophets of the gods of Upper Egypt'. Considered on the whole, these were the most important titles that normally belong to the titulary of a High Steward of the Divine Adoratrix.[6]

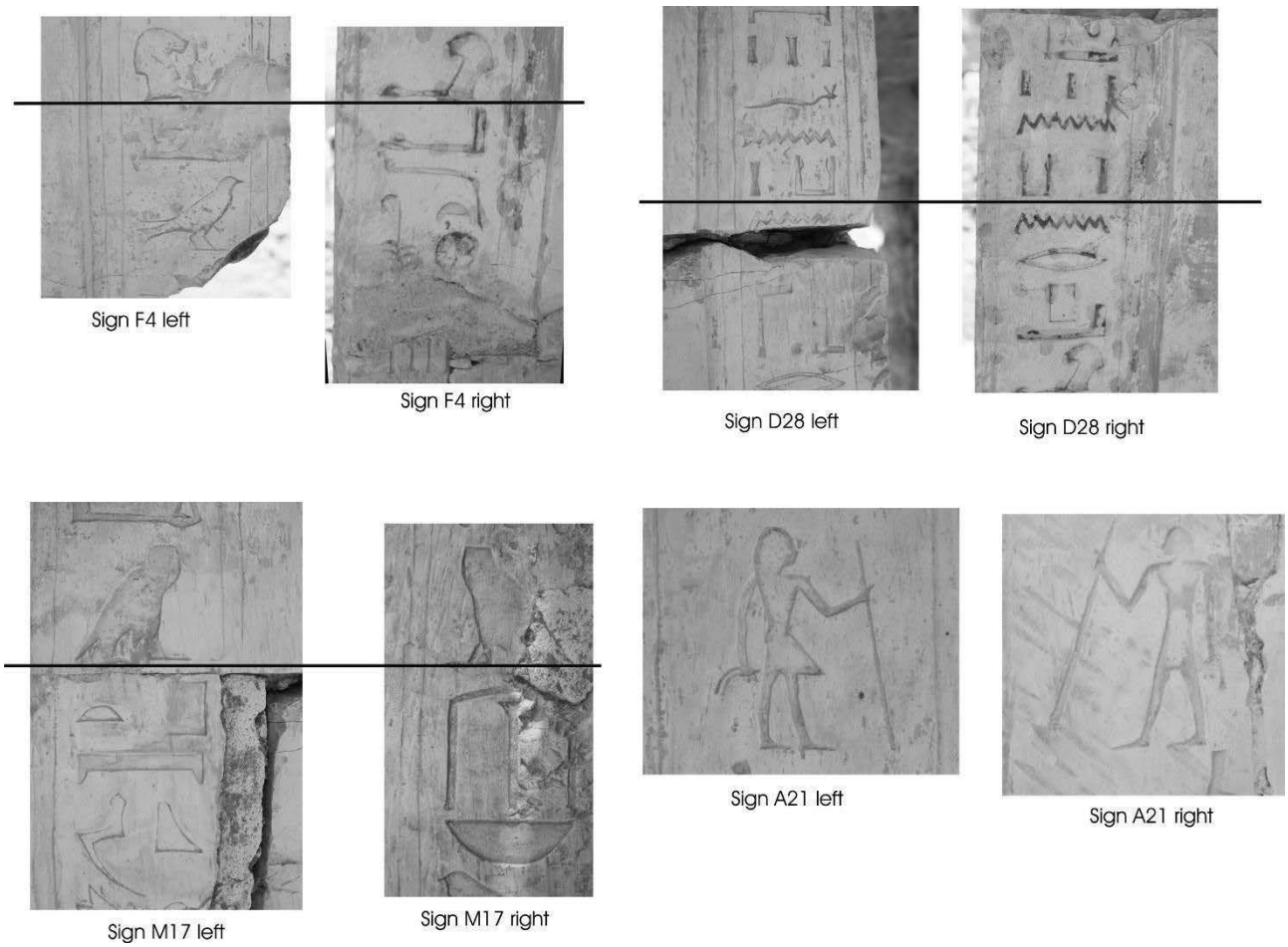


Fig. 4: Examples for signs executed differently on both sides of the portal (author's photos)

Right Side

1 ⇨ May the king give an offering (and) Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, the Great(est) God, Lord of Abydos, in order that he may give a funerary repast consisting of bread, beer, beef, and poultry at New Year's day, the Thoth-festival, the First day of the year, the *Wag*-festival, offerings of the Great-festival, the *rkḥ*-festival, (and those) that come [forth] at the Month-festival, the Half-moon-festival, at the [/// 1 gr.]-festival, at all feasts (and) every day, for the *Ka* of the Governor of the City, Padibastet, triumphant.

2 ⇨ May the king give an offering (and) Osiris, Lord of Busiris, the Great(est) god, Lord of [Abydos], [in order that he may give] a funerary repast consisting of bread, beer, [beef, and poultry] at the Month-festival, the Half-moon-festival, [the /// 3,5 gr.]-festival, the festival of Sokar, (and) every day in a perfect way for the Opening-of-the-face for the *Ka* of the *ỉmȝḫw*, Governor of the City, Padibastet**,** triumphant.

[6] *Cf*. BROEKMAN, *SAK* 41 (2012), 130–1.

3 ⇨ May the king give an offering (and) Geb and the Great Ennead and the [Small] Ennead**,** [may they give] [/// 11-12 gr.] cloth for the *Ka* of the Hereditary Count and Prince, Overseer of Upper Egypt, [Overseer of the prophets] of the gods, High Steward of the God's Adoratrix, Padibastet, triumphant.

Vignette

Padibastet, sitting, looking inside, with stick and handkerchief, clothed with a long kilt and sash across the breast, collar and double amulet. On top of his head a small anointment cone, under the stool a sealed anointment jar. Legend above him: Padibastet, triumphant.

Left side

1 ⇦ May the king give an offering (and) Anubis, Foremost of the Divine Booth, Lord of the Sacred Land, in order that he may give a perfect burial in the west and the introduction to the *ỉmȝḫw***,** for the *Ka* of the Hereditary Count and Prince, Seal-bearer of the *bỉt*-king, beloved Sole Companion, true acquaintance of the *nsw*-king, his beloved, Prophet of Amunrasonther, Overseer of Upper Egypt (horizontal line) Padibastet, triumphant.

2 ⇦ May the king give an offering (and) Anubis, He who is in the wrappings, He who is upon his mountain, in order that he may give a funerary repast consisting of bread, beer, beef, poultry, and everything good and pure on which a god lives and of what heaven gives and earth creates, for the *Ka* of the Hereditary Count and Prince, Greatest of the [/// 3,5 gr. Great], a Great One in his dignity (horizontal line) Padibastet, triumphant.

3 ⇦ May the king give an offering (and) Amun-Re, Lord of the thrones of the Two lands, Foremost [/// 5 gr. of Karnak, in order that he may give what is coming forth from] his offering table for the *Ka* of the Osiris of the Hereditary Count and Prince, Greatest of the Great [/// ca 15 gr.].

Vignette

Padibastet, sitting, looking inside, with stick and *sekhem*-sceptre, clothed with a long kilt and sash across the breast, collar, and double amulet, under the stool a sealed heart-formed vessel. Legend above him: Padibastet, triumphant.

Staircase-vestibule

Only the left wall of the Staircase-vestibule is decorated (fig. 5).[7] It is divided into a vignette in the middle with inscriptions on top of it and below a section with a sun-hymn in 12 columns of hieroglyphic text to the left and a standing figure of Padibastet adoring the sun, directed to the outside, on the right. This section of the wall is only preserved to about 50% of its original height.

Description of the Vignette

Many details of the vignette are destroyed. Padibastet is sitting at the right end on a high pedestal. His chair possesses lion's claws. In his right hand, he holds a long staff. Before him there is an offering stand laden with mostly indeterminate offerings. On its right side is standing a *ḥzt*-vessel, while on the left an ointment jar. At the left end Horsiese is approaching bearing flowers in his hands. Both persons are identified by the inscriptions above their heads.

[7] Dimensions: width *c.* 1.12 m; height *c.* 1.38 m.

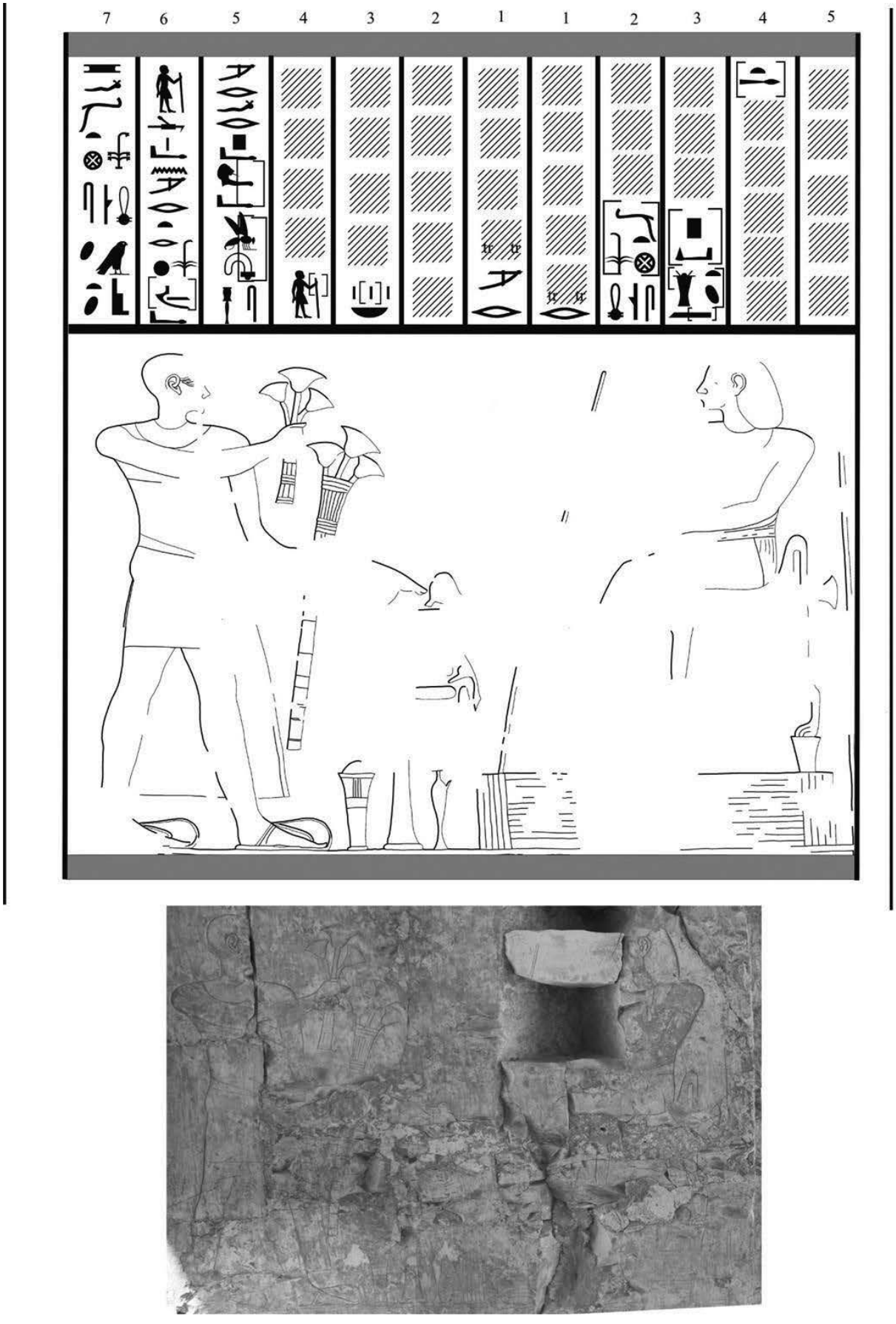


Fig. 5: Vestibule-staircase to TT 391. Left wall, upper part with inscription and vignette below (drawing by Anke Ilona Blöbaum after photographs by Erhart Graefe). Below photograph of the vignette

The text above the vignette contains 12 columns of text: 5 on the right, to be read from left to right, referring to Padibastet sitting below; 7 on the left, to be read from right to left, giving titles and name of Padibastet's son Horsiese (fig. 6), who is depicted below offering to his father.

1 right: [/// 5. gr. r]
2 right: [/// 3 gr.] [Overseer] of the whole of [Upper Egypt]
3 right: [/// 3 gr.] [Padi]bastet, tri-
4 right: umphant [/// 5 gr.]
5 right: [/// 5 gr.]
1 left: [/// 4 gr.] *mr(j)*
2 left: [/// 5 gr.]
3 left: [/// 4 gr.] *nb*
4-7 left: [/// 4 gr.] (sign A21) his eldest ? [son ?], his beloved, Hereditary Count and Prince, Seal-bearer of the *bỉt*-king, beloved Sole Companion, true acquaintance of the *nsw*-king, his beloved, Overseer of the whole of Upper Egypt, Horsiese. (see photograph in fig. 6).

It is plausible to read at the end of column 4: *wr* or *śmśw* 'eldest (son)', especially since Horsiese is serving the offerings to Padibastet.[8]

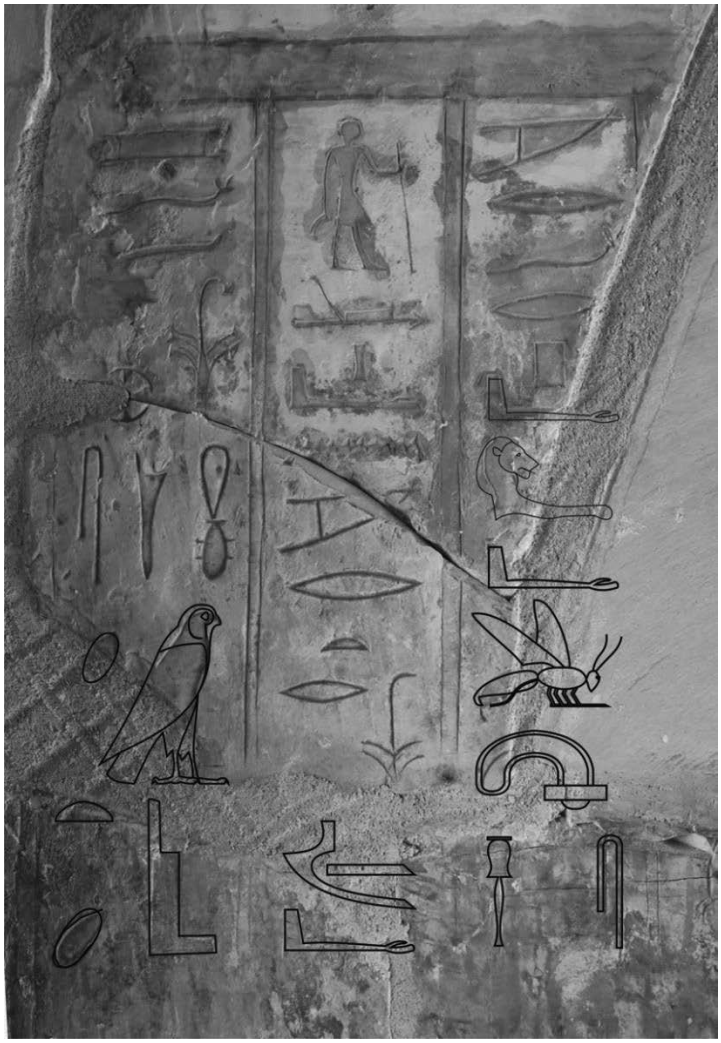


Fig. 6: Left end of cols. 5–7 (fig. 5) as photographed, with damaged hieroglyphs superimposed

[8] For the genealogy of the family, see GRAEFE, A New High Steward.

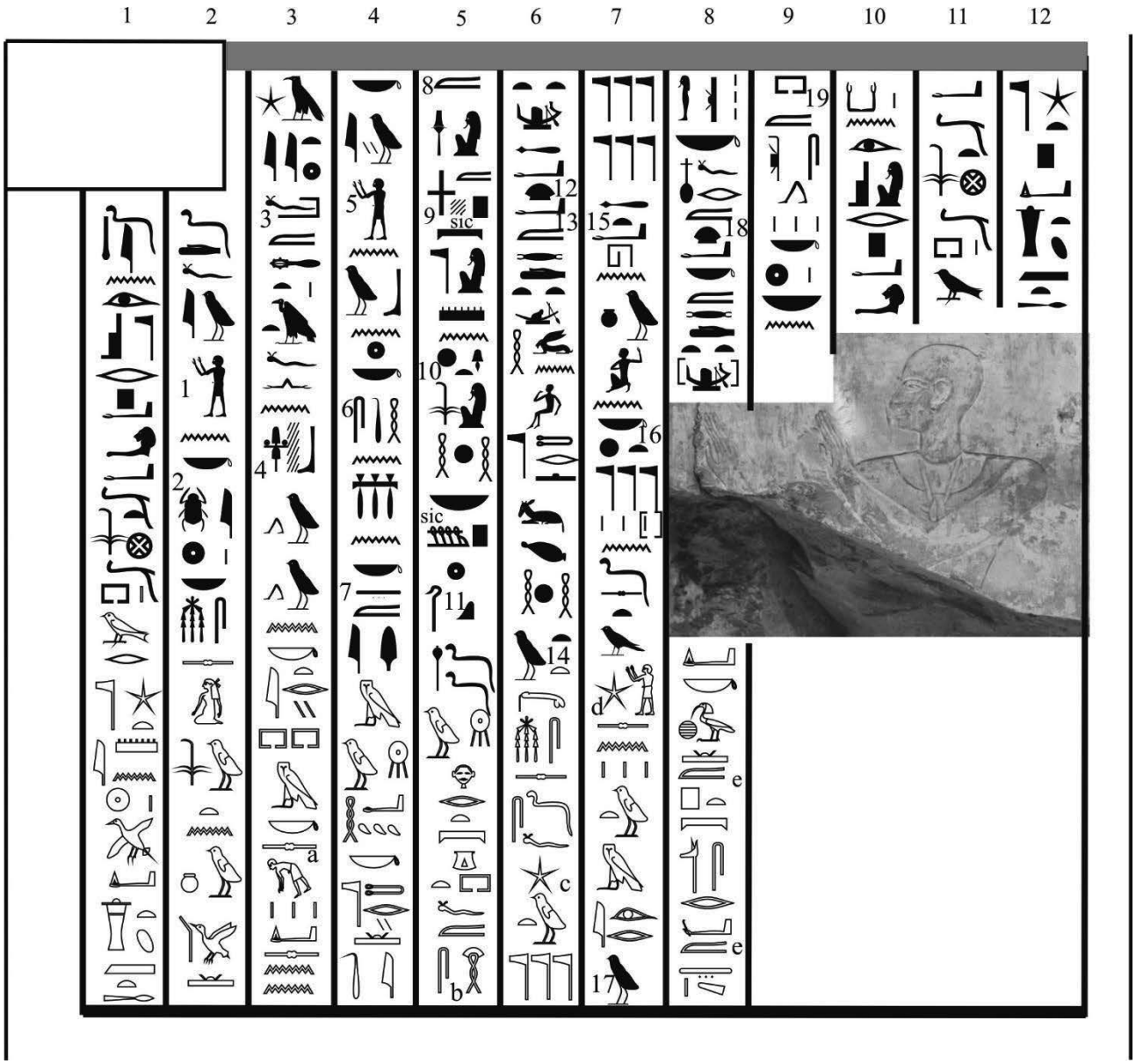


Fig. 7: Vestibule-staircase to TT 391. Left wall, lower part with sun-hymn. Black hieroglyphs: preserved text; outline hieroglyphs: reconstructed text based on the text from TT 279

Sun-hymn

About 50% of the upper part of the text and the depiction of Padibastet at the right end are still preserved. Additionally, one single fragment with the *w*-sign is present at the bottom of column 7 (fig. 7). At the upper left, there is a rectangular hole in the wall, which was clearly made before the hieroglyphs were cut. This was probably designed to put in a wooden bar to seal the tomb. However, a wooden door does not seem to have ever existed, for there are no pivot-holes in the ceiling of the passage or in the ground. The version of the sun-hymn follows very closely the one in the tomb of Padibastet's grandfather Pabasa (TT 279).[9] In fig. 7 the text is given in black standard-hieroglyphs with a reconstruction of the missing parts in outline hieroglyphs according to the version as given by Assmann.

Fig. 8 shows the differences between both versions, noting the diverging orthography in Pabasa's. In Padibastet's, the scribe generally wanted to gain space (compare figs. 7–8, nrs. 3, 16, 19). He normally used the

[9] Published by ASSMANN, *Sonnenhymnen*, 312–3 [nr. 227].

sign Aa13 instead of the owl for *m*, while he also omitted the book roll (Y1) on several occasions (nrs. 11, 12, 13). At the sections annotated with small Latin letters a–f, I indicate my own variants made in order to adapt the text to the available space in Padibastet's version. The versions of grandfather and grandson are clearly both depending on a common model text. It is only at nr. 19 where the redactor for Padibastet shortened his model a little bit too much by reducing *pr(j)=ỉ* to *pr*.

Translation

(1)Words to be spoken by the Osiris of the Hereditary Count and Prince, Overseer of Upper Egypt, [High] Steward of the [God's Adoratrix of Amun-Re, Padibastet, triumphant]. (2)He says: Adoration to you, Khepri,[10] every day, [He who is engendering himself] (3)every morning, who comes forth from the body of his mother continuously. [To you the two chapels] are coming [bowing; they give] (4)to you adoration for your rising. You made the earth shining through the brightness [of your body, you being divine] (5)as a mighty one, who is in heaven, Perfect god, King of eternity, Lord of brightness, Ruler of the light [of heaven[11]. His throne is] (6)in the *Mesektet*-barge, One who is great of appearance in the *Mandjet*-barge, Divine youth, heir of eternity, who is engendering [himself] [and bearing himself]. (7)The Great Ennead [is adoring you], the Small Ennead is cheering to you, [they worship you in] (8)your perfect form when you appear in the *Mandjet*-barge. [May you give glorification in heaven, might on earth,] (9)coming forth[12] among your followers every day for (10)the *Ka* of the Osiris of the Hereditary Count and Prince, (11)Overseer of Upper Egypt, High Steward of (12)the God's Adoratrix, Padibastet, triumphant.

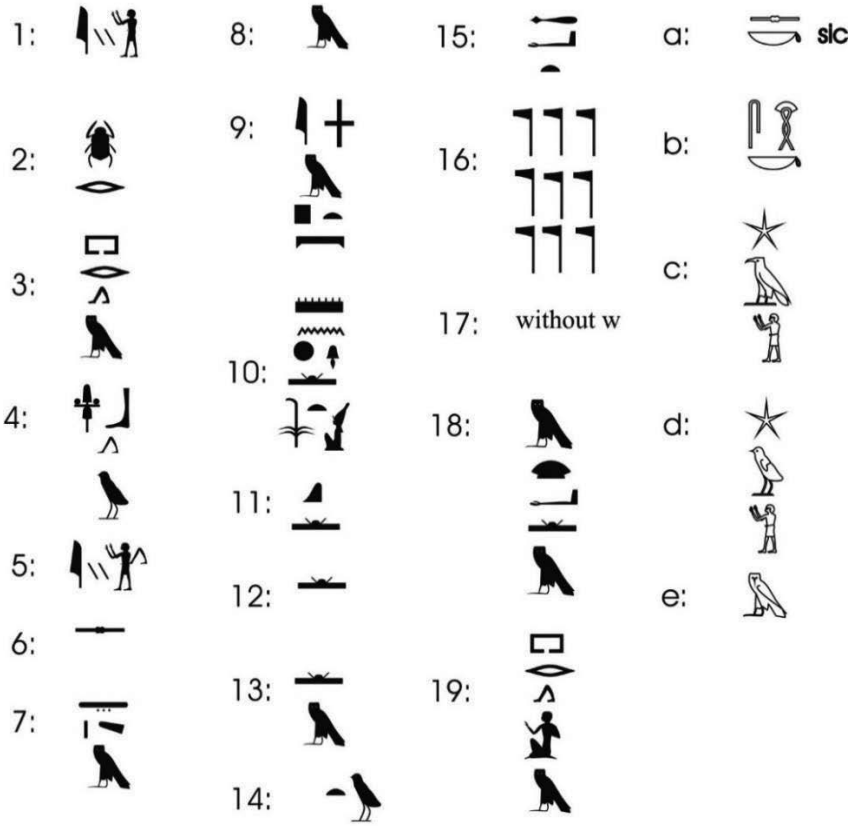


Fig. 8: Vestibule-staircase to TT 391, sun-hymn. Differences to the text in fig. 7 based on the text in TT 279.

[10] Pabasa: 'who is coming into being every day'.
[11] Pabasa gives *ḥrt* 'heaven'. Assmann corrects it into *ḥrj*, as a nisba *ḥrj nśt=f*.
[12] Pabasa gives *pr(j)=ỉ* 'that I will be coming forth …'. Assmann does not consider the suffix *=ỉ* in his translation. though he does it in his transliteration.

Addendum

In note 2 above, the publication of the rock-stela of Padibastet found in 2013 is referred to. In July 2017, Louise Gestermann very kindly informed me that the heavily damaged lines 17–19 of the stela can be supplemented with parallel texts in the tombs of Pabasa (TT 279) and Sheshonq (TT 27), which were published by Assmann.[13] It is a litany to the sun-god and does not continue the hymn of the Second Hour of the Day. During the 2016 conference in Luxor, Laurent Coulon remarked that the epithet in line 3 of the stela reads as: *wp(j).n=ỉ n* (neg) *nmᶜ*, 'who judges without being partial'. Furthermore, when the article quoted above went to press, we had not yet seen that the lowermost stone of the steps leading up to the stela was a Ramesside block (from a door frame?), probably removed from the nearby Ramesseum. As for the main text of Padibastet's stela, it should be added that during our visit in TT 27 in September 2016, I realised that the stela in this tomb's Open Court also possess the hymn of the second hour of the Ritual of the Hours of Day.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to the editors of this volume for their valuable feedback and corrections of my English.

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[13] ASSMANN, *Sonnenhymnen*, 314 [nr. 228, col. 2].

A Brief Note on a Rare Find of Ivory from the Tomb of Karabasken (TT 391)

John Billman

Abstract

The present paper discusses four ivory fragments found by the South Asasif Conservation Project during the clearing of the burial chamber in the tomb of Karabasken. This paper comprises a preliminary presentation of these fragments and suggests why they could be part of the original burial assemblage of Karabasken.

Ivory Fragments: Find Context and Description

The archaeological context of finds from TT 391 is almost universally disturbed as a result of a combination of natural flood events and human interventions with multiple secondary burials and later occupation forming a complex use-life of the tomb. This level of disturbance has contributed to the significant damage to many of the finds, including the ivory fragments discussed here. In total, four small damaged ivory fragments were recovered from the burial chamber of TT 391, with all showing signs of exposure to heat or fire to some degree.

Three of the four fragments were found together in the same locus to the north of the burial chamber. The largest fragment (2016.300-B) is just 3.3 x 2.4 cm and has an uninscribed rough split-level surface with an internal groove on two sides to dovetail with another object. The smallest fragment 1.3 x 1.0 cm (2016.300-C) is especially burnt, and is also uninscribed on both sides. The third of these fragments (2016.300-A) is 1.3 x 2.1 cm and is inscribed in raised relief on both sides (fig. 1). On both sides an *n* and *j* are clearly visible, while on the other, the slight remains of *k* can be discerned, thus giving a reading of *knj* (fig. 2).



Fig. 1: The two faces of 2016.300-A (photo: J. Billman)

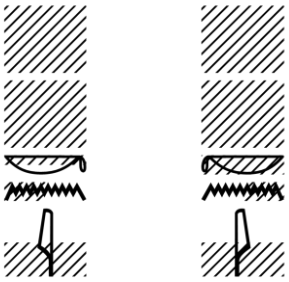


Figure 2: Inscriptions on the two faces of 2016.300-A (JSesh: K. Griffin)

The final fragment (2016.301) was found separately in a layer 1.74 m higher to the centre of the burial chamber (fig. 3). This fragment is just 1.5 x 1.4 cm and while uninscribed on one side, it has a decorative element in raised relief on the obverse. Given the level of disturbance and the scarcity of ivory in the South Asasif necropolis, it is certainly possible, indeed probable, that this fragment is related to the first three pieces.

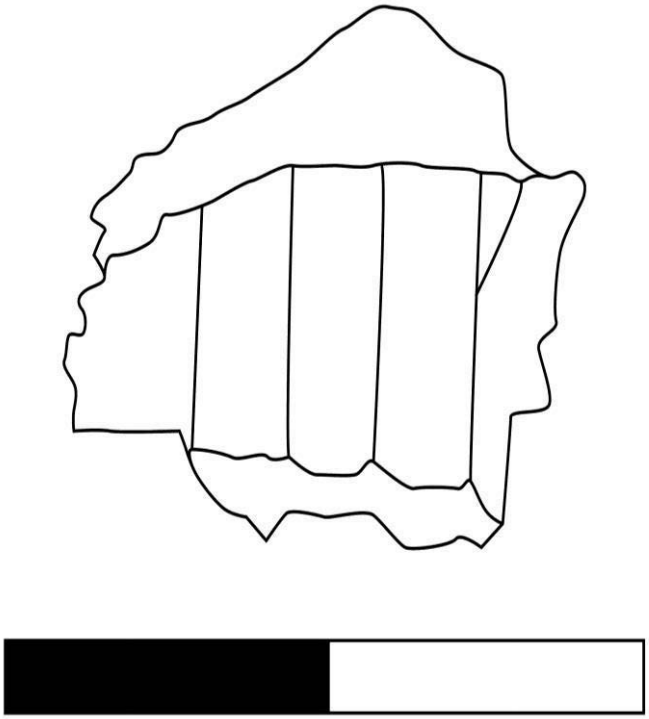


Fig. 3: Drawing of 2016.301 (drawing: K. Blakeney)

A Fragment Containing the Name of the Owner of TT 391?

The only artefact from TT 391 that can so far be confirmed to preserve the primary tomb owners name are the ushabti figures of Karabasken. Included within the hundreds of damaged fragments located in the tomb were fragments of faience ushabtis with raised cheeks, which sink as they approach the nose, and other characteristic Kushite facial features without any specific facial characteristics of Karabasken himself.[1] Nevertheless, one example clearly preserves the owners name spelt as 'Karabasken' in the back central column, a reading confirmed by other fragments.

[1] PISCHIKOVA, in CREASEMAN, *Archaeological Research*, 255–71. Characteristics of Kushite representation are discussed in RUSSMANN, *Representation*, for Shabaqo especially 12–18.

While this ushabti and a reading from the lintel of the back doorframe of the entrance to the pillared hall both spell the tomb owners name as 'Karabasken', omitting the trailing '*j*', Molinero Polo has demonstrated that nineteen of the twenty preserved occurrences of the name within the tomb should actually be read 'Karabaskeni' with a final '*j*' on the end of the name.[2] This rendering of the tomb owners name is potentially significant for the interpretation of the fragment 2016.300-A as it suggests that the preserved inscription *knj* could be the end of the of the tomb owner's name.[3]

Parallels in Nubia

The disturbed archaeological context of the burial chamber included objects from later reuse of the tomb, as well as potentially intrusive material, making the dating of the ivory fragments more difficult. The decorative element of fragment 2016.301 (fig. 4) is insufficiently distinct to establish a definitive position on the greater design it is part of. An examination of extant ivory from Nubia suggests both alternative and disparate possible parallels from unrelated contexts. For example, the neck of a Kerma Culture ivory inlay of a lion,[4] or the collar of a possible Hathor figure from Dendera[5] both include a similar motif. However, one more useful piece of evidence could be the resemblance of the decorative emblem on this fragment with the raised relief decoration on some of the ivory fragments recovered by Reisner from Ku.15, the tomb of Shabaqo[6] and from Ku.18, the tomb of Shebitqo.[7]

The immediate parallels from Ku.15 and Ku.18 are also fragmentary as the tombs were heavily robbed, but they do preserve larger elements of decoration than TT 391. These were reconstructed by Dunham into processional scenes of the bringing of offerings or goods, with the background foliage illustrating the parallel to 2016.301. It is unclear if these fragments should be coupled with further ivory fragments from Ku.18 showing captive Nubians and Libyans and conquered towns that would imply a more official context of 'tribute' from controlled lands. Since no captive fragments were found in TT 391, the scene may be a more generic example of offerings. [8]

Furthermore, the fragments from Kurru and those limited pieces from TT 391 include both figurative decoration and text. Although this is a very broad point, it reduces the possible parallels for the Karabasken fragments. Therefore, while this can only be put forward very tentatively from such a damaged fragment, the chronological and cultural connections with Kurru would support this parallel above other possibilities at this time.

Ivory in Egypt and Imported Burial Material in TT 391

The question of the source of the ivory in TT 391 should also be considered. The well attested and relatively plentiful supply of elephant ivory from Nubia in the New Kingdom[9] declined significantly during the Third Intermediate Period in Egypt[10] when examples of ivory from burials are rare.[11] At the same time, ivory is

[2] MOLINERO POLO, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif: New Discoveries*, 217–37.
[3] ZIBELIUS-CHEN, *"Nubisches" Sprachmaterial*, 247.
[4] MFA 20.1530, excavated in Kerma, Tomb 407, http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/ivory-inlay-of-a-lion-142851, accessed 11 January 2018.
[5] MFA 98.1114, excavated by Petrie on behalf of the Egypt Exploration Fund at Dendera in the animal catacombs. See PETRIE, *Dendereh*, 28, who devotes just one sentence to the ivory finds in the catacombs and this piece is not discussed. For an illustration, see http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/fragment-with-hathor-134279, accessed 11 January 2018.
[6] DUNHAM, *El Kurru*, pls. 33a & d, figs. 20g, h & j.
[7] DUNHAM, *El Kurru*, pl. 34c, fig. 23c
[8] It is important to note that captive scene in Kurru was part of the royal context and could hardly be expected in an elite tomb.
[9] KRZYSZKOWSKA, MORKOT, in NICHOLSON, SHAW (eds.), *Materials and Technology*, 324–5.
[10] MORKOT, *Economic and Cultural Exchange*, 275.
[11] ASTON, *Burial Assemblages*, 380

well attested in Nubia during the Twenty-fifth dynasty,[12] with evidence suggesting a continued harvesting and usage of the material into the Napatan Period,[13] by contrast the relative sparsity in Egypt continues into the Late Period.[14]

The level of continued availability of hippopotamus ivory in Egypt is uncertain and availability does not necessarily translate to usage.[15] It has not been determined if the ivory from TT 391 is hippopotamus or elephant ivory and this is likely to be challenging given the level of damage. However, the paucity of ivory remains from a purely Egyptian context in both the period leading up to and following the Twenty-fifth dynasty would mitigate against the fragments discovered in TT 391 simply representing domestic Egyptian hippopotamus ivory fragments with no Nubian connection.

One exceptional find of ivory, which should be considered, are the panels from a small box now preserved in the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon (acc. no. 164B). These unprovenanced panels depicting offering bearers are decorated in shallow raised relief and are notable both for the quality of the decoration and their archaistic style that has led to a suggested dating of these pieces to the Twenty-sixth dynasty.[16] However, it can now be clearly demonstrated that such archaism could equally be dated to the Twenty-fifth dynasty.[17] Specifically, considering the period of the Twenty-fifth dynasty contemporary with TT 391 and TT 223, Pischikova discusses multiple examples from the South Asasif noting some stylistic similarities with Shabaqo's Kurru burial.[18] Of most relevance are two aspects of decoration from TT 223 that closely parallel the Gulbenkian examples. The first, from the north side of the false door of TT 223, is a fragment of the head of an offering bearer with a lily (lotus) in front.[19] This is particularly similar in style to three examples preserved on the Gulbenkian box. The second, from the *Tornische* of TT 223, is a stork that again has a close parallel to one of the Gulbenkian panels.[20] Furthermore, the Gulbenkian panels themselves include stylistic similarities with the ivory found in Ku.15,[21] and both examples of ivory include similar papyrus backgrounds. Therefore, with parallels in both Kurru and the South Asasif, I suggest the Gulbenkian panels most likely date to the Twenty-fifth dynasty.

This is of particular significance for the dating of the South Asasif ivory fragments. Not only does it demonstrate a significant example of the contemporary, or near-contemporary, use of ivory most likely in Egypt, the decoration of the Gulbenkian panels may illustrate a parallel with one of the South Asasif frag-

[12] GRIFFITH, *AAALiv* 9 (1922), 117–8, pl. 53b presents a find of fifteen elephant tusks from the 'treasury' at Sanam. TÖRÖK, *Between Two Worlds,* 334 discusses this find and suggests continued trade along the Nile in ivory is evidenced by such a quantity of elephant tusks found in these magazines built by Piankhy at Sanam, which seals suggested continued in use throughout the dynasty. For use in burials, see DUNHAM, *El Kurru*, 57–9, 70, 92.

[13] Ivory exports are identified by WENIG, *Africa in Antiquity*, 83 as a contributor to the Napatan economy, a point also emphasised by MORKOT, *Economic and Cultural Exchange*, 271 as well as KRZYSZKOWSKA, MORKOT, in NICHOLSON, SHAW (eds.), *Materials and Technology*, 325–6 who note evidence that these exports are to the Near East (perhaps via direct routes) rather than through Egypt. The seals mentioned by TÖRÖK (see previous note) in the Piankhy magazines containing elephant tusks at Sanam continue into the early Napatan Period, also suggesting continued elephant ivory storage and potentially trade. Ivory usage in the Napatan Period is also attested in multiple burials in Nuri, see DUNHAM, *Nuri*, 19, 31, 42,

[14] KRZYSZKOWSKA, MORKOT, in NICHOLSON, SHAW (eds.), *Materials and Technology*, 326.

[15] KRZYSZKOWSKA, MORKOT, in NICHOLSON, SHAW (eds.), *Materials and Technology*, 327.

[16] Barnett, *Ancient Ivories*, 22, pl. 11; DE ARAÚJO, *Egyptian Art*, 102–3.

[17] For further examples of discussion of archaism in this period, see JOSEPHSON, in REDFORD (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia*, 111; MORKOT in TAIT (ed.), *"Never Has the Like Occurred"*, 77–99; PISCHIKOVA, in TIRADRITTI (ed.), *Pharaonic Renaissance*, 81–89; TIRADRITTI, *ASAE* 80 (2006). For examples of royal archaism in Nubia, see TÖRÖK, *Kingdom of Kush*, especially 189, 336–41; TÖRÖK, *Image of Ordered World*, especially 55, 92–3; TÖRÖK, *Between Two Worlds*, 330.

[18] See, in particular, PISCHIKOVA, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Thebes*, 73–91.

[19] PISCHIKOVA, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Thebes*, 81, fig. 4.7; PISCHIKOVA, *et al*., in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif: New Discoveries*, 58, fig. 3.6.

[20] PISCHIKOVA *et al.,* in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif: New Discoveries*, 32, fig. 2.5.

[21] DUNHAM, *El Kurru*, pls. 33a & d, fig. 20g.

ments. The body of a basket of fruit carried by one of the offering bearers, the background papyrus decoration and the fibrous container also carried by one of the bearers could, all offer a potential parallel to the bands of raised relief seen in 2016.301 (fig. 4), although the caution presented earlier about the indistinct nature of this fragment remains.

While it also remains the case that neither the Gulbenkian pieces or the South Asasif fragments can be dated with absolute certainty, some recent ceramic evidence suggests the presence of a limited number of imported Nubia vessels, perhaps as part of the burial assemblage of Karabasken.[22] This would indicate that the ivory fragments could also have originated in Nubia, and were perhaps transported from Nubia as worked objects rather than raw material.

Concluding Remarks

Karabasken's ushabti fragments found in the burial chamber of TT 391 indicate Kushite facial features. The Nubian influence within the burial assemblage is further accentuated by the presence of Nubian ceramics. The find of ivory fragments when the material is relatively infrequent in burials in Egypt during the Late Period also suggests a potential Nubian origin. When coupled with the parallels to Ku.15 and Ku.18, this is sufficient to tentatively suggest that the ivory fragments are most likely chronologically contemporary to the tomb owner. Another strong argument in favour of the Kushite date is the *knj* ending of the name discussed earlier. Furthermore, while the evidence does not support a final conclusion, when this is combined with the preserved text fragment recovered it does enable me to propose that it is likely that these fragments form part of the original burial equipment of Karabasken(i).

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[22] See BUDKA, in this volume.

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PART B:

NORTH ASASIF



Fig. B-1: General view of the North Asasif necropolis (photo: J. Budka)

Combination of Tradition and Innovation in the Decorative Programme of the Tomb of Padiamenope (TT 33)

Silvia Einaudi

Abstract

An exceptionally rich collection of funerary texts are present within the enormous tomb of the Lector Priest and Chief Padiamenope (TT 33). The in-depth study we are conducting on these inscriptions and their associated scenes reveals that, on the one hand, Padiamenope copied ancient texts faithfully following their original arrangement, as attested in Old and New Kingdom sources (i.e. some sequences of spells from the *Pyramid Texts* or the *Book of the Dead*), while on the other hand he introduced 'personal' changes, which appear to be the result of text and iconographic 'editing' (i.e. *Book of the Dead*, *Amduat*, *Book of the Gates*). Some of these innovations are to be found in other monumental tombs of the Asasif necropolis from the Kushite–Saite periods (Montuemhat, Pabasa, Mutirdis, Sheshonq), or in later documents: a testament to the fact that the decorative programme of Padiamenope's tomb, or its sources, were regarded as a model worthy of imitation.

The tomb of the Lector Priest and Chief Padiamenope (end of the Twenty-fifth/beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty) in the Asasif necropolis, displays an extremely rich and varied repertoire of funerary texts and scenes carved on its walls, ceilings, pillars, and pilasters. As often happens in the so called 'temple-tombs' of this Late Period necropolis, the sources used by the cultured Padiamenope date back to different epochs, from the Old Kingdom on, showing a deep knowledge of ancient monuments, texts, iconography, as well as religious rituals and practices. The original plan of this tomb and its decorative layout reveal amazing facets of Padiamenope's personality. He was actually an erudite scholar and philologist, a sort of Egyptologist *ante litteram*, well versed in different aspects of ancient history, funerary literature, and cults, as some of his titles confirm.[1] However, he did not restrict himself to a sort of 'copy-and-paste procedure', but often took an active role in reviewing the sources he used. The result is a decoration characterised by many personalised details. At the same time, some of the elements introduced by Padiamenope in the iconographic and textual layout of his tomb are attested in other later funerary monuments and documents. This reveals that Padiamenope's tomb could have been used as a sort of direct source of inspiration and/or that common models were employed by Padiamenope as well as by other officials and priests later on.

Though it is as yet unclear to which extent the court was decorated,[2] the entrance niche has a rich decoration on the walls and ceiling. The scenes carved on the north and south walls reproduce a well-known iconography inspired by Old Kingdom tombs with offering lists,[3] offering bearers, and libations, which are particularly widespread in the open courts and/or entrance niches of the Late Period tombs of the Asasif.[4] The ceiling is painted with a polychrome geometrical pattern that, as already pointed out by von Bissing,[5] is influenced by the Middle Kingdom tombs of Asyut. More recently, Kahl showed that this adornment (not

[1] *Cf.* GASSE, ALBERT, EINAUDI, RÉGEN, TRAUNECKER, *ENiM* 8 (2015), 60–6; TRAUNECKER, RÉGEN, *BSFE* 193–4 (2016), 52–76. See also the paper by TRAUNECKER in this volume.

[2] Just a few hieroglyphs, published by Lepsius, are attested, which associate Padiamenope's name with the cartouche of Horemheb. See L*D Text* III, 245. As Traunecker recently established, this inscription reveals a hitherto unknown title of Padiamenope as 'Priest of Iousaas of Horemheb'.

[3] Barta's offering lists A and B are carved on both walls. BARTA, *Die altägyptische Opferliste*, 47–50, 78–9. *Cf.* EINAUDI, *Le fil rouge qui relie Padiaménopé à Hatchepsout*.

[4] *Cf.*, for instance, the tombs of Harwa (TT 37), Montuemhat (TT 34: Chapel C), Ibi (TT 36) and Pabasa (TT 279). A very similar decoration is to be found in the Southern Hall of Offerings of the temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari. NAVILLE, *Deir el-Bahari* IV, pls. 108–13.

[5] VON BISSING, *ZÄS* 74 (1938), 3, n. 4.

just the pattern, but its general arrangement as well) is identical to the one painted on the ceiling of the great transverse hall of the tomb of the nomarch Djefai-Hapi I, in Asyut, dated to the reign of Senwosret I (Twelfth Dynasty).[6] To explain this analogy, Kahl[7] rules out the possibility of a direct copy, suggesting, on the contrary, the existence of a model papyrus (or a leather roll), with a more or less detailed sketch of the ceiling decorative layout, originally kept in a library in Asyut and then (between the Twelfth and the Eighteenth Dynasties) transferred to Thebes to be consulted as a 'master copy' for tomb decoration. This hypothetical papyrus/leather roll with drawn patterns ('integrale Vorlage') would have been used in the Late Period also for the tomb of Padiamenope.[8]

In the First Pillared Hall of Padiamenope's tomb, other aspects of both tradition and innovation can be observed. The east wall is completely inscribed with solar texts.[9] On the southern section, the solar hymns are prefaced by the composition known as *Der König als Sonnenpriester*: a 'liturgische Kosmographie' or 'kulttheologische[r] Traktat', according to Assmann's definitions.[10] This text is known from ten other sources, all of them, except one, dated to the New Kingdom or the Twenty-fifth–Twenty-sixth Dynasties: six are from royal temples or sarcophagi and four from non-royal funerary contexts.[11] As concerns the Late Period versions, the text is attested three times in Thebes: in the tomb of Padiamenope, in the Edifice of Taharqo by the Sacred Lake (Karnak), a monument that shows other interesting similarities with the Late Period tombs of the Asasif,[12] and in the Saite tomb of Sheshonq (TT 27), where some fragments of this text (still unpublished) have been found in the court.[13]

Padiamenope's version of this solar composition also includes the final sentences concerning the king, though referring to Padiamenope himself, who replaces the pharaoh in his role of priest adoring the sun god and as the object of veneration at the same time.[14] Therefore, Padiamenope, who did not hesitate to use a purely royal cultic text for his tomb, must have employed a royal document as a model. In this regard, two hypotheses are conceivable: either the same source, possibly from the New Kingdom, was used for both Padiamenope's and Taharqo's contemporary versions, or Padiamenope was directly inspired by Taharqo's text (or its master copy). Whatever the case may be, Padiamenope did not limit himself to reproduce this old text in his tomb, but he inserted it in a 'solar context', made up of adoration scenes[15] and inscriptions[16] devoted to the solar cycle and cult, which are attested also in the royal monuments.

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[6] KAHL, *Ornamente in Bewegung*. 34–8.

[7] KAHL, *Ornamente in Bewegung*, 37.

[8] The tomb of Djefai-Hapi I also shares strong similarities with other Late Period tombs in the Asasif necropolis (Pabasa, Ankhhor, Sheshonq), especially as concerns some expressions and epithets from the autobiographical texts of their owners. *Cf.* KAHL, *Siut-Theben*, 217–8, 225–8, 230–1. For a discussion of when and how the transfer of texts and patterns from Asyut to Thebes could have taken place, see KAHL, *Siut-Theben*, 294–335.

[9] GESTERMANN, *Die Überlieferung ausgewählter Texte* I, 110–1.

[10] ASSMANN, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, 1; ASSMANN, *ZÄS* 110 (1983), 93.

[11] Royal monuments: temples of Deir el-Bahari (Eighteenth Dynasty); Luxor (Eighteenth Dynasty); Medinet Habu (Twentieth Dynasty); the Edifice of Taharqo in Karnak (Twenty-fifth Dynasty). Royal sarcophagi: Aspelta and Anlamani from Nuri (Kushite Period). Private sources: tomb of Tjanefer (TT 158: Twentieth Dynasty?); *Book of the Dead* of Hai (BM EA 9953B: Twentieth Dynasty); tomb of Sheshonq (TT 27: Twenty-sixth Dynasty); tomb of Pasheritaisu (Saqqara, Thirtieth Dynasty–beginning of the Roman Period). J. ASSMANN, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, 1–3; ASSMANN, *Das Dekorationsprogramm*, 93; PARKER, LECLANT, GOYON, *The Edifice of Taharqa*, pl. 18b, 31–3 (for synopsis of the text).

[12] EINAUDI, in KOTHAY (ed.), *Burial and Mortuary Practices*, 108–10.

[13] ROCCATI, *OA* 15 (1976) 234, n. 4. *Cf.* ASSMANN, *Das Dekorationsprogramm*, 93.

[14] ASSMANN, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, 16, 37–8. This part of the text is omitted in both private versions of the Twentieth Dynasty (*cf.* n. 11), while it is attested in the tomb of Pasheritaisu. BRESCIANI, *EVO* 1 (1978), 38.

[15] On the lintel of the eastern door of the First Pillared Hall, close to the wall where *Der König als Sonnenpriester* text is carved, Padiamenope was shown twice adoring the sun barque (the scene is damaged). Two series of eight baboons were behind him, in the same gesture of adoration. This kind of scene is associated with *Der König als Sonnenpriester* text also in the temples of Deir el-Bahari (Solar Cult Complex), Luxor (Room 17), Medinet Habu (Room 18, 'Re-chapel') and in the Edifice of Taharqo in Karnak (Room D): ASSMANN, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, 3–14.

With respect to the *Book of the Dead*, adorning the most part of Padiamenope's First Pillared Hall, the main sequence of spells carved on the south, west, and north walls can be considered as one of the first examples of the Saite recension.[17] The first three spells (BD 1-17-18), which reflect the opening section of some papyri from the New Kingdom[18] and the Twenty-first Dynasty,[19] are followed by a long series of formulae (until BD 42) arranged in the 'canonical' order. Only BD 64 interrupts the sequence: BD 30-64-31. This *caesura* is also found in some papyri, all of them from the Twenty-sixth dynasty onward.[20] As concerns two of them at least (P. Tasheretenaset and P. Ankhwahibre), Munro showed that they were copied from the same template written in Thebes, probably during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.[21] Since other striking similarities can be observed between some spells in the tomb of Padiamenope and in the 'twin' papyri, we can speculate that Padiamenope used, at least for some parts of his tomb, the same Theban master copy, or he was, himself, its author.[22] As for the proximity of BD 30 and 64 in the tomb, already attested in one of the oldest *Book of the Dead* source: the lost coffin of queen Montuhotep,[23] as well as on Padiamenope's Perovski Stone,[24] it is possibly due to the fact that BD 64 mentions the heart scarab on which BD 30 (B) is usually written.

Another remarkable analogy between the tomb and the two Saite papyri is the anomalous (fragmentary) vignette of BD 68, which Padiamenope chose to carve on the eastern face of the north-eastern pillar in the Second Pillared Hall. The scene usually associated with this spell shows the deceased standing in front of a shrine, within which the goddess Hathor can be shown. An offering table with food and a lotus flower is of-

[16] *Cf*., in particular, the proximity of this text to the hymn of the First Hour of the Day (from the *Stundenritual*), in Padiamenope's tomb (First Pillared Hall, northern part of the eastern wall) and in Hatshepsut's temple (Solar Cult Complex): ASSMANN, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, 13, 15, n. 5.

[17] EINAUDI, in: AMENTA, GUICHARD (eds.), *Proceedings of the First Vatican Coffin Conference* I, 164–6.

[18] *Cf.* P. Nu (BM EA 10477), from Thebes, Eighteenth Dynasty: BD 17-18-1.

[19] *Cf.* P. Pinedjem II (BM EA 10793), from Thebes, end of the Twenty-first Dynasty: BD 1-17-18.

[20] Twenty-sixth Dynasty papyri: P. Tasheretenaset from Thebes: MUNRO, *Die Totenbuch-Papyri des Ehepaars*, 6; P. Ankhwahibre (BM EA 10558) from Saqqara: MUNRO, *BMSAES* 15 (2010), 211 (Mosher considers this papyrus as a Ptolemaic document produced from a source with the same arrangement of P. Tasheretenaset: MOSHER, *The Book of the Dead*, 307. *Cf*. MUNRO, *BMSAES* 15 (2010), 206); P. Irtieru (P. Turin 1842) from Thebes: *Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57580*, totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57580. End of the Late Period/Ptolemaic Period papyri: P. New York MMA 35.9.20, from Meir: *Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57079*, totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57079; P. St. Petersburg 3531, from Thebes: *Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57202*, totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57202; P. Ryerson, from Thebes: P. Chicago OIM 9787, *Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 48470*, totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm48470; P. Dublin MS 1669, from Thebes: *Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57426*, totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57426; P. Kairo JE 95859, unknown provenance: *Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57445*, totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57445; P. Paris Louvre N. 3128 + E 4890 B, from Thebes: *Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 56940*, totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm56940; P. Köln IfA 2551, unknown provenance: *Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57142*, totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57142; P. Leiden T 16, from Thebes: *Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 56985*, totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm56985; P. London BM EA 10086, from Thebes: *Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57229*, totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57229; P. Milan E. 1023, from Thebes: *Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 56966*, totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm56966; P. Paris Louvre N. 3079, from Armant: *Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 56591*, totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm56591; P. Paris Louvre N. 3086, from Thebes: *Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 47355*, totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm47355; P. Paris Louvre N. 3089, from Thebes: *Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 56600*, totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm56600; P. Paris Louvre N. 3144+N. 3250+N. 3198bis, from Thebes: *Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 56648*, totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm56648; P. Paris Louvre N. 3145, 3191, 3211, 3237, unknown provenance: *Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 56649*, totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm56649; P. Paris Louvre N. 3248, from Thebes: *Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 56756*, totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm56756; P. Paris Louvre N. 3249, from Thebes: *Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 56757*, totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm56757; P. Turin 1834, unknown provenance: *Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57578*, totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57578.

[21] MUNRO, *BMSAES* 15 (2010), esp. 204, 208.

[22] EINAUDI, in BICKEL, DIAZ-IGLESIAS (eds.), *Studies in Ancient Egyptian Funerary Literature*, 252, 258–60.

[23] GEISEN, *Die Totentexte des verschollenen Sarges der Königin Mentuhotep*, 10.

[24] SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, in BERGER, CLERC, GRIMAL (eds.), *Hommages à Jean Leclant* IV, 337–54.

ten depicted between the deceased and the shrine.[25] In this traditional version of the vignette, the *bꜣ* in flight, which appears in Padiamenope's variant, is never shown. However, it usually appears along with the figure of the deceased in the vignette of two other spells: BD 91 ('Spell for not letting a man's *bꜣ*/NN's *bꜣ* be restrained in the netherworld') and BD 92 ('Spell for opening the tomb to the *bꜣ* and the shade, going forth by day and having power over the legs').[26] Therefore, an abnormal version of the vignette for BD 68 seems to be attested in the tomb of Padiamenope and it corresponds, very likely, to that found so far in only four other documents, dated to the Saite Period: the above mentioned 'twin' papyri of Tasheretenaset and Ankhwahibre,[27] the tomb of Bakenrenef in Saqqara (LS 24),[28] and the M. Princeton Pharaonic Roll 8.[29] In these four instances, the vignette for BD 68 represents the same scene: the deceased, holding a staff in one hand, walks to the right and before or behind him flies his *bꜣ*, as a human-headed bird. Behind the deceased is an altar, with some offerings and lotus flower(s) on top of them, followed by a shrine in which a goddess stands.

According to the aforementioned parallels, it is also reasonable to assume that the vignette for BD 68 in the tomb of Padiamenope had, in the now missing part of the scene, the image of a shrine with a goddess/Hathor inside. This vignette, therefore, appears to be the re-elaborated version of two or three different scenes usually associated with BD 68, 91, and/or 92 respectively, which have been united. As for the version in the tomb of Padiamenope, it represents, up to now, the earliest known attestation of this scene, since the other documents are certainly later. It seems, therefore, that Padiamenope used (or he himself probably elaborated) a new iconographical model for this vignette in his tomb, which could have been included in the master copies at the origin of the two Saite papyri, the tomb of Bakenrenef, and the M. Princeton Pharaonic Roll 8.

The fact that Padiamenope used different model-manuscripts/templates, with predilection for ancient sources, is clear when we analyse another spell: BD 18. Here, the sequence of sections composing the text differs greatly from the late one (a–k),[30] being the same as in the New Kingdom documents: [a]-c-e-g-i-b-d-f-h-k. This sequence is very close (but not identical) to the one attested in the 'twin' Saite papyri: a-c-e-g-**b-i**-d-f-h-[k]).[31] The very same arrangement of Padiamenope is to be found, however, in the *Book of the Dead* of Iahtesnakht, dated to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, coming from Abusir el-Meleq but probably copied from a Memphite master document which must have been similar to that used by Padiamenope.[32]

If we consider the *Pyramid Texts*, carved on the walls of the eastern part of Room IV, the connection between the tomb of Padiamenope and the Memphite region becomes even clearer. Here are two different sets of texts: a so-called 'fumigation text' followed by PT 72–76 (Pyr. 50–51), related to the presentation of unguents, and the 'dialogue of the ferryman' followed by PT 81 (Pyr. 56–57), related to the presentation of linen. As Bickel[33] and then Contardi[34] have pointed out, these same texts are carved on the walls of the burial chamber of Radja (originally in Heliopolis, now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo), dated by Bickel to the

[25] A second version of this vignette is known, where the deceased, holding a staff, stands before a shrine/his tomb with an open door (Mosher's version 2: MOSHER, *The Book of the Dead*, 303–8).
[26] EINAUDI, in BICKEL, DIAZ-IGLESIAS (eds.), *Studies in Ancient Egyptian Funerary Literature*, 257–58.
[27] MUNRO, *BMSAES* 15 (2010), 223, figs 11a-b.
[28] L*D* III, pl. 265.
[29] *Totenbuchprojekt Bonn*, *TM 114129*, totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm114129; http://libweb2.princeton.edu/rbsc2/papyri/BookoftheDeadRoll8.html.
[30] LEPSIUS, *Das Todtenbuch*, pls. 11–3.
[31] MUNRO, *Die Totenbuch-Papyri des Ehepaars*, 9, pls. 6–7.
[32] VERHOEVEN, *Das saitische Totenbuch der Iahtesnacht* I, 109, n. 1; II, 17–9.
[33] BICKEL, in BICKEL, MATHIEU (eds.), *D'un monde à l'autre. Textes des Pyramides*, 91, 96–104.
[34] CONTARDI, *Atti Scienze Morali* 144 (2010), 90–102.

Twenty-fifth or Twenty-sixth Dynasty, and in the Saite tomb of Sheshonq (TT 27) in the Asasif necropolis.[35] While the existence of a common model has to be presumed for Radja and Padiamenope (the 'dialogue of the ferryman' is exactly the same in the two monuments and it clearly evokes a Middle Kingdom version adapted from the original Old Kingdom text),[36] we can suppose that, due to its proximity, Sheshonq took the nearby tomb of Padiamenope as a template. Actually, further indications tell us that part of the tomb of Padiamenope was accessible and visited by priests, pilgrims, and scholars.[37]

Room VI reveals other quite astonishing elements as concerns our topic and, in particular, the process of copying decoration from one tomb to another. The walls of this passageway room, characterised by a staircase leading to Room VII, are carved with three spells from the *Book of the Dead*: 137A, 144 (final text), and 147. The entrance/south wall has the text of BD 137A, known as the 'Spell for the four torches': this is the 'long version' of BD 137, which, instead, was usually written on papyri at the Late Period. Padiamenope's version of BD 137A also includes the final sentences[38] prescribing that the spell has to be recited over four torches of red cloth, anointed with oil of Tjehenu from four men, each time an image of the deceased is made to reach the seven gateways of Osiris. These seven gateways and their keepers are precisely listed in BD 147, carved on the west and east walls of the room.

It is interesting to observe that the sequence of these three spells: 137A, 144 (final text), and 147 is only attested in one other instance so far: the tomb of Montuemhat (TT 34), as Wagner has pointed out.[39] In this tomb, whose decoration can be assigned to the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties, Room 48 has exactly the same texts as Padiamenope's Room VI, including an extra text that in TT 33 has been introduced between spells BD 144 and 147: the speech of the pelican goddess. In this short text, which recalls a passage of the '*Book of Praying to Re in the West*' (or *Litany of Re*),[40] the pelican goddess Henet[41] addresses the gatekeepers, so that they open the doors to the deceased.[42]

The identical decorative layout in Padiamenope's and Montuemhat's tombs is evidence that either one copied the decoration from the other or they used the same template. In this respect, the debate about the dating of these two high ranking individuals and their tombs comes into play.[43] Coulon, who recently studied a fragmentary statue of Padiamenope very similar to one belonging to Montuemhat, suggests that Padiamenope could have been the author of the autobiographical text carved on his statue, then copied and adapted by Montuemhat for his own.[44] Incidentally, similar remarks may be made as regards the opening scene of the *Book of Nut*, attested in both tombs (as well as in the later tombs of Pabasa and Mutirdis), above the final scene of the *Book of the Gates*.[45]

In Room X and, in part, Room XI of Padiamenope's tomb, a large number of spells from the *Pyramid Texts* are carved. According to Traunecker, these two rooms reproduce in their plan and layout the architecture of an Old Kingdom pyramid:[46] the choice of these texts seems then consistent with their location.

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[35] Sheshonq omits PT 81. Louise Gestermann states that the same series of PT spells carved in Padiamenope's Room IV is attested in the pillared hall after the second court in the tomb of Montuemhat (personal communication).
[36] BICKEL, in BICKEL, MATHIEU (eds.), *D'un monde à l'autre. Textes des Pyramides*, 97–8, 112.
[37] TRAUNECKER, RÉGEN, *BSFE* 193–4 (2016), 65–6.
[38] DÜMICHEN, *Das Grabpalast des Patuamenap* III, pl. I, cols. 7–12.
[39] GESTERMANN, TEOTINO, WAGNER, *Zum Dekorationsprogramm in der spätzeitlichen Grabanlage des Monthemhet*, forthcoming.
[40] HORNUNG, *Das Buch der Anbetung* I, 187–93; II, 85, 139, n. 425.
[41] *LGG* V, 158.
[42] In the temple of Ramesses II in Abydos (Room G), BD 144 (short version of BD 147) is written next to the speech of the pelican goddess. See MARIETTE, *Abydos* II, 21, pl. 15.
[43] *Cf.* GESTERMANN, *Die Überlieferung ausgewählter Texte* I, 122–3.
[44] COULON, in COLLOMBERT, LEFÈVRE, POLIS, WINAND (eds,) *Aere Perennus*, 117–9.
[45] *Cf.* RÉGEN in this volume. *Cf.* REGEN, in THIERS (ed.), *Documents de Théologies*, 217–46, esp. figs. 9–12.
[46] GASSE, ALBERT, EINAUDI, RÉGEN, TRAUNECKER, *ENiM* 8 (2015), 61.

The north and south walls of Room X show a symmetrical decoration, to be read, in both cases, from east to west. The columns of inscriptions contain a sequence of spells that continues in the following Room XI: PT 23, 25, 32, 34–42, 32, 43–57, **32**, 72–79, 81, 25, 32, 82–96, 108–171, 223 (partial) (Room X); 226–243 (Room XI: south and east walls).[47] As for the formulae in Room X, they mainly deal with the ritual of offering connected with the *Opening of the Mouth* (the so-called '*Litany of the Eye of Horus*' being included), while the texts in Room XI are a series of spells against snakes and other noxious creatures. This same long sequence of *Pyramid Texts* is carved (with just an omission and an addition) in the burial chamber of the pyramid of Unas: PT 23, 25, 32, 34–42, 32, 43–57, 72–79, 81, 25, 32, 82–96, 108–171, 223–**224** (burial chamber, north wall/north part of east wall); 226–243 (burial chamber, west gable).[48] In this case too, Padiamenope must have had access to libraries and/or archives, where not just master copies of the *Pyramid Texts* were kept, but also layout models inspired by Old Kingdom sources.

Another element connecting Padiamenope's tomb with ancient monuments, is to be found in the burial chamber. Here, on the east and west walls, between the fourteen niches that probably once contained small statues, thirty-six images of demons with their names are carved (some of them are partially or totally lost now). On each wall, they are divided into eight groups, formed by two or three figures, so that sixteen demons are on the left/west wall and twenty on the right/east. The sequence of these demons corresponds exactly to what we find on the ceiling of the so-called Osireion 'sarcophagus chamber' (Seti I), as well as in the tombs of Ramesses VI, Sheshonq III, and Mutirdis (TT 410),[49] where, on both sides of the scene showing the Awakening of Osiris, the same thirty-six demons are depicted (sixteen to the left and twenty to the right).[50]

In all these instances (including the tomb of Ramesses IX), the scene is under a symmetrical representation of the solar boats, forming another tableau. The morning barque is usually depicted on the left, while the evening one on the right.[51] They are flanked by small figures (twelve on either side)[52] representing the gods of the northern and southern skies. A kind of 'astronomical' ceiling, even though different from the tableau just described, is attested in Padiamenope's burial chamber as well,[53] where the northern sky is above the sixteen demons of the west wall and the southern sky above the twenty demons of the east wall, reflecting the classical layout.

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[47] DÜMICHEN, *Das Grabpalast des Patuamenap* I, pls. 5–12. *Cf.* GESTERMANN, *Die Überlieferung ausgewählter Texte* I, 113–6. Gestermann, based on Eigner's publication, considers the texts carved on the south wall of Room X as an offering list, where in fact they are actually an exact copy and mirror image of the inscriptions on the north wall. GESTERMANN, *Die Überlieferung ausgewählter Texte* I, 116, n. 703.

[48] HAYS, *The Organization* II, 640, 648–9, 676–7, 685 (Group A: sections A.1, A.2, A.3; Group K: section K1); ALLEN, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 19–31; http://www.pyramidtextsonline.com/hieroglyphs.html.

[49] For a detailed study of this scene and its variants, see ROBERSON, *The Awakening of Osiris*. The tomb of Ramesses IX has a simplified version of this tableau: just twenty demons in total originally flanked the central image (ten on each side): ROBERSON, *The Awakening of Osiris*, 30, n. 141, 39, 173, pl. 3.

[50] In the Osireion, the left part is oriented to the north, the right to the south. The position of the demons is inverted in the tomb of Mutirdis. ROBERSON, *The Awakening of Osiris*, 19, 175, pl. 5; ASSMANN, *Das Grab der Mutirdis*, 74, 82, 91. As Coulon observes, the thirty-six demons were probably depicted also in the temple of Ramesses II in Abydos, on the north wall of the alabaster sanctuary (personal communication). The four demons still completely preserved, with their own names, would correspond to the last four demons on the west wall of Padiamenope's burial chamber. In the temple of Ramesses II, however, instead of the central complementary scene with the Awakening of Osiris, the fetish of Abydos is shown. According to Coulon, the fetish was supposed to awake and live again, like Osiris. *Cf.* ISKANDER, GOELET, *The Temple of Ramesses II* I.2, 390–1, pl. 4.9.3/4. A similar scene, showing the Awakening of Osiris and the thirty-six demons (sixteen on the left/west side and twenty on the right/east side), is painted also on the north wall of queen Qalhata's (Tantamani's mother) burial chamber, in El Kurru (Ku. 5). *Cf.* LOHWASSER, in KUCKERTZ, LOHWASSER (ed.), *Einführung in die Religion von Kusch*, 84, fig. 42 (detail).

[51] For the Osireion and the tomb of Mutirdis, *cf*. n. 50.

[52] The version in the tomb of Ramesses IX is simplified, with just fourteen gods in total. ROBERSON, *The Awakening of Osiris*, 13, 173, pl. 3.

[53] NEUGEBAUER, PARKER, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* III, pls. 18–9.

Since a very similar decoration (with the thirty-six demons and the astronomical ceiling) is in the burial chamber of Montuemhat,[54] we can suppose—once again—that Padiamenope and Montuemhat copied each other, or that they both used the same iconographical template, whose first known attestation is in the Osireion, which was probably accessible at that time.[55] However, neither Padiamenope nor Montuemhat depicted in their burial chambers the Awakening of Osiris,[56] which is the core of the scene with the thirty-six demons in the Osireion and in the other sources. This omission is certainly due to the fact that in both instances the coffin with the mummy of the deceased in the centre of the room was considered as a sort of substitute for Osiris' bier. Actually, the deceased was supposed to rise from his coffin (and awake), just like Osiris from his bier. Whoever was the author of the iconographic layout, this particularity testifies to his thorough review of the original scene, as it appeared in the older monuments: a scene that was carefully adapted in order to stress the identification of the deceased with Osiris.

Summing up, the richness and variety of the decoration in Padiamenope's tomb, definitely attests the function of this funerary monument as an enormous library carved into stone. Its aim was not just to guarantee Padiamenope's survival in the hereafter, but also to preserve and transmit a sort of 'encyclopedia' of ancient texts and iconographies, often improved by adding coherent variations and details.

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[54] ASSMANN, *Das Grab der Mutirdis*, 14, n. 19; CLÈRE, *BIFAO* 86 (1986), 105–6; NEUGEBAUER, PARKER, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* III, pls. 20–1.

[55] On this point, Werning identified some elements in Padiamenope's version of the *Book of Caverns* which imply that the author of the text (possibly Padiamenope himself) was aware of the Ramesside editions of this Book, from the Osireion and the tomb of Ramesses VI. EINAUDI, WERNING, *EA* 43 (2013), 35.

[56] As for Padiamenope, this scene is carved on the east wall of Room XIX.

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Abydenian Pilgrimage, Immortal stars and Theban Liturgies in the Tomb of Padiamenope (TT 33)[1]

Claude Traunecker



'My tomb is my favourite place!'
Padiamenope, door III, northern jamb, east face.

Abstract

The works carried out by the Padiamenope Tomb (TT 33) Project have revealed some new and unexpected aspects of this very original monument. Recently, we could show the process concerning its establishment and the development of its plan. Moreover, the Cenotaph, at the heart of the liturgical level of the tomb, appears to be a copy of a lost monument in Abydos. Completed by a liturgical circuit for some religious brotherhoods, among others, rooms XII to XVI are a sort of 'Abydos pilgrimage place' available to the Theban devotees. The deepest rooms (XVII–XXI) are partial replicas of the subterranean parts of the Osireion in Abydos and the so-called Cenotaph may be a replica of the lost superstructure of the Abydos Osireion. We also found, in the composition of the tomb, some allusions to the embalming workshop. In this paper, I would like to show the results of our latest research and their effects on the functioning of the Asasif necropolis as concerns the local liturgies.

Introduction

Of all the monuments of the Luxor necropolis, the tomb of Padiamenope (TT 33) is certainly the most remarkable, but also the most mysterious. How could this contemporary of the last Kushite kings, a scholar indeed, for he was a lector priest, probably close to the king as a scribe in charge of his majesty's archives but devoid of political or economic titles, be able to commission for himself the largest tomb of Egypt? In fact, this huge tomb, which was referred to as a '*Grabpalast*' by Johannes Dümichen,[2] has twenty-three rooms on six levels (figs. 1–3).

At the Thebes in the First Millennium BC conference in 2012, I presented the case of this very special tomb and outlined some results of the work by the project since 2003.[3] In the present paper, I would like to introduce some new aspects of this fascinating tomb. In doing so, I tried to imagine how the designer of the TT 33, probably Padiamenope himself, could come up with a monument so original and so different from the great contemporary tombs of the Late Period. This approach, based on a comparative study, led me to try to reconstruct the specifications that Padiamenope imposed on himself and on his team in charge of the construction of his *Grabpalast*. In my view, it consisted of three main parts:

1. To construct the future monument in the necropolis according to a new and unusual orientation.

2. To highlight the achievements of previous generations in the field of Egyptian funerary art, both monumental and textual, for its own benefit and that of visitors.

3. To introduce a tomb of Osiris and rooms for the devotion of the Abydenian model (Osireion) into the funerary monument. This specification transforms his *Grabpalast* into a 'substitution-place' or alternative

[1] This text is a revised and expanded version of my text "La tombe du prêtre Padiamenopé (TT 33): éclairages nouveaux. I. Le cahier des charges de Padiamenopé" in TRAUNECKER, REGEN, *BSFE* 193–4 (2016), 52–76.
[2] DÜMICHEN, *Der Grabpalast des Patuamenap.*
[3] TRAUNECKER, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 205–34.

place[4] of pilgrimage for the Theban faithful. Thus, the tomb of Padiamenope in the Theban necropolis will take on the role of a place of worship, replacing the pilgrimage to the Osireion at Abydos.[5]

I will conclude this contribution with some considerations and hypotheses about Padiamenope's personality and his role in the troubled period of the end of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.



Fig. 1: General view of the entrance court and porch (photo: C. Traunecker)

Brief History of the Tomb

Before discussing these three aspects, let us briefly summarise the recent history of Theban Tomb 33 (TT 33). For more detail, I invite the reader to refer to the proceedings of the 2012 conference.[6] The tomb has never ceased to fascinate visitors and scholars alike. It appears in Egyptological literature as early as 1737 and is included on the plan of the Theban necropolis of the Description of Egypt.[7] The stories told by the local guides relating to visitors falling into treacherously arranged shafts, or others lost in this obscure subterranean labyrinth, were so frightening that they only ventured there with fear. Moreover, there is also a real difficulty of cohabitation with huge bat colonies, proportionate to the size of the monument. It was

[4] For the notion of a substitute-place of worship, see TRAUNECKER, *Karnak* 7 (1983), 339–354.

[5] For the role of Padiamenope as a Theban holy person, and his door at Medinet Habu, see TRAUNECKER, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 225.

[6] TRAUNECKER, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 206–208. See also TRAUNECKER, *Égypte* 51 (2009), 15–48. For a general presentation of TT 33 and its recent history, see TRAUNECKER, *EAO* 51 (2009), 15–48; TRAUNECKER, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 205–8; TRAUNECKER, RÉGEN, *EA* 43 (2013), 32–34; EINAUDI, WERNING, *EA* 43 (2013), 35. See also the websites of IFAO Cairo (http://www.ifao.egnet.net/archeologie/tt33/), of University of Strasbourg (http://egypte.unistra.fr/ les-travaux-de-terrain/la-tombe-de-padiamenope-tt33-responsable-claude-traunecker/) of University of Montpellier (http://www.montpellier-egyptologie.fr/index?p=tombe33; https://tombett33.hypotheses.org/).

[7] For the first plan of the tomb, see POCOCKE, *A Description of the East* I, 100. For a visit and survey of the tomb by the Napoleonic expedition in 1799, see *Description* II, pls. 38–9. See also PRISSE D'AVENNES, *Histoire de l'art égyptien* I, pl. 9, for an early plan of the tomb.

probably in 1869 that Dümichen conceived the project to publish the epigraphic material of the *Grabpalast*.[8] He had planned to publish the tomb in seven volumes, but only two appeared in 1884 and 1885. The working conditions were very difficult, especially with tens of thousands of bats that had taken up residence in the lower-level rooms, polluting the air heavily with ammonia and extinguishing the epigraphists' lights with their flapping wings. Dümichen died in Strasbourg in 1894. His pupil, Wilhelm Spiegelberg, published the few plates he found in his master's files. Additionally, Gaston Maspero decided to put an end to the bats by walling up the fourth door of the tomb. However, while the problem with the bats was solved, researchers were unable to work in the tomb since the Antiquities Department transformed the porch and rooms I–III into a storeroom while rooms IV–XXII remained inaccessible. For over a century, the tomb was opened on only seven occasions and for very short periods of time.[9] Thus, in many respects, we were dependent on the partial copies of Dümichen. In 2003, the project to continue the work of the founder of the Chair of Egyptology in Strasbourg took shape, with the support of Bernard Mathieu, then director of the Institut français d'archéologie orientale (IFAO), and the collaboration of Isabelle Régen.[10] At the request of the then Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA), we inventoried and moved some 2000 objects stored in the first rooms.

On 6 December 2005, we were finally able to break down the famous sealed wall and, thus, to walk through the Padiamenope's labyrinth and discover its surprises. One of the first surprises was the discovery of a panel, unfortunately very mutilated, where Padiamenope introduces his family.[11] Curiously, however, he names only his mother, aunts, uncles, and nephews. These people were part of the clergy of Montu of Armant. His paternal ancestry is totally absent. We know the importance of lateral branches in African genealogies. Does this, perhaps, point to a more or less distant Kushite ancestry? Another unpublished panel

[8] His first visit to Luxor was in February 1864. We also know that Dümichen was one of a number of guests invited to travel to Upper Egypt on the occasion of the inauguration of the Suez Canal in 1869. The Egyptologists of this tour were Lepsius, Lieblein, and Naville. This group of guests of the Khedive, or at least part of it, visited 'the great syringe' on the 30 October. Charles Taglioni's narrative of this visit is rich in anecdotes (TAGLIONI 1870, 117). He discusses the the dangers of the pit of Room XII, which he fortunately did not fall into. In his narrative, Dümichen appears as a vulnerable, unsportsmanlike, unlucky, but very determined man. In Asyut, Dümichen and a traveling companion, Mr. de Moeller, being good German romantics, decided to watch the sunrise from the cliffs overlooking the city, which resulted in them missing their departure to Luxor. They finally find their companions after many adventures, with Dümichen suffered particularly a long ride from Qena to Luxor. TAGLIONI 1870, 5–7, 86, 101, 117, 118.

[9] (*1*) in 1936 for Friedrich Wilhelm von Bissing (3 days): VON BISSING, *ZÄS* 74 (1938), 2–26; (*2-3-4*) in 1942, 1943, and 1944 for the work of Alexandre Piankoff, assisted by Arpag Mekhitarian and Charles Maystre: PIANKOFF, *BIFAO* 46 (1947), 73–92, with a description and a some texts from the Cenotaph (false doors and chapels); (*5*) in 1951, photography of the astronomical ceiling in Room XXII by Charles Nims of Chicago House (CH 9790–95); (*6*) 1951, verification of the drawing of the astronomical ceiling by Chicago House: NEUGEBAUER, PARKER, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, 40 [doc. 32], pls. 18, 29, 22a; (*7*) one week's work in March 1976 by the Austrian architect Diethlem Eigner, assisted by the topographer Josef Dorner, in order to produce a complete architectural survey of TT 33. During this opening, several colleagues made an epigraphic description of the tomb: Jürgen Osing (rooms IV–XI) Elfriede Reiser-Haslauer (the Cenotaph), Manfred Bietak (rooms XVII–XXII). Wolfgang Schenkel participated in this visit but fell into Well XII, fortunately without serious injuries. In December 2005, during the reopening of TT 33, Eigner kindly offered us his notes, in addition to the reports of the colleagues noted above. We thank him very much providing access to these valuable documents.

[10] At the time, I held the Chair of Egyptology in Strasbourg and was, therefore, a distant successor of Dümichen. Isabelle Régen was 'pensionnaire scientifique' of IFAO. In 2012, Silvia Einaudi (EPHE), who specialises in the *Book of the Dead* in the Asasif tombs joined the mission, along with Barbara Engelmann von Carnap (Mundöffungsritualprojekt) of the University of Heidelberg, and Daniel Werning (Höhlenbuch) of the Humboldt University, Berlin.

[11] TRAUNECKER, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 209. Rear side of the lintel of the entrance door to Room IV; On the statue in Sorrento, Padiamenope declares that he was born in Thebes. See D'ESTE, *EVO* 20–21 (1997–1998), 119–124, col. 6. I thank O. Perdu for communicating to me his notes on this document. See also the Nut text from the Cenotaph (see n. 39 below).

gives a list of titles showing that Padiamenope played the role, among other things, of a kind of pontifical adviser to the king. He was in charge of the care of the royal crowns.

It would seem that the protagonists of the Asasif region, successively Harwa (TT 37), Montuemhat (TT 34), and Padiamenope (TT 33) belonged to three generations, not far apart, spanning approximately 15–20 years.[12] Padiamenope was probably born in about 710 BC and died around 640 BC, Harwa 740–670 BC, and Montuemhat 720–648 BC. However, at present, these dates are only speculation to support the possible reconstruction of events. Padiamenope's statue in Berlin (ÄM 23738) depicts an elderly man of severe appearance.

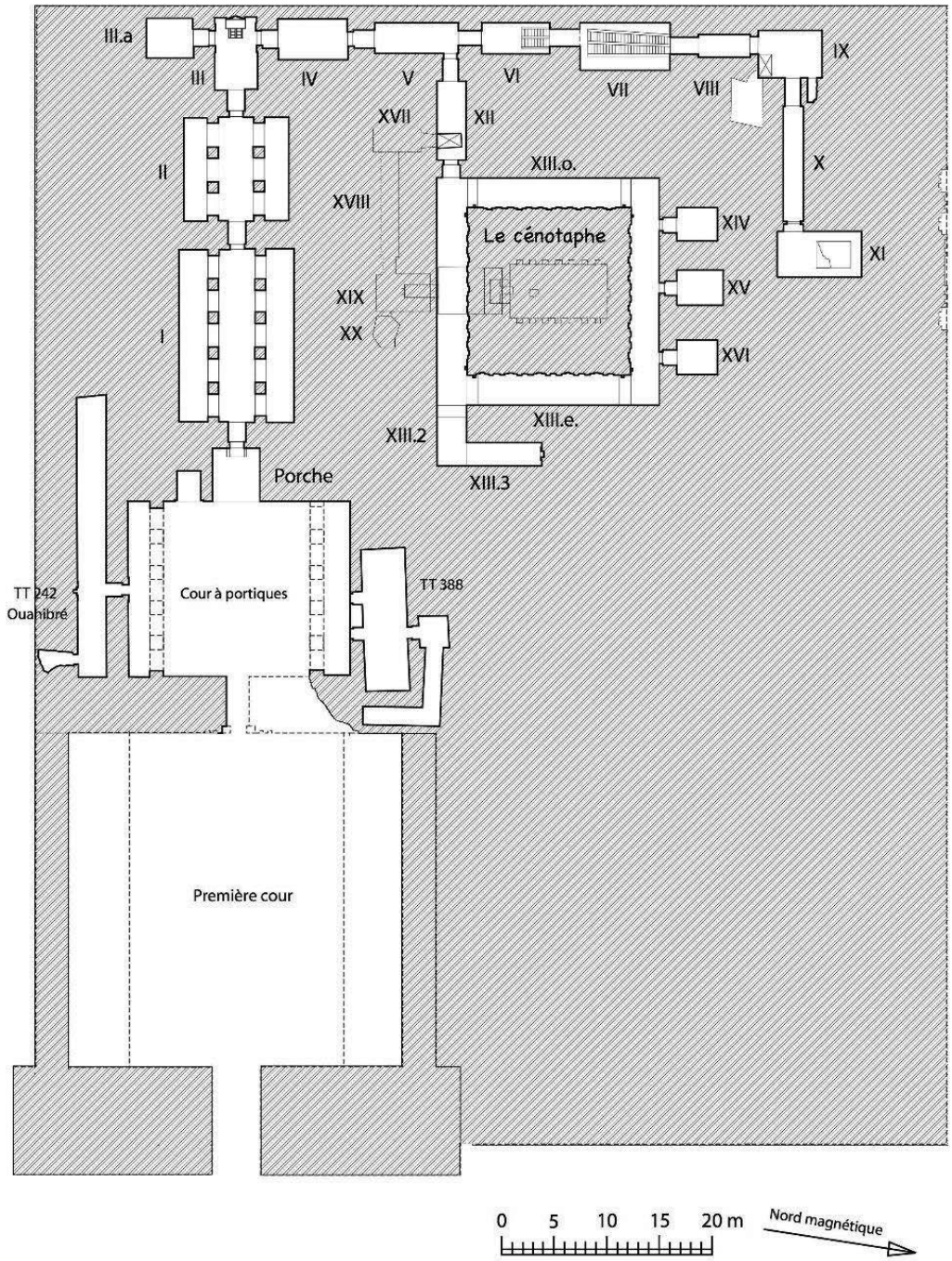


Fig. 2: Plan of the tomb of Padiamenope (drawing: C. Traunecker, after D. Eigner)

[12] TRAUNECKER, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 227.

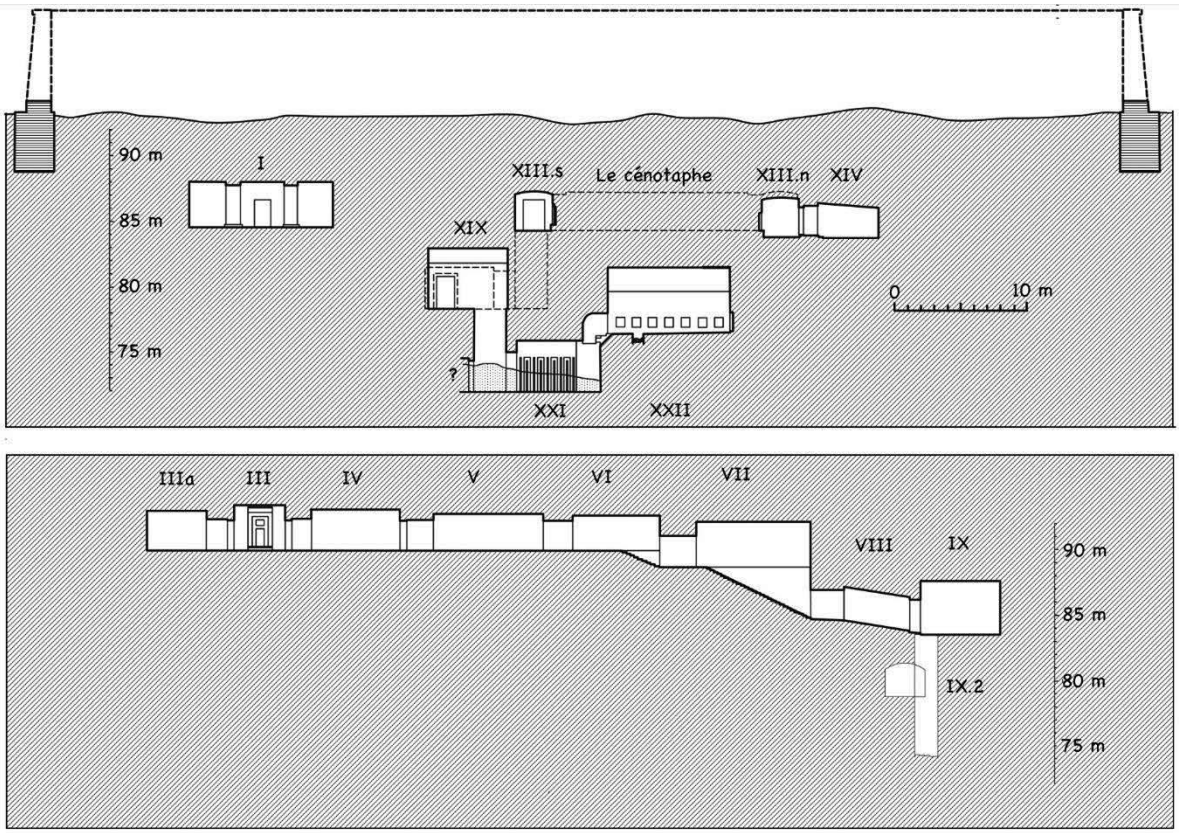


Fig. 3: Section of the tomb of Padiamenope (drawing: C. Traunecker, after D. Eigner)

The Reversal of the Tomb Axes

The earliest Kushite tombs of the two Asasif necropolises, north and south, are conceived on a simple architectural layout: a cult axis oriented towards the west with a succession of two pillared halls and an offering chapel. The tombs were orientated towards either geographic west, *i.e.* the cliffs of Deir el-Bahari,[13] or true west like the tomb of Montuemhat, for example. These tombs are dug into the 'Tarawan limestone', a high quality fine stone situated under a layer of friable conglomerate forming the bottom of the Asasif Valley.[14] For this reason, the substructure of these tombs is accessible via a courtyard located under the surface of the desert, by the western face of this lower courtyard. In order to reach this level, it was necessary to plan a staircase, either axial or lateral. The funerary chamber is always oriented towards the west, as it should be. The tomb of Montuemhat (TT 34), the Fourth Prophet of Amun and de facto ruler in Upper Egypt, was built in accordance with these rules. It is enriched by a decorative invention of exceptional quality. His funerary chamber, oriented towards the west, is of a new type and was concealed in the upper part of the deepest room of the tomb.[15] The axial plan is complemented by a series of secondary burial chambers and rooms that form a multitude of spaces. The whole tomb of Montuemhat resembles a sort of private necropolis.

Padiamenope moves away from this practice entirely. In his tomb, we observed the presence of two niches, both anepigraphic and of the size of a door:[16] one at the north end of the Corridor XIII.b and the other in the north wall, the end wall, of the burial chamber (XXII). In their context, these niches were obviously

[13] For example, Harwa (TT 37), Ankhhor (TT 414), and Padineith (TT 197).
[14] AUBRY *et al.*, in ASTON *et al.* (eds.), *Under the Potter's Tree*, 111–2, 118, figs. 2a, 3, 11.
[15] EIGNER, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten*, 137. This feature is also attested in the tomb of Padiamenope.
[16] These are simple, shallow, and anepigraphic niches. This sobriety symbolises, in my opinion, an open space without leaf, hinge, and even a lock.

doors for the 'coming forth by day' of the deceased. These doors, to my knowledge, are a unique example in Egyptian funerary architecture.

The function of the door of corridor XIII.3 is explicit. To its right and left are the final scenes of the *Amduat* and the *Book of the Earth*, both illustrating the crucial moment of the sunrise. In a text above the niche, Padiamenope expresses his wish to embark upon the boat of the night. Moreover, at the entrance to Corridor XIII.3, a text expresses clearly the wish of Padiamenope to spend his eternity among the 'immortal' stars, the circumpolar stars that are always present in the northern horizon. This strong desire of Padiamenope for a northern stellar destiny determined the plan of his *Grabpalast* and disrupted, I think, the previously held order of the whole funerary plain of the Asasif. He could then, as Harwa and others who came later, be content with aligning the three classical rooms with the natural orientation of the valley. This orientation is approximately 296°,[17] *i.e*. west-northwest. This angle also matches that of the dromos of Deir el-Bahari, as well as that of the axis of Amun at Karnak. It relates visually to the cliffs that convey a western orientation.

It seems that Padiamenope was absolutely determined to rush towards the eternal stars. So, at first, this south-north axis was traced in order to highlight the direction of the northern axis of the sky. Following this, the main worship axis of the three classical rooms was subordinated at 90°, with the celestial priority axis south-north. However, this resulted in locating the tomb at an angle to the valley axis. For the classical rooms, Padiamenope copied—at least in dimensions—the model of Harwa, but in order to have room to the north and deploy his project of an Osirian subterranean temple and its stellar ambitions, he needed to push these rooms to the south. As space was limited to the south because of the presence of the tomb of Kheruef, the adjacent Ramesside tombs, and the Middle Kingdom tombs to the east, it was necessary to encroach upon the area of Harwa's tomb. The arrangement of the two tombs gives the impression that Padiamenope prevented the development of Harwa's project towards the east, where—blocked by the west wall of Padiamenope's enclosure—its normally axial access needed to be transferred at right angles to the south. As a result, we are confronted with a chronological problem. Indeed, it is known that Harwa preceded Padiamenope and it is assumed that the difference between these two officials was one or two generations. However, thus far we have not taken into account their age or the chronology of their constructions. Perhaps we are unduly inclined to think of the death and burial of the tomb owner as the secession of all activities and works at the site. The tomb of Montuemhat, for example, is constantly enlarged and his family ensured the cult, which induced economic activity. Therefore, it is not beyond the realms of possibility to think that the Harwa project was incomplete at the time of the emergence of Padiamenope and his family. But what support did Padiamenope have that allowed him to impose upon the descendants of Harwa such a dominant presence? This is a question that cannot be answered, but the fact is this intervention reveals that Padiamenope was a powerful and highly protected figure. The western enclosure wall of Padiamenope's funeral enclosure cut suddenly and at an angle towards the courtyard of Harwa (TT 37) and Akhamenru (TT 404) the successor of Harwa, thus preventing its natural axial development to the east. It seems that Padiamenope would stop at nothing to achieve his 'circumpolar' ambition! This architectural choice will determine the whole plan of the tomb of Padiamenope and its originality (fig. 4).

In the tomb of Harwa (TT 37), the northern wall of the cult chapel is occupied by a relief of the tomb owner, as if leaving the Hereafter to attend the Osirian cult in its axial chapel. In the tomb of Padiamenope, the axial chapel was modelled on an Old Kingdom false door to the west. However, to the right, towards the north, opens the real access to the memorial rooms and the Abydenian liturgical spaces and the hidden burial rooms. All these rooms extend northward.

[17] Reference to the circle of orientation, with north being up and counting in degrees in a clockwise direction: 00° or 360° = north; 90° = east; 180° = south; 270° = west.

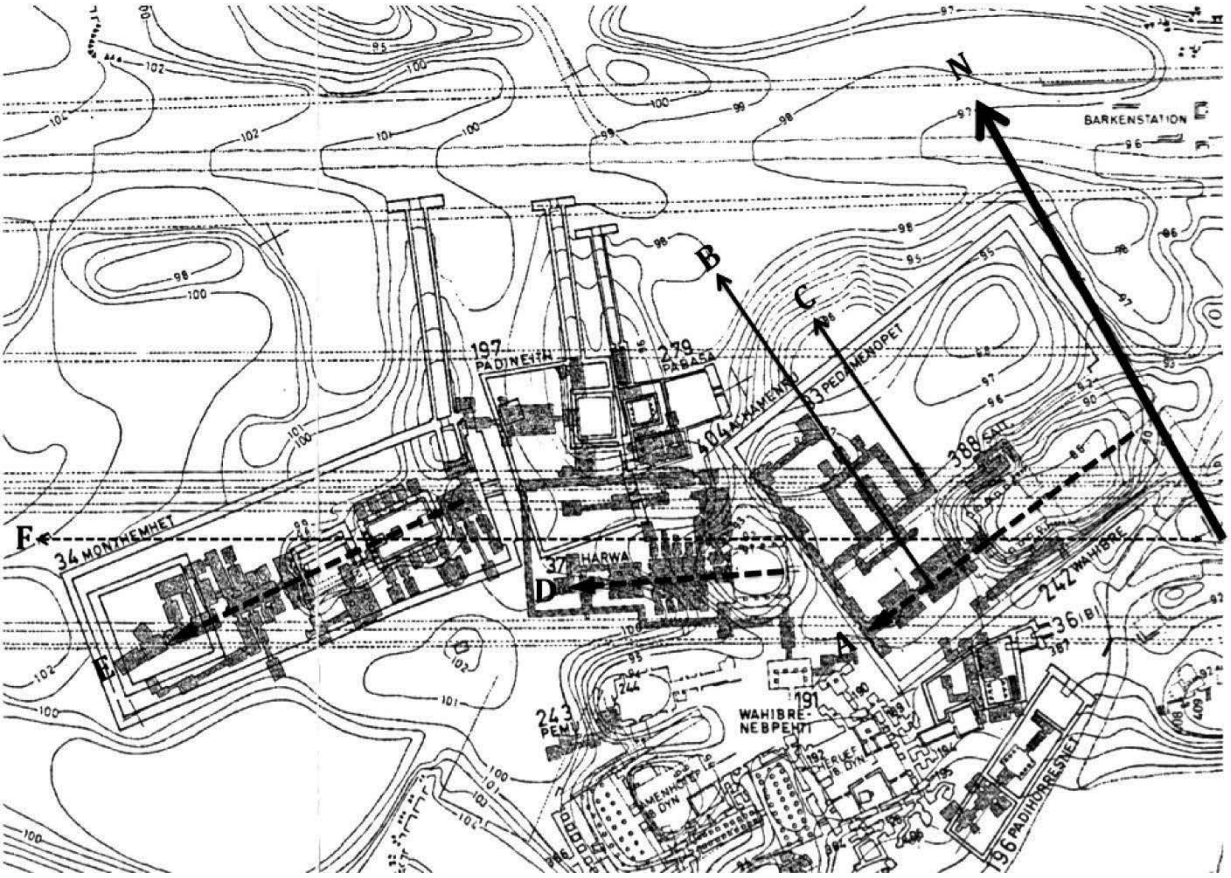


Fig. 4: The orientations in the valley of the Asasif. (N) magnetic north in 1969, correction for the geographical north 1.18° to east. 0°; (A) TT 33, Padiamenope, main worship axis 263°; (B) TT 33, Padiamenope, the Cenotaph, funeral chamber, and niche for 'coming forth by day' axis 353°; (C) TT 33, Padiamenope, corridor XIII.3, niche for 'coming forth by day' axis 353°; (D) TT 37, Harwa, main worship axis 292°, funeral chamber axis 292°; (E) TT 34, Montuemhat, main worship axis 275°, funeral chamber axis 266°; (F): Thalweg of the valley of the Asasif axis 296° (drawing: C. Traunecker, after D. Eigner).

How precisely is this orientation to the celestial north present in architecture? Our measurements, based on the work of Eigner[18] and Google Earth, reveal two facts. Firstly, the construction is not perfect and so we noticed some deviations according to the different walls. Secondly, according to the different walls, the absolute orientation towards the geographical north show a deviation of 6° to 10° towards the west. It can be said that globally the difference between the geographical north, and therefore celestial, and the orientation of the monument of Padiamenope is 7–8°. This deviation is relatively minimal and is not noticeable on the ground, but important for a civilization that was able to orientate its solar temples and pyramids with great precision.

How does one explain this irregularity or 'error'? To do so, I propose the following. It is logical to think that Padiamenope or an assistant astronomer had thought to fix the azimuth of the axis of the rotation of the sky (the celestial pole). At present, this axis is close to the so-called 'polar' star, but at the time of Padiamenope, no visible star made it possible to materialise this axis with the naked eye. This phenomenon is due to 'the precession of the equinoxes', *i.e.* the slow change of direction of the axis of the rotation of the Earth in a cycle of 26000 years.[19] This phenomenon concerns only the stellar environment of the axis of

[18] Eigner generously communicated to us all his and Dorner's site notes on TT 33. This documentation has greatly helped us in our own work. The north of the general grid of Dorner and Eigner is the magnetic north of 1969. The magnetic declination was then 1.18° east. (http://www.geomag.nrcan.gc.ca/calc/mdcal-fr.php).
[19] Cycle of 25765 years. See CARATINI, *Bordas-Encyclopédie*, 521.2.C.a; GADRÉ, *CCE (S)* 15 (2011), 7–28.

rotation and does not affect its terrestrial azimuth. This point was—and still is, because it is a terrestrial geographic constant—located at 25° 44' high. This is, in other words, the latitude of Thebes.

There are two methods available: either measuring the azimuth (or meridian line) of the sun at its highest point, or a nocturnal observation of the movements of stars. The course of the meridian is relatively easy to establish; it is sufficient to observe the shadow of a gnomon and chart its direction at the highest point of the solar course. The ancient Egyptians were perfectly able to realise this measurement, as can be seen by the perfect orientation of the solar temples of the Old Kingdom. It is evident to us that the axis of rotation of the celestial vault and that of the solar meridian are two aspects of a reality of cosmographical geometry. But was it the same for the ancient Egyptians, and especially for Padiamenope and his entourage? If this synthetic approach escaped them and was unknow to them, they had no reason to establish the orientation of the tomb through a solar observation. The difference between true north and that of the tomb seems to me very important for solar measurement, except, of course, if one imagines negligent and awkward operators, which is always possible.[20]

As modern scholars, we tend to take it for granted that, logically, the ancient Egyptians who were in charge of constructing the tomb were looking for the absolute geographical north. However, was this actually the case? Moreover, did they realise that the appearance of the solar meridian and the axis of the celestial sphere were, in fact, the same thing? In reality, specifications imposed by Padiamenope was more literal, orienting the monument towards the 'immortal stars' so that the *bꜣ* of the deceased could enjoy the eternity of these stars that never disappear from the night sky.

What about the hypothesis of a nocturnal sighting? In this case we must take into account the precession of the equinoxes. This cyclical phenomenon shifts the apparent point of rotation of the celestial sphere from one constellation to another. We now know that at the time of Padiamenope the axis of rotation of the celestial sphere was situated halfway between the star ζ of the Little Bear and the star λ of the Dragon in an empty zone of stars visible to the naked eye. At this time, the circumpolar stars incorporated the constellations of the Little Bear, the Dragon, and part of the Great Bear. By sightings on an artificial horizon, it is theoretically possible to measure azimuths of appearance and disappearance of a star and calculate easily the azimuth of the passage in the polar axis, but without optical means this measurement remains delicate. Would our deviation of 7° to 8° be due to the difficulties of this type of sighting?

Finally, I would like to present a final hypothesis. Perhaps Padiamenope, fond of traditions, blindly used an old procedure designating a polar star, or the circle of the 'immortals' found 'in the ancient writings'. Would literature and tradition have taken precedence over science? We know that in the New Kingdom the celestial axis was situated between the Little Bear and the Dragon's alpha star (Thuban). The difference in arc with the celestial axis was about 3.6° and at the time of Padiamenope Thuban was included in the 'immortals' stars. This hypothesis is interesting, but does not excuse the lector priest.[21] Not only did he use an outdated star, but he did not take into account its circumpolar movement. Perhaps the ambition of an absolute measurement to determine the axis of the world had far less importance for these traditionalist 'scientists' than directing their alidade towards a star of which the ancients speak? What does it matter if it moves again?

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[20] One can notice, for example, the successive distortions in the funerary staircase of the tomb of Montuemhat. See EIGNER, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten*, plan 11, suite of 9 rooms (45–53), which lead to a deviation of 9° south for the burial chamber.

[21] To explain the different orientation of the pyramids, Gadré suggests that the Egyptians would have used traditional stars as reference points without taking into account the reality of the precession of the equinoxes. See GADRÉ, *CCE (S)* 15 (2011), 7–28. It is regrettable that the astronomical ceiling of TT 33 (Corridor XIII), sketched in red, is in a very poor condition. The Wahibre, who built an Osirian chapel in the south portico of the courtyard (TT 242), was probably an astronomer ('the one who observes the secrets of the horizon, priest of the sun'). See TRAUNECKER, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 224.

The 'Museum' and Scriptural Complex

The 'Museum' Complex (Rooms VI–XI)

Rooms IV and V,[22] the first two on the northern axis, can be considered as a continuation of rooms I–III. On the other hand, with rooms VI–XI we are in another world. Rooms VI–VIII consist of a series of monumental staircases visibly inspired by the royal tombs of the Ramesside Period at Thebes. It should be noted that while the passages of the doors from I–V are decorated,[23] those of rooms VI–XI are anepigraphic. This series of spaces evokes clearly the tomb of Ramesses II (KV 7): corridor A, B, E, H, I, and hall J, the antechamber of the sarcophagus room.[24]

As with Room J in the tomb of Ramesses II, TT 33 Room IX has a right-angle pathway. Additionally, its decoration is similar to that of the Ramesside model.[25] However, instead of entering on the right in a Ramesside funerary hall, one jumps back several centuries by a sloping corridor (X) decorated with a double version of the archaic Ritual of Offerings.[26] Room X is a replica of the descending corridor of a Fifth Dynasty pyramid. It opens onto a room with a curved ceiling, arranged like a funerary chamber of the Old Kingdom. The curved ceiling also refers to the royal burial chambers of the Middle Kingdom.[27] The large stone massif in its northern half represents the mass of a royal sarcophagus.

It should be highlighted that by recalling these ancient monuments Padiamenope is a talented theatre director.[28] Room VI is particularly grandiose, the lower arrival of the staircase is much narrower than its departure, thus accentuating the plunging perspective. Corridor X, with its steep slope and vault, is impressive. However, the most spectacular rooms are in another part of the tomb.

The Scriptural and Liturgical Ensemble (Rooms XII–XVI)

Room V marks an important crossroads in the labyrinth of the *Grabpalast*. To the right (east), a new corridor begins (XII). A door, with a door leaf, controlled the access to this part of the tomb. Access was also protected by a curse formula, which was engraved in the passage on the right. This door gives access to all rooms and corridors from XII–XVI. These spaces constitute a liturgical unit dedicated to Osirian worship, as well as the places of exhibition and consultation of ancient texts reviewed by Padiamenope (fig. 5).

In the specifications for these rooms, Padiamenope had a number of challenges to overcome. Firstly, the walls must present, on left, a complete revised and annotated version of the *Amduat*, including the abbreviated version, and on right, a complete version of the *Book of Gates*, including extracts from the *Book of the Earth*. Secondly, while it would have been ideal to include them on two symmetrical walls, the difficulty lies with the fact that the *Amduat* requires much more space than the *Book of Gates*. This disproportion is very substantial: the left series (*Amduat* in its two versions) requires 77 m of walls space

[22] IV: presentation of the family and *Pyramid Texts*; V: *Opening of the Mouth* ritual.
[23] I: solar hymns; II and III: welcome texts; IV and V: scenes related to the content of the decoration of the room.
[24] PM I/2², 505–6.
[25] BD 125 and the Chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead and weighing of the heart scene on the rear wall.
[26] BUDGE, *The Liturgy of Funerary Offerings*, 204–56, comparison with the version of Unas (151–203); EIGNER, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten*, pls. 5, 12. The symmetrical textual reproduction, sign by sign, of a such long document (143 columns), carved in stone on two long walls (10.68 m) facing each other is astonishing. It seems that, in my opinion, these texts were included to impress visitors rather than for ritual effectiveness. They could have used this symmetrical space to reproduce a few other texts.
[27] For example, the funeral chamber of Senwosret III: ARNOLD, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Baukunst*, 238; the secondary tomb of Senwosret II at al-Lahun, tomb 621, ARNOLD, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Baukunst*, 141.
[28] *Cf.* ARNOLD, in D'AURIA (ed.), *Servant of Mut*, 1–18. Arnold had a similar thought in discussing Middle Kingdom tombs. She compared tomb creation with a theatrical production and the chief designer of a tomb's decoration to a theatre director.

while the right series (*Book of Gates* and the *Book of the Earth*) requires 45 m. The option chosen by Padiamenope and his collaborators is a highly ingenious one.

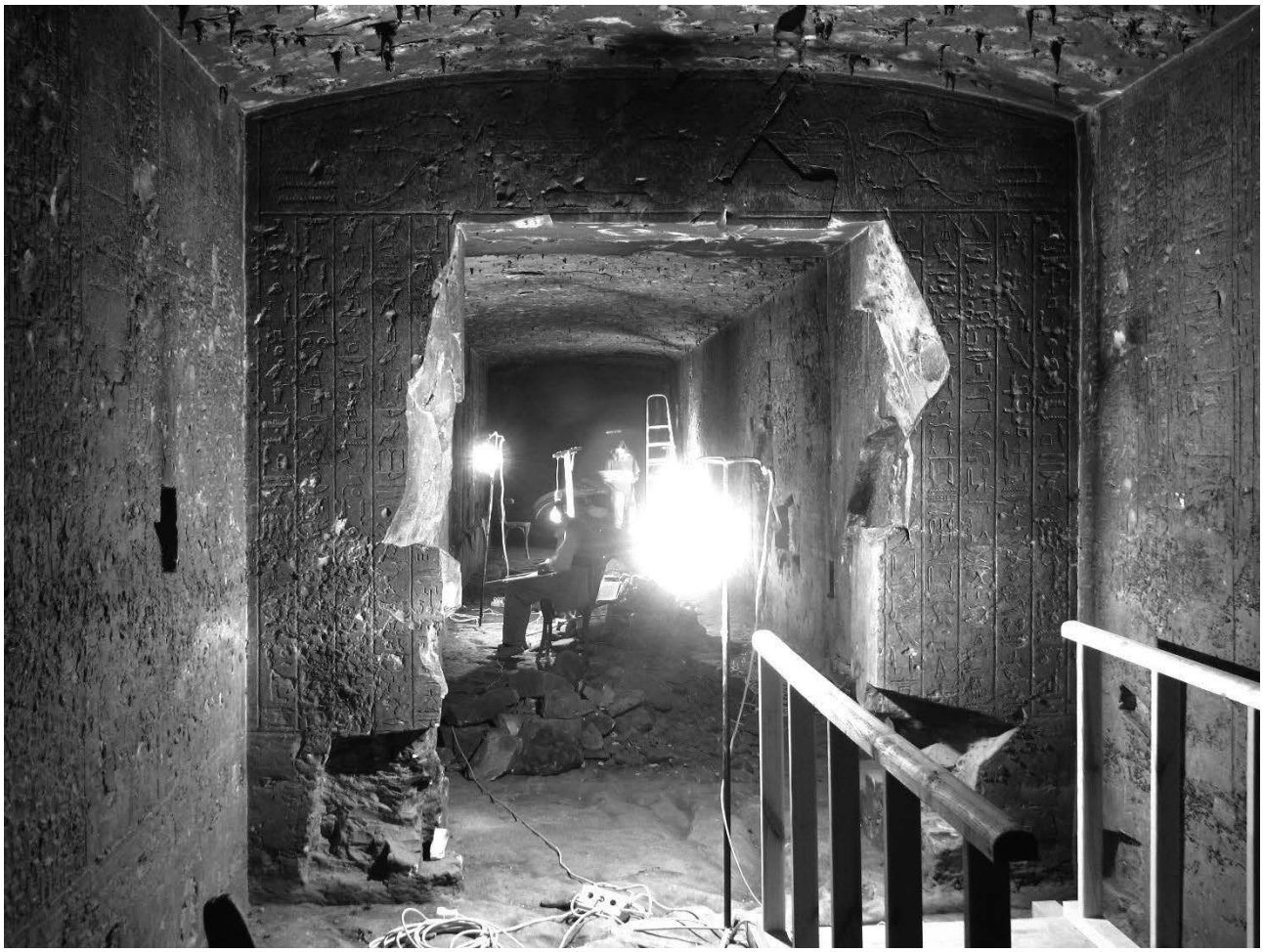


Fig. 5: Corridor XII, view to east (photo: L. Schmitt)

Firstly, the discrepancy was solved by placing the left series[29] around a central massif (on the west, north and east sides), while the right series[30] (south side) is very much shorter. However, even with using the walls of Corridor XII and with those of the Cenotaph being 30 cubits wide, the available lengths were not enough. It was, therefore, necessary to add a supplementary corridor (Corridor XIII.3). It would have been sufficient to extend Corridor XIII.s eastwards, but this would have resulted in both texts ending on the eastern wall. However, Padiamenope wanted to spend an eternity amongst the circumpolar stars and so this supplementary corridor had to be oriented towards the north. The end wall of this corridor has the appearance of a false doorway, through which the *bꜣ* of Padiamenope could fly towards the immortal stars.

Secondly, to give the illusion to visitors that this corridor is of equal importance as the previous corridors, (XIII.o, n, s, e) the constructors had to use an optical illusion. The dimensions of the corridor narrow as one moves forward, so that this corridor XIII.3 of 7 m in length seems as long as the others at 18 m.

[29] Corridor XII, north wall: *Amduat*, short version; XIII.o, west wall (*Amduat*, long version, hours 1–4); XIII.n, north wall (*Amduat*, long version, hours 5–7); XIII.e, east wall (*Amduat*, long version, hours 6–11), XIII.2, north wall (*Book of the Night*), XIII.3, west wall (*Amduat*, long version, 12 hour)

[30] Corridor XII, south wall, (*Book of Gates*), XIII.s, south wall (*Book of Gates*, *Book of Nut*), XIII.3, east wall (*Book of the Earth*, final scene).

Thirdly, they had to create a circumambulation corridor around the Osiris Cenotaph. This, according to my reading of the tomb of Padiamenope, is a reproduction of a lost structure at Abydos.

Finally, adding three chapels to this complex (XII–XIII) centred on the 'Cenotaph of Osiris': a central one dedicated to Osiris Hemag (XVI), flanked on the left by the 'Natron Chapel' (XIV) and on the right by the 'Gold Chapel' (XVI). In these chapels Padiamenope presents himself not as a deceased but as an officiant who acts as an intercessor for the benefit of the pious visitors. Osiris Hemag is the final 'adorned' form of Osiris before his resurrection while the other two chapels are related to the embalming and the thanatopraxie.

From a functional point of view, the spaces of TT 33 can be separated into four categories.

1. Rooms accessible to ordinary visitors: I–IV (axial funerary cult); V–XI (museum and scriptural ensemble).

2. Rooms accessible to ordinary Abydos pilgrims with the circumambulation ritual around the Osirian Cenotaph (XII–XVI).

3. Rooms accessible to extraordinary Abydos pilgrims with reserved access by Shaft XII to the underground part of the tomb that is equivalent to the Osireion at Abydos (Rooms XVII–XXI).

4. Sealed and inaccessible room: the funerary chamber of Padiamenope (XXII).

These specifications produced a very unique plan for an Egyptian funerary monument. Although all these texts must benefit the deceased Padiamenope in his desire to be near the gods, some of them also appear on the walls of his secret and inaccessible (XXII) funerary chamber hidden in the last level of his *Grabpalast*.[31] It is obvious that the texts of the accessible part of the tomb were available to visiting scholars. Moreover, one of the texts of the 'Natron Chapel' (XIV) assimilates the tomb to a scriptorium, with Padiamenope being described as 'the advised one in the scriptorium'.[32]



A Substitute Place of Worship for the Abydos Osireion

Let us return to Corridor XII containing the shaft leading to the burial compartments of Padiamenope. This shaft is unique both in terms of its dimensions and layout. It is the only example of a funerary shaft opening in the middle of a corridor. Its dimensions are exceptional: 2.40 m wide, 1.33 m long, and 6 m deep, which results in a narrow passageway of less than 0.30 m on the left side. There is no evidence of a recess for closing stone slabs. To ensure safe passage, there are only two options: either the well was filled by sand or rubble, or it was covered with a wooden lid. With this last option, visitors could not ignore the presence of the well.

Passing through the door at the end of Corridor XII, we discover Padiamenope on the passageway, accompanied by a nephew, who welcomes us. On the left, he addresses the visitors of the future, detailing their motivations: they are either followers of the god Montu, or tourists to the necropolis (fig. 6)![33]

[31] The *Amduat*, long version (west wall, section I–IV; south wall, section V–VI; north wall, section VII–VIII; east wall, section IX–XII) *Book of the Dead*: BD 137, south wall, gable; BD 141–142, north wall, gable; BD 147, west wall; BD 148, east wall; BD 144, 127, north wall; BD 130, south wall. As far as we know, BD 127 and 130 are not attested in other rooms of the tomb. Moreover, these chapters apparently are not found elsewhere in the Late Period Asasif necropolis. Personal communication with S. Einaudi.

[32] Literally, 'in the is-monument of the books'.

[33] On 13 November 2017, this text was verified by myself and Bernard Mathieu, whom I thank for his suggestions. We were able to refine the readings at the end of column 2. It is, therefore, necessary to rectify previous readings and thus renounce the allusion to 'formula researchers'. See TRAUNECKER, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 220; TRAUNECKER, RÉGEN, *BSFE* 193–4 (2016), 66.



Fig. 6: The welcome text in the passage of Door XII (JSesh: C. Traunecker)

O living ones, O you who are on earth,
who are born or will be born,
who come as followers of Montu, the lord of Thebes,
who is going to divert you in the West of Thebes,
who roam the stairs (?),[34]
who enter this tomb,
who contemplate what is there.
As true as[35] Amun-Re, lord of […] lives for you,
you will adore the god and you will recite the offering formula,
you will complete the monument,
you will consolidate what wasted.[36]

[34] Sense unclear. Perhaps the last category of visitor he describes could allude to those who did not hesitate to descend into the tombs and wonder the 'stairs' within the tombs of the Asasif and royal tombs?
[35] This is the formula of the Royal Oath (*Wb* I, 202), which introduces an incentive perspective (Future III in Coptic).
[36] Mathieu proposes that two acts can also be considered as the consequences of respecting the oath. We could then translate 'you will pronounce the offering formula to complete the monument and consolidate it'.

The 'Cenotaph'

Moving through Corridor XII, visitors next discover the southwest corner of the Cenotaph with the charming statues of Neith on the left and Shentayet on the right, both protecting the corner from the gigantic stone sarcophagus. The goddesses have the body placed against the Cenotaph, arms stretched outwards and their gaze turned towards the southwest corner. The central element of the liturgical complex of Padiamenope, this square monument of thirty cubits (*i.e.* 15.7 m) on each side is solid rock. On these sides there are fifteen false doors and twenty-two chapels. This monument represents the tomb of Osiris, based on the now destroyed Abydenian model. Its decoration is composed of the following elements:

The Four Upper Text Bands

The southern text describes Isis coming to Padiamenope to give him breath and respiratory functions. In the northern band, it is Nephthys who takes over to consolidate the body, the head, and the bones. This layout is common on sarcophagi, with Isis at the foot, in front of the mummy, and Nephthys at the head, behind it. Therefore, with the Cenotaph, the deceased has his feet oriented to the south and his head to the north. In the eastern text, Nut protects the deceased and introduces him into the circumpolar stars. The western text is unfortunately poorly preserved. Three of these text bands adorn the subterranean vault of the pyramid of Tantamani in el-Kurru.[37]

The Eight Goddesses Protecting the Corners of the Cenotaph and the Theban Funeral of Padiamenope

If coming out of Corridor XII we turn right in order to go around the Cenotaph (counter-clockwise), we meet the following deities. South face: 1. Shentayet (west) and 2. Isis (east); east face: 3. Nephthys (south) and 4. Nut (north); north face: 5. Maat (east) and 6. Selqet (west); west face: 7. Hathor (north) and 8. Neith (south). Each statue is accompanied by a text consisting of eight columns of large hieroglyphs. These texts are unfortunately very damaged, yet they provide a valuable key for decoding the Cenotaph's message (figs. 7–9).[38] As soon as one decides to read these texts in a counter-clockwise direction,[39] despite the lacuna, an astonishing logical sequence appears: we attend the funeral of Padiamenope, passing through the hands of the eight goddesses. This is a very peculiar funeral because it seems to end up in the temple of Karnak!

At the beginning of the cycle, Shentayet welcomes Padiamenope in the 'Gold Chapel', 'flooded with nice smells', where she is assisted by Neith. This is, in my opinion, an allusion to the final stage of the body's preparation (ointments, bandages, and shrouds) before its final adornment as Osiris-Hemag. Unfortunately, the texts of Isis and Nephthys are very mutilated, but in this last one a mention of *Ỉpt-swt* (Karnak) is to be noted. Nut welcomes his image (*sḫm*) in Thebes, the 'city of your birth'. Selqet also mentions the 'city of your birth'.[40] Next, Hathor salutes 'your arrival in *Ỉpt-swt*'. Finally, Neith welcomes him 'glorified according to the appearance of before'[41] and concludes explicitly: '*Ỉpt-swt* is celebrating your coming and Amun exults at your viewing'. Thus, the circuit clearly concludes in Karnak. This cycle is probably a virtual journey

[37] GASM EL SEED, *RdE* 36 (1985), 71–2.

[38] The sarcophagi of the Napatan kings Anlamani and Aspelta are partly composed on the same model with eight goddesses at the corners. However, with different goddesses and much more common texts. If we consider that the head of the deceased is oriented to north, and if we start from the southwest corner and turn to the right, we have Isis and Seshat; Isis and Nut; Nephthys and Isis; Isis and Neith. See DOLL, *Texts and Decoration*.

[39] This direction is suggested by the arrangement of access as an extension of Corridor XII, from west to east. An anti-clockwise circumambulation is very common in the rituals of other religions, with a right turn having beneficial meanings.

[40] According to the statue of Sorrento, Padiamenope was born in Thebes (see n. 11 above) with Osiris also 'born in Thebes'.

[41] Is this passage to be understood as an allusion to the appearance of the deceased living 'before death'?

intended by Padiamenope/Osiris for eternity, but could it have an origin in a ritual reality? It is also hard to imagine the presentation of the mummy of Padiamenope in the Temple of Amun, so we can wonder if these allusions do not refer to the installation of a statue of the deceased within the temple.[42] Alternatively, could this spatial cycle have been a kind of staging of the myth of Osiris who was born and resurrected in Thebes?

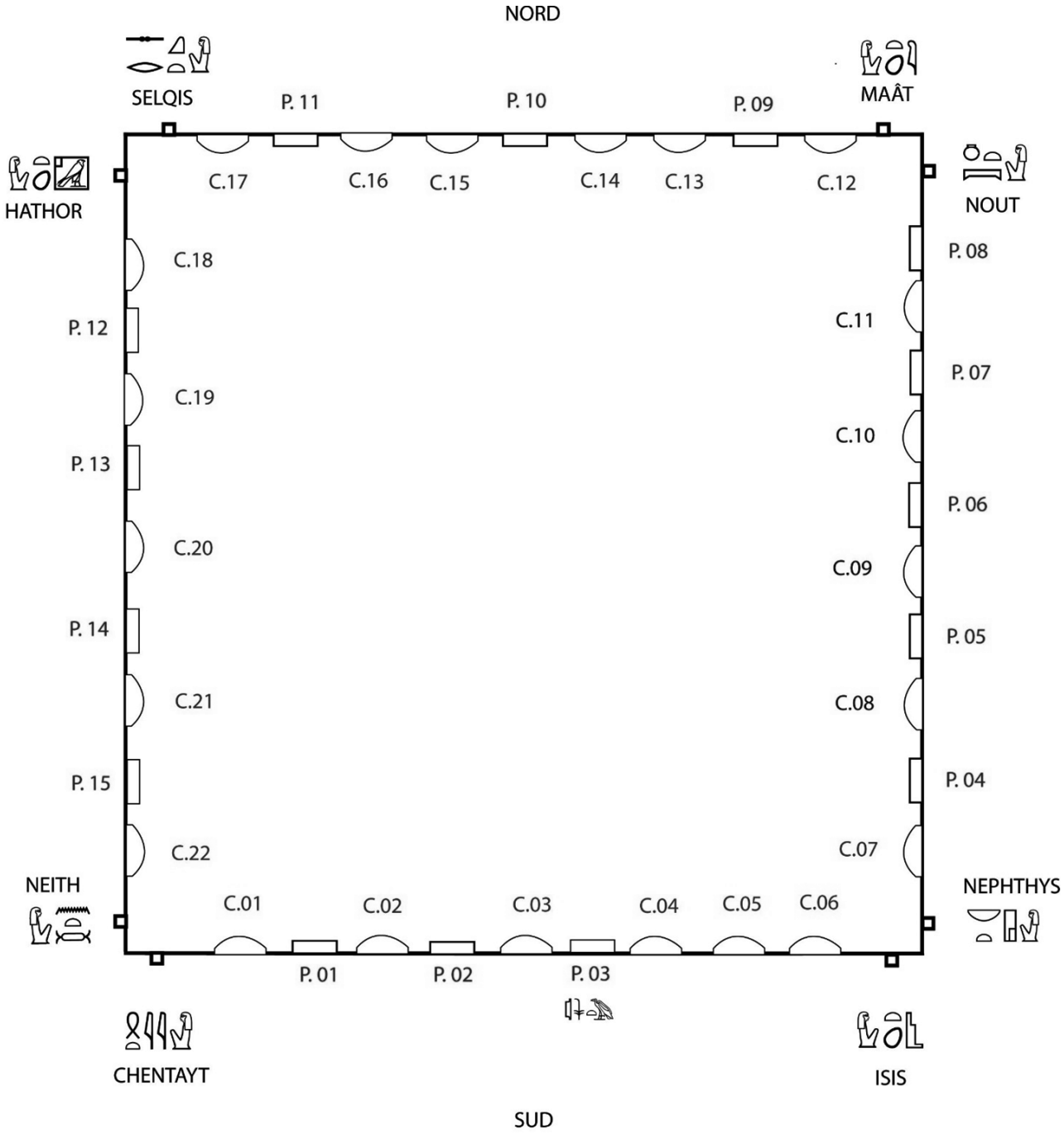


Fig. 7: Plan of the Cenotaph. (C) chapel (C.01–C.22); (P) Gates (P.01–P.15)

[42] At present, twelve statues of Padiamenope are known. *Cf.* COULON, in COLLOMBERT *et al.* (eds.), *Aere perennius*, 91–119; DE MEULENAERE, in GABOLDE (ed.), *Hommages à Jean-Claude Goyon*, 15–48. To the ten recognized statues of Padiamenope, Coulon adds a further one, which is the subject of his article (Cairo RT 27/1/21/1 + Sidney University Museum NMR 11), and a seated statue in calcite, two fragments of which are conserved in the so-called 'Sheikh Labib' magazine of Karnak. (91CL183 + 93CL1706). Personally, I would temporarily add the second Michailidis torso (although the name is incomplete). See PIANKOFF, *BIFAO* 46 (1947), 89.

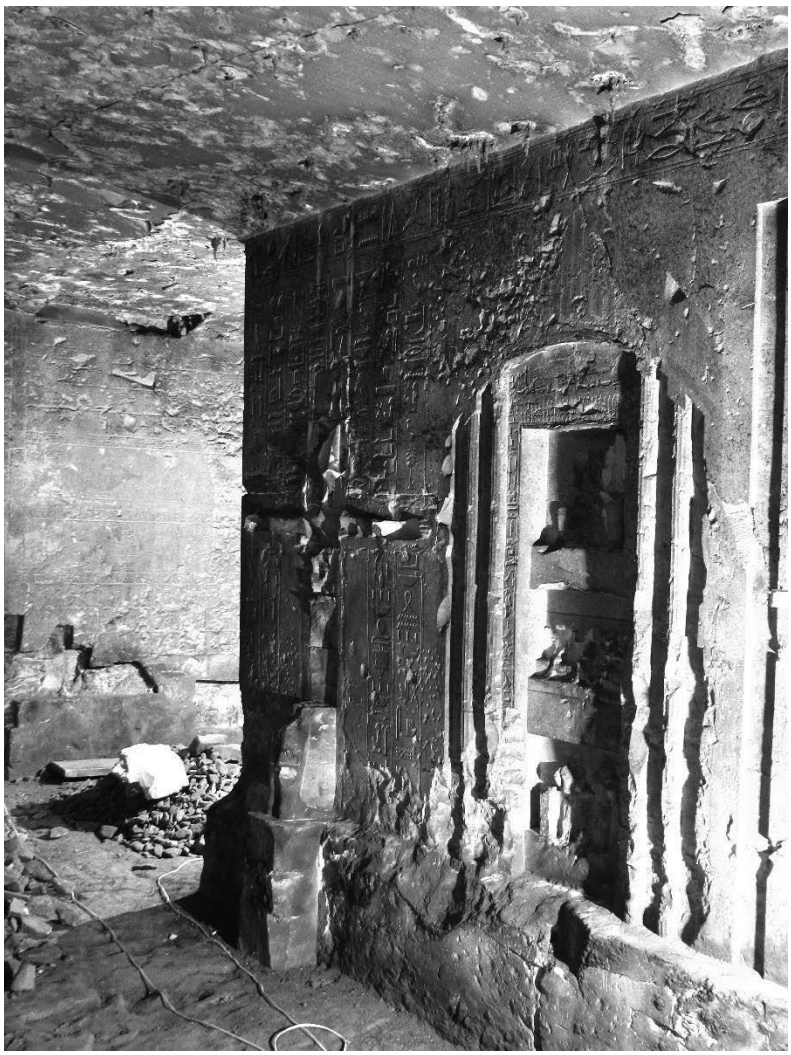


Fig. 8: The Cenotaph, south wall (photo: C. Traunecker)

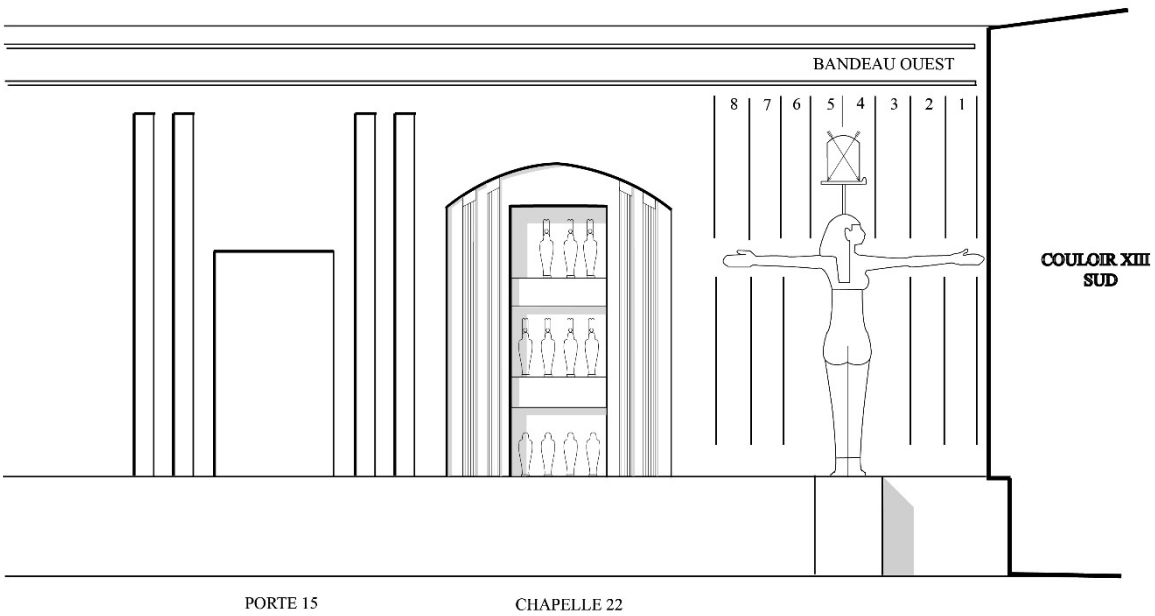


Fig. 9: The Cenotaph, south-west angle, view to the west (photo: C. Traunecker)

The Fifteen False Doors

Each door has a specific name and is associated with a body part of Osiris.[43] Their distribution is asymmetrical (South 3, East 5, North 3, West 4). The appearance of these doors harks back to the Old Kingdom, particularly to the Step Pyramid complex of Djoser at Saqqara that also has fifteen gates. The eastern façade has five doors, but only the first one to the south is real. The northern, western, and eastern façades have three, four, and three doors respectively (fig. 10). We find these fifteen doors with the same asymmetrical distribution (5-3-4-3) in the decoration of the basements of some royal sarcophagi of the Middle Kingdom.[44] These doors with their names and texts mentioning them are also found on the basement of the sarcophagus of Merenptah, which was reused by Psusennes I in Tanis.[45] It is also present in the decoration of the monumental sarcophagi of the Kushite kings Tantamani, Anlamani (620–600 BC), and Aspelta (593–568 BC).[46] While it might be assumed that each of these gates was related to a relics of Osiris, it is now evident to me that they are related to the interventions of thanatopractors.[47]



Fig. 10: The Cenotaph, Door 3 (door for the thanatopractor for the shoulders of the god) (Photo: L. Schmitt)

[43] See the repartition scheme in PIANKOFF, *BIFAO* 46 (1947), 77. For a comparative study of door names, see KEES, *ZÄS* 88 (1963), 97–113. This is based on the three sources currently known: (1) the Cenotaph of Padiamenope; (2) the sarcophagus of Merenptah re-used by Psusennes I; (3) the sarcophagi of Aspelta and Anlamani (see n. 38 above).

[44] The doors sequence 5-3-4-3 is attested on two royal sarcophagi: Senwosret III and Amenemhat III, both from Dahshur, as well as on sarcophagi of two royal women: Neferuptah, daughter of Amenemhat III (Hawara), and Aat, queen of Amenemhat III (Dahshur). ARNOLD, *Der Pyramidenbezirk*, 32–5, for the sequence 5-3-4-3, see 35, the sarcophagus of Aat, 44–5. For the sarcophagus of Neferuptah, see FARAG, ISKANDER, *The Discovery of Neferwptah*, 18–9.

[45] MONTET, *Les constructions et le tombeau de Psousennès*, pls. 82–88.

[46] DOLL, *Texts and Decoration*.

[47] Each door is linked to a part of the body of Osiris as an object of embalming. Four of them do not specify the name of the part of Osiris' body (doors 07, 12–14) while three refer to violent acts and Seth (doors 5–6, 8). In a forthcoming study, I will demonstrate how the Cenotaph represents the tomb of Osiris and also the place of the thanatopractors. Together with the associated chapels (XIV and XVI), they constitute an embalming workshop for the preparation of the mummy to be adorned like Osiris-Hemag in Chapel XV.

The Twenty-Two Chapels

These chapels were designed on the model of two frontal plant columns with a curved roof. The frame of the naos carries two texts, on the left and right, opening with a *ḥtp-di-nswt* formula. A series of divine images, all placed on some kind of shelves, are represented within the naoi in raised relief. These chapels are irregularly distributed on all four sides of the Cenotaph. The numerous divine or royal images that occupy these chapels strongly evoke the inventories of ancient cult statues that are sometimes found on the walls of naoi or crypts, particularly because of their strangeness and diversity.[48] Despite their destruction, there appear to be at least 150 figures.[49] Do they represent an inventory of local cult images?[50] Just as Padiamenope placed his own statues in various temples, do we have here a reverse movement with numerous venerable divine images evoked within his tomb? A text from Chapel 11 refers to the wish to 'go out in procession to see "the union with the Disc" among the following of Horus (or Montu?)'. As a hypothesis, perhaps we can also think of the recollection of places where Padiamenope was involved during his career?

Padiamenope's Osireion and the Subterranean Circumambulations

Rooms XVII–XXII

As noted previously, Corridor XII also contains Shaft XII, which gives access to a series of rooms that are entirely decorated: XVII, Corridor XVIII leading to the vaulted Chamber XIX. Room XIX is oriented to the north and is exactly in line with the Cenotaph, but 6 m below. A complete version of the *Book of Caverns* is written in these rooms. Its final scene occupies the north wall of Room XIX. Directly behind, on the east wall, is a representation of the 'Awakening of Osiris' (lower register) and above 'the Transit of the Solar Barques'. Osiris wakes up in the *ḥnkt* (bedchamber) of his palace, his face oriented to the north. He is accompanied by thirty-six guardian genii, sixteen in front of him and twenty behind.[51]

In the floor of Room XIX, a large shaft opens (1.28 m x 2.18 m x 6.5 m deep). It leads into a square vaulted room with walls decorated with redans, which is evocative of the sarcophagi of the Old Kingdom. This room was the liturgical funerary room of Osiris-Padiamenope (XXI). An apartment not yet cleared opens onto the bottom of the well to the south, opposite Room XXI. The north wall of room XXI (1.70 m thick) was constructed with blocks in order to conceal access to the secret funeral chamber of Padiamenope (XXII) located in the ceiling.[52] Its decoration is based on texts already present in the upper floors of the tomb.[53] At the bottom of the side walls of Room XXII, there are fourteen niches, which had been planned to

[48] For example, the naos of Saft el-Henneh: NAVILLE, *The Shrine of Saft el Henneh*, pls. 1–7; the sanctuary of Hibis: DAVIES, *The Temple of Hibis* (Room A), 2–13, pls. 2–4; Crypt of the temple of Tod: THIERS, *Tôd* 201–19; Montuemhat's crypt in the temple of Mut: LECLANT, *Montouemhat*, 231, pl. 70; MARIETTE, *Karnak*, I, 65, II, pl. 43. See also TRAUNECKER, in HELCK, WESTENDORF (eds.) *LÄ* III, 823–30; TRAUNECKER, *BSFE* 129 (1994), 21–46. An object from Medinet el-Faiyum combines, as in Padiamenope's case, various images in full relief: CORTEGGIANI, *L'Égypte ancienne et ses dieux*, 451. The particularity of Padiamenope's list, as far as we can see, is that it associates divine images with royal and private figures.

[49] I estimate between 137 and 196 figures.

[50] Such as those of the P. Jumilhac: DERCHAIN, *RdE* 41 (1990), 9–30; RÖßLER-KÖHLER, in HELCK, WESTENDORF (eds.) *LÄ* IV, 708–12; VANDIER, J., *Le Papyrus Jumilhac*.

[51] ROBERSON, *The Awakening of Osiris.* The version of Padiamenope is not included in this edition. It will be published by us as part of the Padiamenope project. See also the review by WERNING, *BiOr* 83: 1–2 (2016), 69–78.

[52] Located 4.5 m above the floor of Room XXI.

[53] See note 31 above.

receive statues[54] of apotropaic genii,[55] as with the tomb of Montuemhat. Between these niches there is a second version of the thirty-six guardian genii who watch over the Awakening of Osiris in his palace.[56]

The Abydos Osireion, Model of the Liturgical Part of TT 33

The analogy with the Osireion at Abydos[57] is based on the position of the access to Shaft XII, with both seemingly outside an enclosure. At Abydos, the underground corridor is decorated with the *Amduat* and, as in Padiamenope's case, with a complete version of the *Book of Caverns*. The structure and orientation of the underground part of the Abydenian Osireion and that of the TT 33 presents many similarities. The Osirian crypt in Abydos was particularly spectacular with its artificial island, canal, and seventeen niches. Beyond the crypt there is a room with a secret access decorated with very rare texts, including the Awakening of Osiris. This sealed room is evocative of Room XXII in Padiamenope.[58]

The Cenotaph of Padiamenope as a Replica of the Lost Superstructure of the Abydos Osireion

Since the lower parts are similar and respond to each other, why not imagine that the same goes for the upper parts? In Padiamenope's tomb, the Cenotaph is situated exactly above rooms XXI and XXII and is accessible in the open part of the tomb. At Abydos the superstructure of the Osireion has completely disappeared (figs. 11–2). I propose to consider the Cenotaph within the tomb of Padiamenope as a replica of the disappeared Abydenian superstructure. Some scholars have suggested that this superstructure had the form of a tumulus.[59] However, it must be admitted that no archaeological argument supports this hypothesis.[60] Therefore, I think that it is not unreasonable to imagine that it was used as a model for the Cenotaph. In his titles, Padiamenope

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[54] In the tomb of Montuemhat, there are eighteen niches, yet only six statues of these apotropaic geniis are known. See ETIENNE (ed.) *Les Portes du Ciel*, cat. nrs. 122–4; LECLANT, *Montouemhat*, docs. 18–22; LECLANT, in ANONYMOUS (ed.), *Древнии мир*, 104–29. None of the statues from the tomb of Padiamenope, if they existed, have been found.

[55] On this group of apotropaic demons, see ALTENMÜLLER, in HELCK, WESTENDORF (eds.), *LÄ* II 636–7, ns. 23–5; ASSMANN, *Das Grab der Mutirdis*, 93–4, pls. 44–5; LECLANT, in ANONYMOUS (ed.), *Древнии мир*, 106–9; LUCARELLI, *BMSAES* 15 (2010), 85–102; MONTET, *Les constructions et le tombeau de Psousennès*, 115–6, pls. 82–8; PANTALACCI, *BIFAO* 83 (1983), 297–311. GUILHOU, in *IV*[e] *Rencontres archéozoologiques.*

[56] ROBERSON, *The Awakening of Osiris*, 2 [A1–A8 series], 19–55 for the so-called 'small deities'. The dissymmetrical arrangement of these guardian entities of the awakening (sixteen before Osiris, twenty behind the god) is present in the funeral chamber of Padiamenope: the panels between the fourteen niches of apotropaic gods contain sixteen fore-guards of the revival on the west and twenty rear-guards to the east.

[57] GESTERMANN, in WAITKUS (ed.), *Diener des Horus*, 110–21; VON LIEVEN, in HARING, KLUG (eds.), *6. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, 167–186. Von Lieven suggests that the central figure of the subterranean Osireion could be an 'awakening Osiris'. See VON LIEVEN, in HARING, KLUG (eds.), *6. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, 182.

[58] The opening in the axial niche is recent. A so-called burglar tunnel opens in the north-eastern corner. One can imagine a link with the two-storey crypt in the north-western corner of the temple of Seti I.

[59] The restoration of a tumulus proposed by AUFRÈRE, GOLVIN, GOYON, *L'Égypte restituée*, 44 is not supported archaeologically. The model of archaic tombs has always been the niched enclosure. The Egyptians never built circular tombs in Egypt. In a study in press, I present a theory about the importance of right-angle structures in ancient Egypt and the quasi-absence of circular buildings: See TRAUNECKER, in *Journée Michel Azim*, forthcoming.

[60] The word *i3t*, often translated as 'mound' is the antonym for *niwt*, 'habitat'. If *niwt* is an organised, structured place, *i3t* is, on the other hand, an abandoned place, a kind of wasteland. If there are mounds, they are mounds of rubble, such as the 'kom' of archaeological sites. The *i3wt* are often associated with ancient places, whose history is lost. The 'primordial mound', organised in the shape of a regular tumulus, is a construction of the mind of modern commentators, abused by the hieroglyphic sign of the *i3t* of Osiris and his trees. See, for example, the architectural transpositions proposed by EIGNER, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten*, 165–6. Felix Relats Montserrat, studying the unedited archives of C. Robichon and A. Varille conserved in Milan and Paris and concerning the excavation of the archaic sanctuary at Medamud (ROBICHON, VARILLE, *Description sommaire du temple primitif de Médamoud*) found that there is no concrete trace of the existence of the two mounds. This archaeological interpretation is based on a simple suggestion from Loret in his correspondence with the excavators. I thank Mr. Montserrat, who will publish this documentation, for the communication of this valuable information.

boasts to be a 'scribe of the temple of Osiris at Abydos'.[61] One can imagine that he knew very well the antique Osireion of Abydos. Thus, not only does the tomb of Padiamenope reproduce a lost Abydenian monument, but it also allows the Theban devotees to perform the pilgrimage at the tomb of Osiris in Abydos without leaving their city! The importance of circumambulation rites in pilgrimage sites is well known. At Abydos, the pilgrims had to move around the superstructure of the Osireion. It is this circumambulation that Padiamenope reproduced in his tomb with Corridor XIII, but in this case, it is underground. Therefore, the Abydenian ritual is immortalised in the stone for eternity.

Was the construction at Abydos similar to the Cenotaph of Padiamenope in all aspects? No stone fragments have been found, but I would like to imagine that the builders of the time of Seti I used crude brick to mimic an old building. It is probable that the fifteen false gates and, possibly, the corner goddesses were present. For the twenty-two niches, the question remains open.[62]

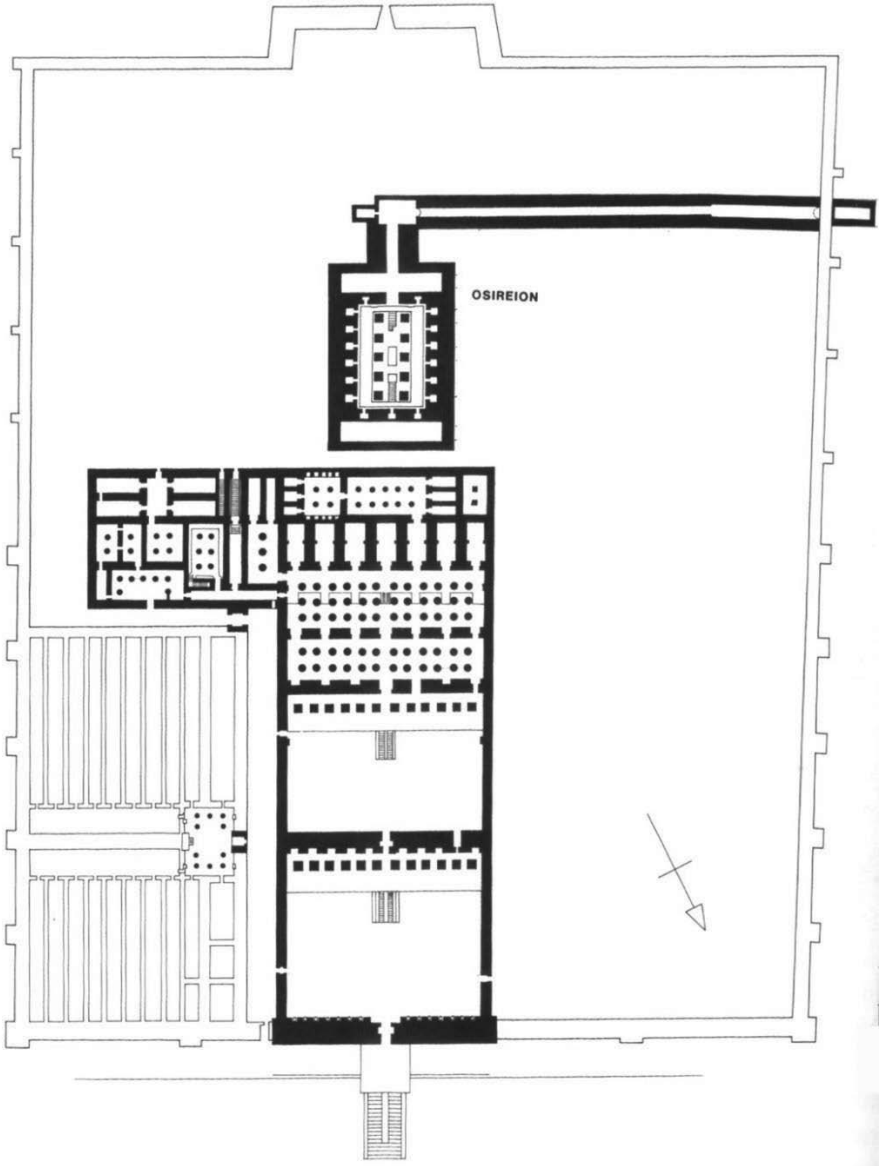


Fig. 11: Abydos. Terrain of the pilgrims, the subterranean structure of the Osireion (drawing: C. Traunecker, after ARNOLD, *Die Tempel Ägyptens*, 170)

[61] For the statue in Syracuse, see HEISE, *Erinnern und Gedenken*, 98–100.

[62] The Cenotaph decoration in the tomb of Padiamenope is related, I think, to the Theban cults. One could at least imagine chapels with the group of apotropaic geniis, such as the sarcophagus of Merenptah. *Cf.* n. 55 above.

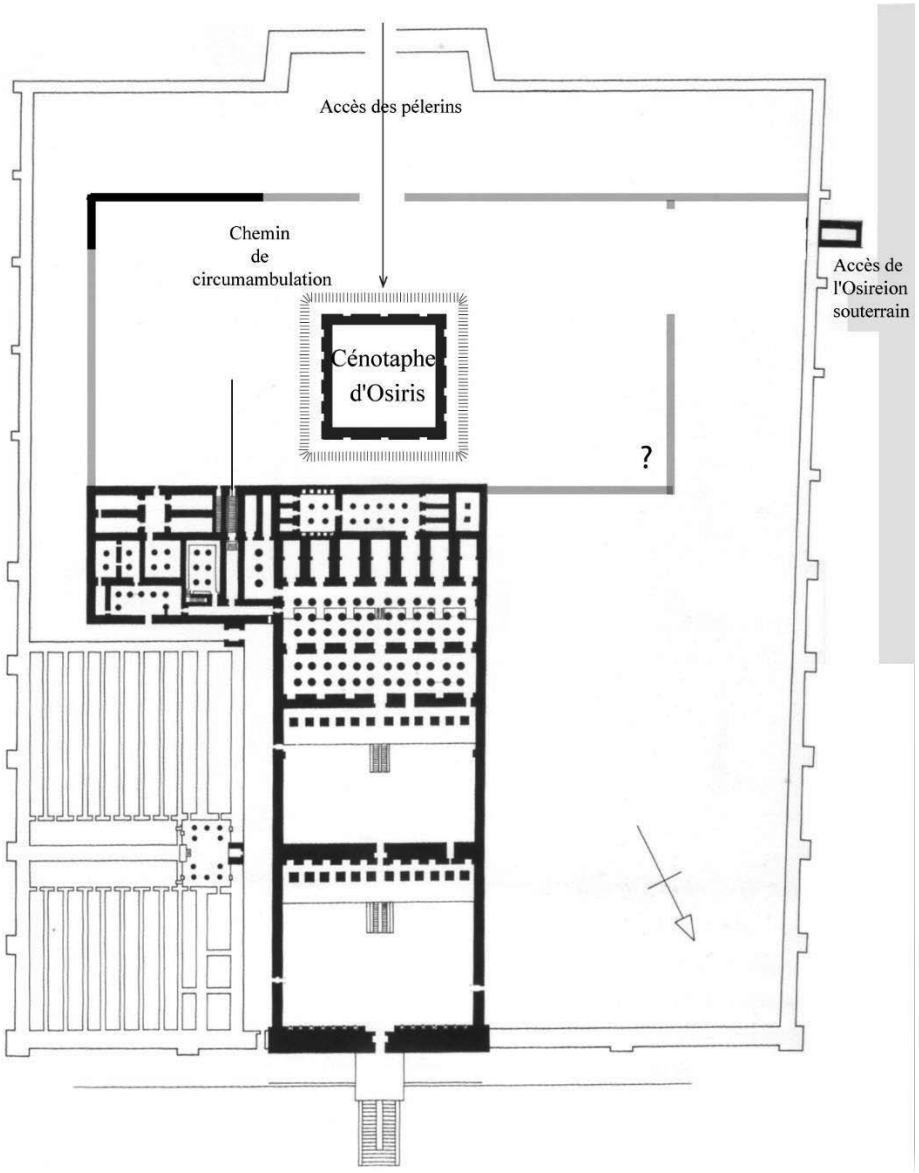


Fig. 12: Abydos. Terrain of the pilgrims, the circumambulation path
(drawing: C. Traunecker, after ARNOLD, *Die Tempel Ägyptens*, 170)

The Consequences of Padiamenope's Innovations

While the tomb of Montuemhat has many similarities with that it Padiamenope, it is devoid of this ritual system. The great corridor of Harwa's tomb is perhaps a later addition. On the other hand, we find a very remarkable circumambulation device in the tomb Taharqo,[63] the king whom Padiamenope served. It seems to me that Padiamenope was the initiator of this underground circumambulation design.[64] It is, therefore, not the symbolism of the primordial mound that is at the origin of this architecture. Again, it is the necessity and need for ritual action that has taken precedence over pure theology.[65]

[63] PM VII, 223; DUNHAM, *Nuri*, 6–16 [Nu. 1]. It is often assumed that the subterranean part of Taharqo's pyramid reproduces the Osireion at Abydos. However, if this reading is accepted for the funeral chamber with six pillars and twelve niches, it must be pointed out that the circumambulation corridor is absent in the Abydenian underground model. Therefore, I suggest that the circumambulation corridor in the tomb of Taharqo is the subterranean transposition of the circumambulation in the open air around the Cenotaph at Abydos, I will be tempted to see in this very particular disposition of Taharqo's tomb the influence of Padiamenope himself.

[64] PM III/2², 588 [L.24], pl. 59; BRESCIANI, *et al*., *Saqqara*, 9, fig. 5.

[65] EINAUDI, in GOYON, (eds.) *Proceedings*, 475–85.

Was Padiamenope a Bibliophile or a Man of Power?

This tour in the tomb of Padiamenope reveals the extraordinary originality of the monument and the options taken as well as the unfailing determination of its author in the execution of the project. It is now time to look at the personality of our lector priest and to consider about his place in the society of his time.

I had proposed that Padiamenope was essentially an intellectual, a scholar specialising in the religious history of his country, an unparalleled ritualist, acting as a pontifical adviser to the Kushite rulers Taharqo and Tantamani. This view is still valid, but perhaps it can be developed a little more and we may add a further dimension to the personality of Padiamenope. This new approach is still hypothetical, based on impressions and approaches rather than explicit proofs, but it would be regrettable not to express it, if only to generate new directions for research.

There have always been questions about the disproportionate size of the tomb, the tomb of a man apparently devoid of governmental and political functions at both national and regional levels. Although he does belong to a local priestly family, he is not explicitly part, like Montuemhat, of the ruling elite of local priesthood. However, the way in which he seems to have imposed the construction of his *Grabpalast* to the detriment of his necropolis neighbours, the importance of the project and his ambition suggests a person with very strong authority. One can always imagine that this authority was based on respect for his knowledge and scholarly status, but we all know that these considerations, as respectable as they may be, are rarely enough if there is not also a way to exert economic, social, or political pressure.

To sketch this new portrait of Padiamenope, I will use three of his titles. Let us take at face value his title of archivist and royal secretary, 'in the face of the king'. Thus, we can keep in mind the possibility of a real closeness between the Theban priest and the king, Taharqo or Tantamani. Even if the contacts were episodic because of the king's displacements, it is very probable that Padiamenope was among the close relations, even the intimate circle, of the sovereign. But most of all, this closeness to the king was known in Thebes. Moreover, his function as the manager of the royal regalia placed him in a very predominant position.

The title of 'Amun's festival conductor' is also a precious clue for evaluating his true role. We know that this function consisted essentially of representing the person of the sovereign at Thebes during the great Amun festivities.[66] It is also known that for the exercise of this function, priestly competences were not indispensable. The king could delegate any of his relatives to replace him and represent him during the religious feasts. The essential thing was to hold the royal trust. This is why the 'festival conductor' can be royal servants of all kinds, stewards, those responsible for the treasury or the granary, civil administrators, viziers, and so on. They were a kind of plenipotentiary appointed by the king alone and they physically represented the king during the great ceremonies.

Finally, Padiamenope is also 'responsible for all the king's work'. The word works can be taken in the broad sense of the term, but we know how important the architectural activity in Karnak was during the reign of Taharqo, particularly the kiosks of the courts. Could Padiamenope have remained away from the important movements of funds, energy, and knowledge linked to such important worksites as the construction of the Taharqo kiosk[67] in the Amun forecourt or those of Khonsu,[68] the eastern entrance, and so on? We know from the statue of Sorrento that he was in a position to build a temple with its enclosure and gates.[69] Additionally, one of Padiamenope's statues (Cairo JE 37389)[70] bears the very rare phrase for the

[66] HELCK, *Zur Verwaltung*, 363, 478; HELCK, in HELCK, WESTENDORF (eds.), *LÄ* II, 192–4; KEES, *Das Priestertum*, 175.
[67] With regards to the kiosk of Taharqo in the main courtyard of Karnak, I once suggested that it could have been used as a place for the 'Union au Disque' ceremonies. See LAUFFRAY, *CahKarn* 5 (1975), 89–92. The texts of chapel eleven of the Cenotaph makes explicit reference to the ceremony of the 'Union au Disque'.
[68] The Ethiopian kiosks were undoubtedly covered. See, for example, the kiosk of the Khonsu temple: the recesses of the cornices of the roof are still visible on the facade of the pylon. See LAUFFRAY, *Karnak d'Égypte*, 216, fig. 185. A study of kiosk roofs is currently in preparation by Françoise Laroche-Traunecker and myself.
[69] For the statue in Sorrento, see D'ESTE, *EVO* 20–21 (1997–1998), 119–24, col. 6). See also n. 11 above.

time, 'given by the king's favour'.[71] In his work relating to statues bearing this formula, Delvaux gives a definition of the beneficiaries of this personal royal generosity that would be very applicable, I think, to Padiamenope. They were 'personalities who did not really occupy decisive functions of the state apparatus but were certainly among the most highly considered, because they were particularly close to the king'.

The fundamental problem is that, unlike our Hellenistic colleagues, we are very poorly informed about the economic organisation of these worksites. Apparently, and by definition, they are all 'royal', but several clues show us that this approach needs to be redefined. In the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, we can guess distinctions between royal and local projects commissioned with their own funds.[72] The personages entrusted by the royal administration with the management of specific projects were important characters.

The extraordinary worksite of his *Grabpalast* in the necropolis must have added to his fame in Thebes and among his colleagues. It is pleasing to imagine the interventions of the lector priest Padiamenope in Karnak during the great annual ceremony. I would like to end by mentioning the feast of the first epagomenal day, the day of Osiris' birth.

On that day, a procession carrying the sacred water vases of Amun, Mut, and Khonsu departed the temple by the west forecourt and solemnly descending towards the river through the ramp built during the reign of Taharqo. The aim was to draw fresh water from the flood for worship. The text that can be seen on the parapet of this ramp reproduces the words of the hymn sung by the officiants. It states explicitly that it must be intoned by a lector priest. Why not imagine Padiamenope in this role for this great annual popular festival?[73]

We can even go further and suggest that the construction of this ramp, which involves major port works, was placed under the management of the king's 'private secretary', Padiamenope. Of course, this is only speculation, but despite the absence of formal proof, I am convinced that the owner of the TT 33 was a powerful man at Thebes. Considering the audacity and inventiveness of the *Grabpalast*, the energy that its author had to deploy to lead this 'pharaonic' project in a very difficult political, economic, and military context, I have some difficulty to think that Padiamenope was just a bibliophile, mixing old papyri.

We should not forget that Padiamenope was probably witness to the sack of Thebes by the troops of Assurbanipal in 663 BC, at the beginning of the reign of Tantamani. I will demonstrate in a forthcoming study that he most probably conceived, or at least inspired, the tombs of kings Taharqo,[74] Tantamani,[75] and

[70] AFFARA, *DE* 62 (2005), 5–15; HEISE, *Erinnern und Gedenken*, 101–2; LOUKIANOFF, *ASAE* 37 (1937), 219–32.

[71] DELVAUX, *"Donné en récompense de la part du roi"*, 104, 995–9, for Cairo JE 37389. This statue is the sole example of the formula of donation post Twenty-third Dynasty. This mention is a form of cultured archaism in the style of Padiamenope, but it may also reflect a reality in the recipient's reports and royal authority. It can be observed that it is the only statue where Padiamenope displays his title of 'conductor of festivals'.

[72] TRAUNECKER, in THIERS (ed.), *Documents de théologies*, 221–6; TRAUNECKER, *Kyphi* 7 (2015), 201–31. The Greek inscription of the lintel of the Dendera temple façade, dating to the reign of Tiberius, refers to a private financing by the 'inhabitants of the city and the nome'. See DAUMAS, *Dendara*, 31). See also the Greek dedication of the door of Aurelien in Dush, which testifies of a public subscription. See already the work by SPENCER, in BAREŠ, COPPENS, SMOLÁRIKOVÁ (eds.), *Egypt in Transition*, 441–90.

[73] TRAUNECKER, *BIFAO* 72 (1972), 203, fig. 2. According to Herodotus and Plutarch, in the Graeco-Roman Period this feast had a popular counterpart called 'Pamylies' with the procession of a statue of the ithyphallic Osiris. The Pamylies almost came to us because they inspired Jean-Phillipe Rameau and Louis de Cahusac to create, in 1754, an opera entitled 'La naissance d'Osiris' (The Birth of Osiris). This charming ballet comedy, which was full of shepherds and shepherdesses, celebrated the birth of the future Louis XVI and was performed at Fontainebleau.

[74] See n. 63 above.

[75] PM VII, 196–7; DUNHAM, *El Kurru*, 6–16 [Ku. 16], 60–3. The relatively well preserved painted decoration of the funeral chamber (GASM EL SEED, *RdE* 36 (1985), 71–2), as with that of Queen Qalhata, responds to unusual funerary principles that are present in the tomb of Padiamenope: stellar destiny, Cenotaph bands, the steps of the preparation of the mummy. A detailed study of this is currently in preparation.

queen Qalhata[76] in the distant Sudanese necropolises of Nuri and el-Kurru! His Kushite inference is undeniable. In reality, he was certainly more politically involved than he leads visitors to his *Grabpalast* to believe.

Sometimes I come to question myself with regards the motives of Padiamenope's impetuous Egyptophilia. Additionally, if this excitement for classical Egyptian monuments and culture, going as far as the extravagance of Corridor XI, was the sign of the complex of a man who is doubting about his origin? His family was—or at least seems to have—settled in Armant, his mother apparently close to the court, but in his tomb and his statues, Padiamenope remains silent about his father.[77] I recognise that these ideas are pure speculation at the frontiers of the scientific process, but this monument is so strange that it is excusable to wander off course for a moment. In any case, I think we have to consider differently the man who designed and built this amazing *Grabpalast*. His tomb testifies of his admiration for the past, his desire to join the immortal stars while leaving the great pilgrimage of Abydos to the Theban devotees.

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[76] The pyramid of queen Qalhata, mother of Tantamani. See PM VII, 196; DUNHAM, *Nuri*, 36–41 [Nu. 6]. The decoration is very close to that of Tantamani.

[77] If we attribute the second Michailidis torso to Padiamenope (see n. 42 above), we would have in an unfortunately very stereotypical formula the sole allusion to his father: 'praised by his father, perfect for his mother, gentle for his brothers'.

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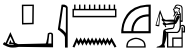
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Remarks on the Decoration and Conception of the Theban Tomb of Montuemhat (TT 34)

Louise Gestermann & Farouk Gomaà

Abstract

In 2006 new investigations started in the tomb of Montuemhat, with the aim of advancing the documentation of the hitherto almost unpublished monument. During the years 2012 to 2015 the reliefs in the rear northern rooms were documented, and since 2015 a further project has concerned documentation of the reliefs in the central section of the tomb. Both projects have been supported by the Fritz Thyssen Foundation. The identification of the decoration is nearly complete, and it is now possible to gain an impression of the ideas that were realised through the architecture and decoration and to think about the function of the individual sections and rooms within the tomb.

1 - In 2006, fresh investigations started in Montuemhat's tomb (TT 34) at Thebes (fig. 1).[1] Supported by a team of Egyptian, Spanish, and German colleagues, Farouk Gomaà arranged a number of measures from which we are still benefiting. They included removal of the debris from the tomb, collection and separation of decorated blocks and fragments, and cleaning of the whole tomb. Electricity was installed within the tomb and the requisite measures were taken to safeguard the work in the rooms cut into the rock. Furthermore, numerous cleaning and restoration measures were carried out. Selected parts of the walls were freed of salt and incrustations, loose pieces of rock were secured, and fragments were replaced in what was thought to be their original positions. Destroyed parts of the decoration were backfilled to stabilise the walls.

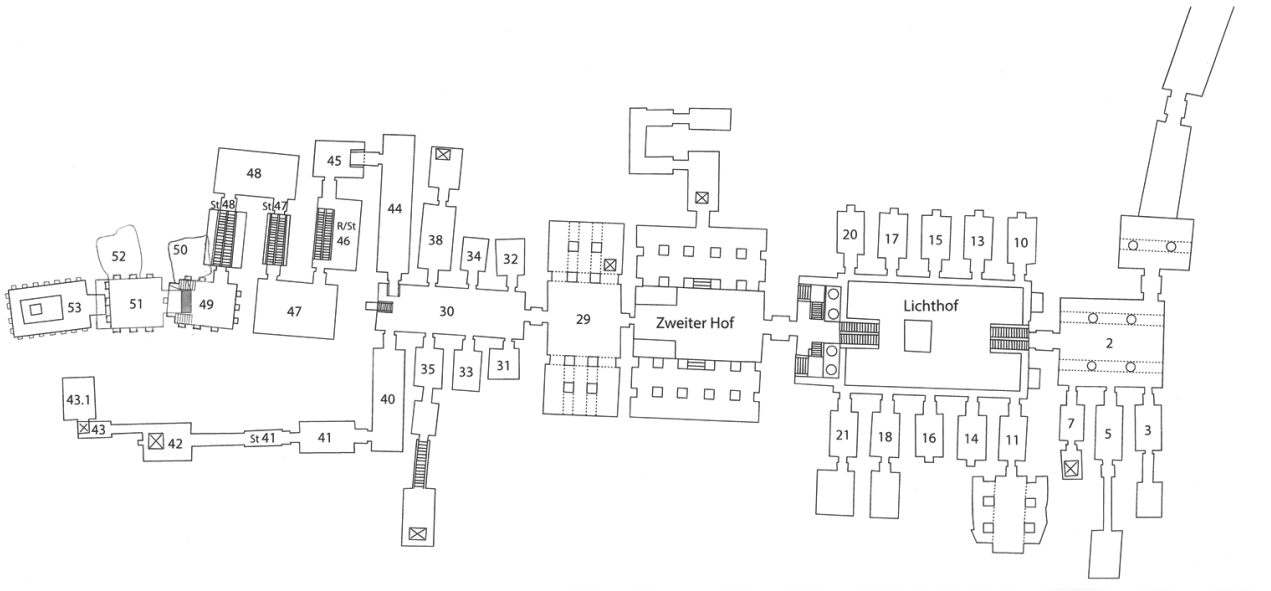


Fig. 1: Plan of the tomb of Montuemhat (drawing: Julian Brunner)

[1] ARMENGOL, GOMAÀ (eds.), *Projecte Monthemhat*; GOMAÀ, *Sokar* 12 (2006), 62-4.

2 - Since 2012 two further projects (2012–2015 and 2015–2018) have taken place in Montuemhat's tomb, and earlier activities have continued on a new basis.[2] The projects are supported by the Fritz Thyssen Foundation, Cologne, and concentrate on the decoration of the tomb, which especially in the rear part of the tomb has hitherto been almost unknown to the scientific community. Based on these conditions, only the documentation and identification of the texts, pictorial representations, and compositions are of interest, bringing further new information and fundamentally fresh insights. Knowledge of the decoration within the tomb delivers a broad basis for many more specific questions concerning matters such as tradition and transmission, iconography and palaeography. One further area of interest in recent years concerns the concept behind the tomb. By reference to the decoration, it should be possible to define the contents of a room, stairway or passage, and to reproduce the development undergone when passing through a whole sequence of rooms. This approach may reveal ideas concerning the transition of the deceased to the netherworld, as well as ritual use of a room or special space within the tomb.

3 - An initial project (2012–2015)[3] involved documentation of all the decorated surfaces in the rear northern rooms of the tomb, i.e. rooms R 44 to R 53, or the sequence of rooms starting at the central niche and place for worship of Osiris at the end of the first underground level (in R 30) and leading down to Montuemhat's burial chamber (fig. 1). The documentation has been completed over the past year, and we are now concerned with the remaining work in preparation for the publication of our manuscript.[4] This will cover the decoration in the drawings and in addition the texts in JSesh, the identification of the decoration, translation, and philological commentary and remarks on the contents. The publication will also provide indications that will possibly enable understanding of this sequence of rooms.

4 - Since 2015, the central part of the tomb has been examined in a second project.[5] The central part of the tomb, as defined by this project, starts at the doorway leading to the Second Court and contains (apart from this doorway) the Second Court itself, the Pillared Hall (R 29) that follows, and the adjoining elongated room (R 30), which provides access to the side chapels to the north (R 32, R 34, and R 38–39) and south (R 31, R 33, R 35–37). Over the past months the decorated surfaces in this complex have been photographed, the texts have been copied and, apart from some largely or fully destroyed sections, the decoration has been identified. Architectural features have also been described and measurements have been undertaken. On the basis of this work, further information can be provided regarding the decoration itself, and—as part of an initial approach—the function it may serve in Montuemhat's tomb.

5 - A brief outline of the occurrence of funerary texts in the central and rear parts of Montuemhat's tomb may illustrate this. To sum up, it can be said that the entire range of texts or compositions from the Old to the New Kingdom that can be used in a funerary context is represented in Montuemhat's tomb. Spells from the *Pyramid Texts*, *Coffin Texts*, and chapters from the *Book of the Dead* are documented, as well as various Books of the Netherworld. We have been able to identify the *Opening of the Mouth Ritual* and the *Ritual of Hours* ('*Stundenritual*'). Many offering formulae can be found, some offering lists, autobiographical phrases, and appeals to the living. Several hymns originating from various contexts are also attested—as well as some

[2] Farouk Gomaà still holds the concession for TT 34, and Louise Gestermann is the director of these two projects. This new project also involves the student Natalie Schmidt, who is responsible for the drawings.
[3] The project was entitled 'Der Weg zur Sargkammer: Zum Dekorationsprogramm in der spätzeitlichen Grabanlage des Monthemhet (TT 34) in Theben-West/Ägypten'.
[4] GESTERMANN, TEOTINO, WAGNER, *Zum Dekorationsprogramm in der spätzeitlichen Grabanlage des Monthemhet*, forthcoming.
[5] The actual project is entitled 'Stätte der Transzendenz und rituelle Bühne: Zum Dekorationsprogramm in der spätzeitlichen Grabanlage des Monthemhet (TT 34) in Theben-West/Ägypten'.

hitherto unknown texts and texts that are thus far known only from tombs of the Late Period at Thebes, e.g. those of Harwa (TT 37), Padiamenope (TT 33), Pabasa (TT 279), and Mutirdis (410), and from tombs in Saqqara and Heliopolis.

The distribution of these texts shows fundamental differences that have already been described for tombs of the Late Period and can now also be deemed to apply to Montuemhat's tomb. The main distinction concerns, on the one hand, the decoration of the rooms and the pillars within them, and on the other hand, the decoration of the doorways.[6]

The rooms in the rear northern part of the tomb are inscribed with spells from the *Pyramid Texts*, *Coffin Texts*, the *Book of the Dead*, the Books of the Netherworld and the *Opening of the Mouth Ritual*. While passing through the rooms, the deceased recites the texts written on the walls as expressed by the images showing Montuemhat at the entrance of some rooms (fig. 2). These rooms relate to the *Opening of the Mouth Ritual* (R 44), traversing the doorways to the netherworld (R 45 and R 48) and the judgement hall (R 47).



Fig. 2: Room R 47, image of Montuemhat at the entrance to the room

[6] See, for example, ASSMANN, *Grab des Basa*, passim; BUDKA, *Der König an der Haustür*, 7–10, for the inscriptions at the doorways.

Specific texts forming part of the decoration at the doorways in this part of the tomb are autobiographical phrases, appeals to the living, and those spells from the *Pyramid Texts* that can be classified as transfiguration texts (PT 422). They define the doorways as break points at which a communication takes place between the visitor to the tomb and the deceased owner of it. The latter is shown together with his wife Udjarenes—both of them facing the visitor who is entering the inner tomb (fig. 3).



Fig. 3: Doorway R 48.1, image of Montuemhat and Udjarenes in the passage

Texts spoken by the deceased himself, as in R 45, R 47 and R 48, and texts read out to him for his transfiguration can therefore be distinguished. This distribution and distinction confirm different intentions of the texts.

In the north-western wing of the tomb, some exceptions to this distribution can be observed, in particular regarding the decoration of the rooms St 48A and R 49. Architecturally, and with regard to its decoration, Room St 48A is equipped as a place of offering (fig. 4). While the southern wall of the room is inscribed with spells from the *Coffin Texts* and the *Book of the Dead*, the other walls show offering formulae normally reserved for the doorways and two offering lists. R 49 is the last room of the sequence that is accessible to visitors to the tomb (fig. 5). It includes a place to worship Osiris in the western wall, which is decorated with hymns and transfiguration spells. The room also features niches containing statues of Montuemhat presenting and sacrificing offerings to his deceased father and to various deities mentioned in the texts beneath the

niches. Both rooms may therefore be interpreted as ritual platforms used by visitors to the tomb during the feasts celebrated in the Theban necropolis.

For the Second Court and for the rooms and doorways in the central part of the tomb, the distinction is similar: excerpts from the *Pyramid Texts*, the *Coffin Texts*, the *Book of the Dead*, and further funerary texts on the walls, and from the *Book of the Dead* and the *Ritual of Hours* on the pillars in the Second Court and in R 29, while the doorways are decorated with hymns, offering formulae, and similar texts. In this part of the tomb, some exceptions can nevertheless also be observed, but they have still to be interpreted.

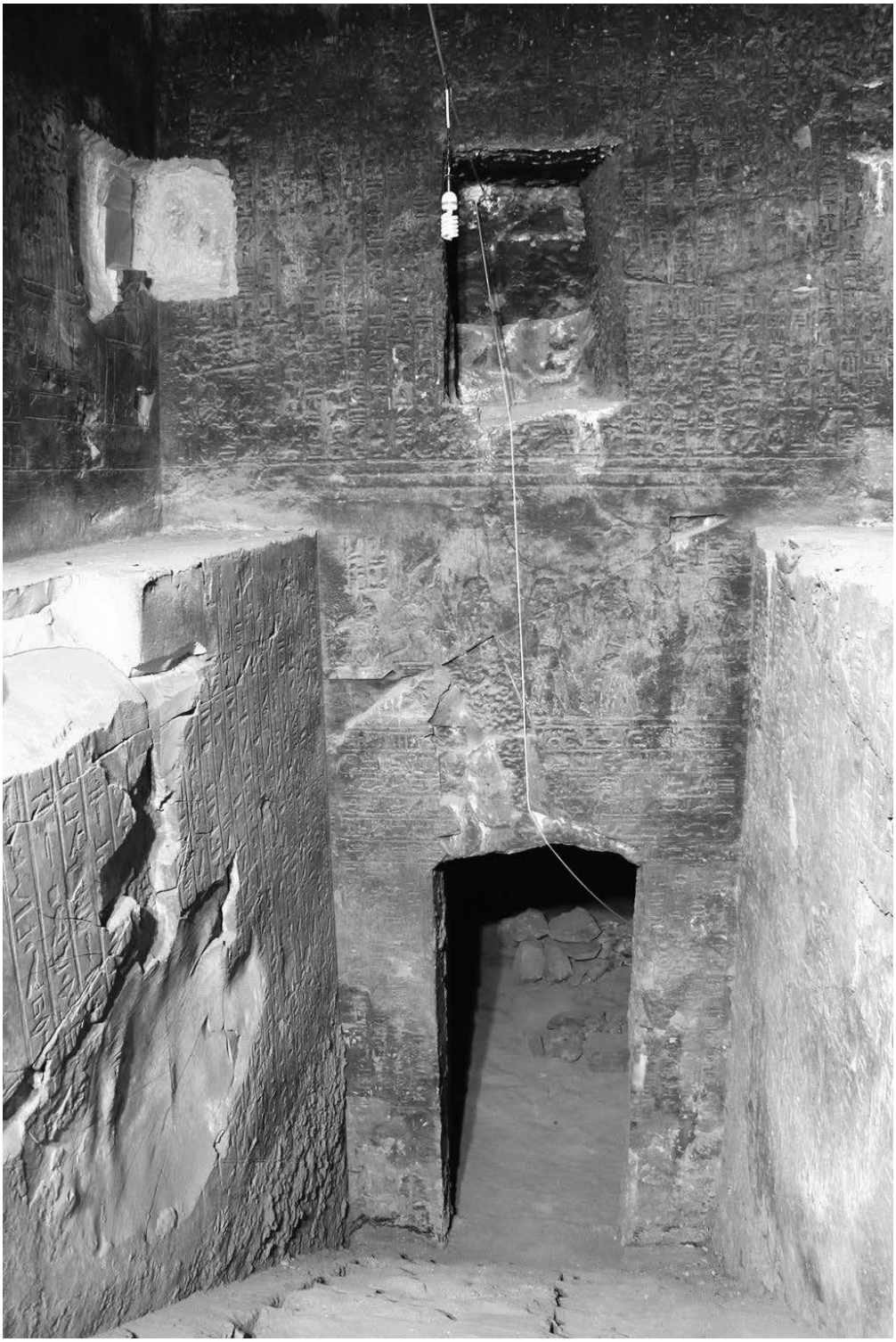


Fig. 4: Room and Stairway St 48a

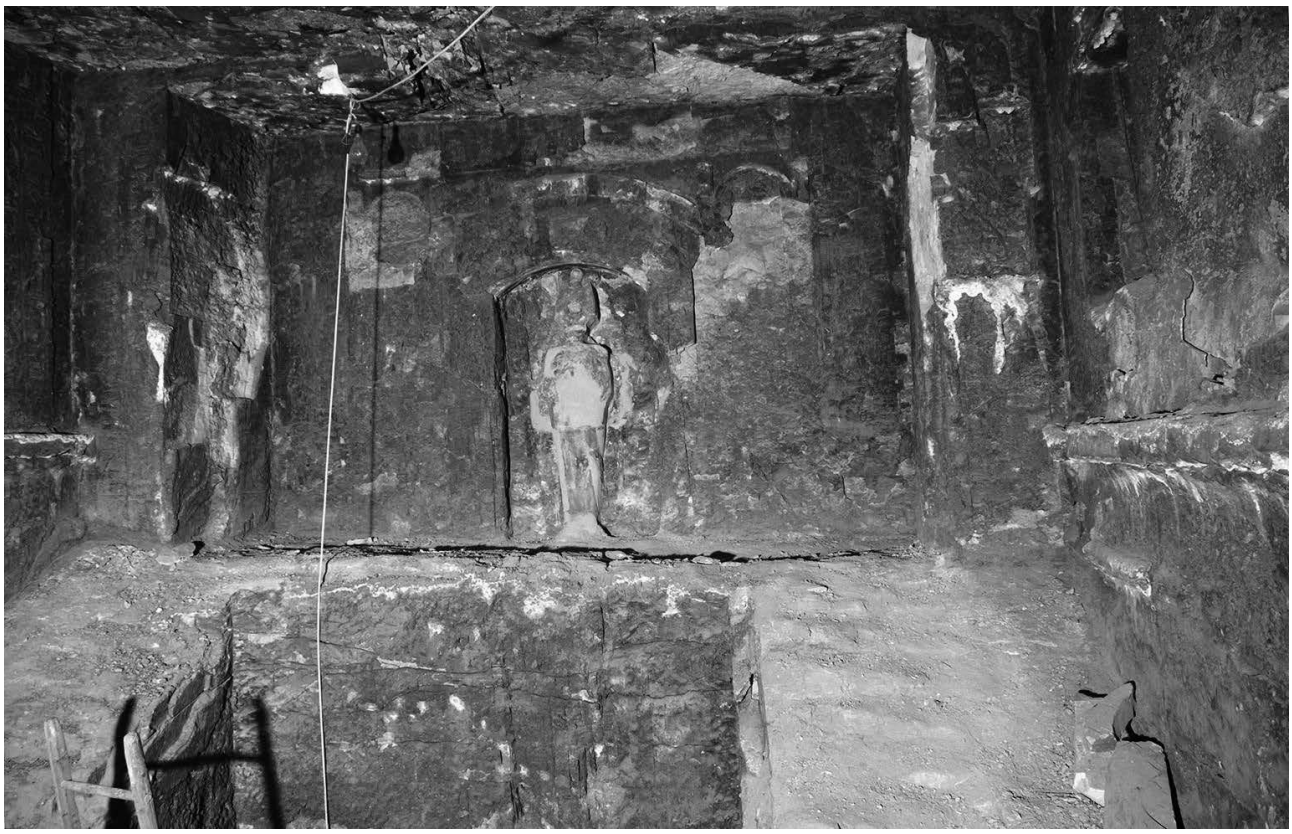


Fig. 5: Room R 49, western part

6 - A brief tour of the tomb will place these remarks in a broader context. The structures of Montuemhat's tomb above ground demonstrate his life's work, his power, and his financial and political capabilities. The two pylons that are still visible indicate the orientation of the subterranean extension from east to west, and are a reference to the causeway leading from Karnak to the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, as well as to the feasts, including the visit to the tombs of the forefathers. The second and smaller pylon to the north also provides access to the tomb itself.

A 60 m stairway leads to the antechamber R 2, the decoration in which provides information on the biographies of Montuemhat and his family, and which also contains a version of an autobiographical text that has parallels in others sources.[7]

The most famous and characteristic feature of this kind of tomb, the *Lichthof*, is to be found towards the west (fig. 6).[8] It represents the central offering place within the tomb, and is covered by a tree planted in the pit in the middle of the court. Side chapels to the north and south facilitate the presentation and offering of sacrifices to Montuemhat and to other individuals. The reliefs in the *Lichthof* were finished after Montuemhat had died and during the remaining nine years of the life of his eldest son and heir Nesptah. This may be the reason why most of the chapels were not completed.[9]

At the doorway leading to the Second Court, Montuemhat is shown leaving his tomb and adoring the sun god in textual and pictorial form.[10] The Second Court itself combines scenes of daily life at the northern and

[7] These sources are a statue of Padiamenope, another one of Montuemhat, and two copies of the text in the tomb of Ibi (TT 36), *cf.* COULON, in COLLOMBERT *et al.* (eds.), *Mélanges Pascal Vernus*, 91–119.
[8] RUSSMANN, *JARCE* (1994); RUSSMANN, *JARCE* 32 (1995).
[9] A burial in the northern half of the Western Portico also remained unfinished, while the tomb of Nesptah in the southern part of the Portico was built, though not fully decorated. For the tomb of Nesptah, see AWADALLA, EL-SAWY, *BIFAO* 90 (1990), 29–39, figs. 1-6; NASR, *Memnonia* 8 (1997), 212; pl. 56; NASR, *JACF* 2 (1988), 82.
[10] The hymns were first published by ASSMANN, *Sonnenhymnen*, 56–64 [nrs. 41–4].

southern walls with various kinds of text, including an autobiographical text and hymns to Osiris, Re, and Atum.[11] The pillars are decorated with spells from the *Book of the Dead*.[12] The Second Court can therefore be interpreted as an interface between the anterior part of the tomb, which is turned outwards and belongs to this world, and the inner part of the tomb, belonging to the conceptual world of the afterlife. The Second Court also offers space for ritual events, providing places for worship of various gods at which offerings could be laid down and hymns could be recited.



Fig. 6: The *Lichthof* of the tomb

The decoration of the following pillar hall (R 29) is mostly made up of ancient texts and compositions already known from other tombs of the Late Period, as is the case with most of the decoration in the central part of the tomb of Montuemhat. Regarding the walls in the southern nave, which have been severely damaged, it was possible to identify offering spells from the *Pyramid Texts* (PT 72–79, PT 81) accompanied by the picture of the seven oils and further equipment and a version of Spell 397 of the *Coffin Texts*, which is also documented in the tomb of *Rᶜ(w)-ḏ𓂝* at Heliopolis.[13] The combination of this text and offering spells

[11] These texts have been published by ASSMANN, *MDAIK* 27 (1971), 1–33; GAMER-WALLERT, *Wandreliefs des Zweiten Lichthofes*. As the publication of Gamer-Wallert contains some inaccuracies, these texts have been copied by our team again and will be included in our publication.
[12] See, at present, ROSATI, in: BACKES, MUNRO, STÖHR (eds.), *Totenbuch-Forschungen*, 297–324. The pillars will be published by our current project.
[13] BICKEL, in BICKEL, MATTHIEU (eds.), *D'un monde à l'autre*, 91–117.

from the Pyramid Texts can also be found in the nearby tomb of Padiamenope (TT 33)[14] and in one of the so-called Persian tombs at Saqqara.[15]

The walls in the northern part of R 29 are inscribed with transfiguration spells from the *Pyramid Texts* (PT 213–219),[16] and the pillars preserve remains of the *Ritual of Hours*.[17] Many parts of the texts are lost, but the location of the individual hours (of the day and night) and the orientation and reading direction of the texts are clear. It is therefore possible to reconstruct the movement through the room, and this may provide further insight into the function of this hall.

The elongated room R 30 is characterised by a place for worship of Osiris in the western wall. The texts with which the eastern, northern, and southern walls are inscribed can to some extent be understood as a continuation of the texts on the northern walls of the Pillared Hall R 29. They reproduce a sequence of spells from the *Pyramid Texts*, which are also very common in further tombs of the Late Period (*cf.* n. 15). They start with two spells that can be designated as being transfiguration spells (PT 245–246), as is possible for the whole sequence PT 213–219 in R 29. The following spells (PT 317–320) show similarities with transformation spells, which allow the deceased to change his appearance as well as his capabilities. The god Sobek, a serpent, a bull with sunlight in the middle of his eyes, and Bebon are mentioned as aims of these transformations. The remaining spells of the sequence (PT 267–272 and PT 302–304) draw attention to the transition of the deceased into the world of the gods.[18] Interpreted in this way, the texts offer a development which starts with the transfiguration of the deceased, continues with his transformation, and ends with his transfer to the afterlife.

The transition to the world of gods involves the deceased sitting down with the gods and being provided with the food they are offered. This situation may be traced in the side chapels to which R 30 provides access. The subject of offering is obvious in the rooms to the right or northern side. Two of them (R 32 and R 38) are decorated with two identical offering lists in each room. They differ from chapel to chapel: in R 38 the list is combined with Spell 607 of the *Coffin Texts* and PT 204–205, 207, and 209–212, as is documented in the Southern Hall of Offerings in the temple of Hatshepsut.[19] The third chapel (R 34) is decorated with Chapters 141/142 and 148 of the *Book of the Dead*. The chapels to the left or southern side of R 30 deliver deviant texts and compositions, including Chapter 110 of the *Book of the Dead*, spells from the *Coffin Texts* also attested in further tombs of the Late Period,[20] and serpent spells from *Pyramid Texts* and *Coffin Texts* (PT 226–243 and CT 885). How this distribution of texts is to be interpreted is still unclear and needs to be discussed.

From the western end of R 30, two further sequences of rooms lead down into the western mountain. They differ in extent, shape, and depth, and refer to various ideas of the hereafter, though these ideas complement each other. The northern sequence of rooms illustrates the path of the god Osiris, which the deceased owner of the tomb also has to pass, the southern sequence relates to the journey of the sun god Re at night.

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[14] DÜMICHEN, *Grabpalast des Patuamenap* I, pls. 13–15.
[15] Personal communication with Ramadan Hussein, University of Tübingen.
[16] For the occurrence of these spells and those mentioned hereafter, *cf.* MORALES, in BICKEL, DIAZ-IGLESIAS (eds.), *Studies in Ancient Egyptian Funerary Literature*.
[17] For a synopsis of the texts from the hours of the day and night, see GRAEFE, *Stundenritual*; GRIFFIN, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*.
[18] MORALES, in BICKEL, DIAZ-IGLESIAS (eds.), *Studies in Ancient Egyptian Funerary Literature*, 480–4, separates both groups and distinguishes 'aggregation with the gods Pyramid Texts' (PT 267–272) and 'transformation Pyramid Texts' (PT 302–304).
[19] For this special decoration pattern, *cf.* KUHLMANN, SCHENKEL, *Grab des Ibi* I, 166–9 and pls. 54–6 (T 372–6); NAVILLE, *Deir el-Bahari* IV, pls. 109–10 (southern wall) and pls. 111–3 (northern wall).
[20] GESTERMANN, *Überlieferung*.

The journey of the deceased (or Osiris)[21] starts with the *Opening of the Mouth Ritual* in R 44. The deceased overcomes further obstacles, the gates to the netherworld in R 45 and the weighting of the heart in the judgement hall (R 47) before entering the house of Osiris (R 48)—all of which are important locations that have been realised in architecture, texts, and images in the private Theban tombs since the New Kingdom.[22] Montuemhat's tomb is provided with additional rooms and stairways, their subject being the integrity of the body of the deceased and his journey with the sun god at night (R 46), the knowledge of holy locations and powers (St 46), and the journey to Memphis (St 47).

As already mentioned, the last rooms that are accessible to a visitor to the tomb relate not to the conceptual world of the afterlife but rather to ritual events that took place in this world (figs. 4–5). The architecture and decoration of room St 48A relate to a scenario for providing the deceased with food, and room R 49 focuses on the worship of Osiris and other related goddesses, as well as on the worship of Nesptah, the father of Montuemhat. Further inscriptions once more refer to the transition of Montuemhat into the world of gods, expressed by the *ỉmɜḫ.w ḥr* formula.

The remaining rooms are not accessible to visitors. They can be reached by climbing down the shaft in front of the Osiris niche and statue in R 49 (fig. 5). This third level contains an antechamber and the burial chambers of Montuemhat and—we assume—of Udjarenes, his second wife.

In contrast to the northern sequence of rooms, the sequence in the south refers to the sun god Re and his journey at night. This interpretation is clearly demonstrated by the Books of the Netherworld, which originally covered the walls of these rooms. Although only a few parts of the decoration are preserved, it is possible to identify the *Amduat*, the *Book of Gates*, and the *Book of Caverns*.[23]

7 - Right now, it is not possible to provide more than a brief outline of the results of our work and some reflections as to how one might understand the architecture and decoration of Montuemhat's tomb. Though in no way explaining all the details, the above remarks will hopefully provide an impression not only of the complexity of this monument, but also of one way of explaining it.

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[21] The meaning of this northern sequence of rooms will be discussed in the aforementioned publication (n. 4).

[22] BARTHELMESS, *Der Übergang ins Jenseits*, passim.

[23] A special composition and design of decoration that includes a part of the *Book of Gates* and another one from the *Book of Nut* and has some parallels in two other tombs of the Late Period was published by RÉGEN, in THIERS (ed.), *Documents de Théologies Thébaines Tardives*, 217–45.

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The *Book of Nut* in the Late Period Tombs of the Asasif Necropolis: With a Focus on the Decorative Layout in the Tombs of Padiamenope (TT 33) and Montuemhat (TT 34)

Isabelle Régen

Abstract

The decorative programme in four Late Period tombs of the Asasif necropolis includes a previously unnoticed vignette taken from the *Book of Nut*: Padiamenope (TT 33), Montuemhat (TT 34), Pabasa (TT 279), and Mutirdis (TT 410). This vignette is inserted in an original decorative synthesis that is specific to the monumental tombs of this necropolis (Twenty-fifth–Twenty-sixth Dynasties). Moreover, it is not on the ceiling, as expected for the Book of the Sky genre, but on walls. In this respect, one can speak of an 'Asasif *Book of Nut*'.

The vignette shows a falcon upon a standard, associated with the southern region *rtḥ-qȝb.t*, as well as the title of the *Book of Nut*. Analysing the similarities and differences in the Asasif *Book of Nut* layout reveals connections between the decorative programmes as well as the tomb owners, especially between the Fourth Prophet of Amun, Montuemhat, and the Chief and Lector Priest, Padiamenope, for they seem to have used the same decorative model.

Introduction

The *Book of Nut* describes the path of the stars during the twelve night hours. It is noted for the first time in the Osireion at Abydos.[1] The decorative programme of four Late Period tombs of the North Asasif necropolis includes a previously unnoticed vignette depicting an *akhem*-falcon upon a standard, which corresponds to the paragraphs 1–4 of the book.[2] The four concerned tombs are Padiamenope (TT 33), Montuemhat (TT 34), Pabasa (TT 279), and Mutirdis (TT 410) (table 1, figs. 1–9). In the latter tomb, the *Book of Nut* occurs twice (fig. 4).[3]

The *Book of Nut* present in the Asasif necropolis includes three features. First, only an excerpt of the book appears, in the form of a vignette with a brief caption. Usually, in New Kingdom monuments, the well-known template of the full version of the book shows the body of the goddess Nut covering the ceiling. However, with the exception of Mutirdis' version 1 of the book,[4] this emblematic Nut scene is absent from the Asasif necropolis; indeed, an iconographical detail seems to have been preferred to the emblematic Nut scene, in order to include it on the wall decoration. Second, this composition, which belongs to the Books of the Sky genre, is indeed curiously not found, as expected, on the ceiling (except for version 1 of Mutirdis), but on the walls of the Asasif tombs. Finally, this vignette is systematically associated with the final scene of the *Book of the Gates*. More precisely, the *Book of Nut* vignette is always placed above the final scene of the *Book of the Gates*, as if they were forming the same book. As far as I know, this template is found nowhere outside of the Asasif necropolis. In this regard, the three previously described features make it possible to speak of an 'Asasif *Book of Nut*'. An excerpt from the composition was indeed included in a decorative lay-

[1] von Lieven gathers nine sources: VON LIEVEN, *Grundriss*, 15–9. *Cf.* DIELEMAN, *WZKM* 102 (2012), 319–21; KLOTZ, *BiOr* 68/5-6 (2011), 476–91; LEITZ, *Enchoria* 31 (2008–2009), 1–21; SPALINGER, *JNES* 71/2 (2012), 376–80; VON RECKLINGHAUSEN, *JEA* 98 (2012), 307–12. Christian Leitz and Daniela Mendel-Leitz kindly informed me that new fragments of the *Book of Nut* were discovered in 2016 at Athribis. As far as Mendel-Leitz knows, the paragraphs 1–4 of the book, which is the part of the *Book of Nut* this article will deal with, do not appear or are not preserved (personal communication).

[2] I follow here von Lieven's hypothesis that the falcon vignette belongs to the *Book of Nut* (introduction of the book) and not to the end of a separate composition ('Shadow Clock Text'). *Cf.* VON BOMHARD, *ENiM* 7 (2014), 80, 84–6, 111–4.

[3] Version 1: ASSMANN, *Mutirdis*, 85–7, pl. 39 (version 1); version 2 (Room I, northern wall (eastern part), scene 15 = ASSMANN, *Mutirdis*, 66, 70–1, pl. 24a).

[4] ASSMANN, *Mutirdis*, pl. 39 (ceiling).

out that may have been specifically created for these tombs. In a previous article published in 2015, I have edited the mostly unpublished Asasif scenes of this book.[5] My issue there concerned epigraphical and lexicographical elements. The present paper will, firstly, present briefly the Asasif *Book of Nut* scenes in the four previously mentioned tombs, before focusing on the decorative template.

As previously stated, the Osireion is the first known version of the *Book of Nut*. The Nut tableau appears in the Abydenian monument, preceded by the falcon vignette that is captioned by the composition's title and the first paragraphs of the book (§ 1–4) (fig. 5).[6] According to Papyrus Carlsberg I, coming from the Tebtynis library (second century AD), this falcon is a morning appearance of the god Ra emerging from the ocean of Nun.[7] Therefore, the designers of the Asasif *Book of Nut* had chosen to position this solar hawk close to other rising sun depictions documented in various books (*Book of the Amduat*, *Book of the Gates*, *Book of the Night*, *Book of the Earth*).

The clearest illustration of this choice appears in tomb TT 33 (figs. 1, 6) The desire to merge these texts into a single composition led the decorators to move the traditional location of this Book of the Sky genre from the ceiling to the walls, close to other texts concluding with the end of the night. As a consequence, the citation of the falcon vignette in the Asasif tombs appears as a transition between the very end of the night and the very first moments of the day. Indeed, it is not coincidental that, in the Asasif layout, the falcon vignette has been placed above the final scene of the *Book of the Gates*. As shown by von Bomhard, the 'Shadow Clock Text' and the falcon vignette that precede the Nut tableau in the Osireion form a sort of countdown to sunrise.[8] One can wonder if the Shadow Clock Text was omitted in the Asasif tombs because the previous (twelve) hours of the *Book of the Gates* (and *Book of the Night*) already included this countdown in their decoration, as fully illustrated in TT 33. This countdown ends with the transition between night and day, embodied as a falcon whose rear part is still immersed in the dark waters of Nun, while its front end is bathed in light.

On the basis of current knowledge, six sources document the 'falcon vignette' captioned by paragraphs 1–4 of the *Book of the Nut* (table 1): the Osireion, four Late Period Asasif tombs (TT 33, TT 34, TT 279, TT 410), and the second century AD Papyrus Carlsberg I. One can emphasise the absence of the Ramesside royal tombs in this list; the text was kept in temple libraries at that period (as shown by its use in the Osireion) but the falcon vignette does not seem to have been in favour with the designers of these tombs.

Description of the Scenes

This section contains a brief review of the Asasif falcon vignettes I have published elsewhere,[9] which will introduce the main characteristics of the scene in each tomb.

Padiamenope (TT 33)[10] (figs. 1, 6, tables 1–2)

Although the scene is damaged, the falcon vignette can still be seen in the southern wall of Room XIII (eastern end), above the curved body of Nut from the final *Book of the Gates* scene. No colour remains. The scene occurs on one of the walls facing the huge Osirian cenotaph and is included in a layout gathering several sunrise depictions from the *Amduat*, the *Book of the Gates*, the *Book of the Earth*, and the *Book of the*

[5] REGEN, in THIERS (ed.), *Documents de théologie thébaine*, 217–46 (erratum: on page 219, for TT 279, read 'à l'ouest de la salle hypostyle').
[6] Vignette: NEUGEBAUER, PARKER, *Astronomical Texts*, pl. 32; RÉGEN, in THIERS (ed.), *Documents de théologie thébaine*, fig. 8.
[7] REGEN, in THIERS (ed.), *Documents de théologie thébaine*, 231–2.
[8] VON BOMHARD, *ENiM* 7 (2014), 84.
[9] REGEN, in THIERS (ed.), *Documents de théologie thébaine*, 217–46.
[10] REGEN, in THIERS (ed.), *Documents de théologie thébaine*, figs. 11–2 (photo, facsimile).

Night. In front of this refined decorative interplay between different texts on varying walls, but all concerned with sunrise, one may speak of a 'grammaire de la tombe', as a counterpart to Derchain's expression for the temple.[11]

Osireion (fig. 5)	Abydos	-	XIXth Dyn.	Sarcophagus Hall, ceiling, W part
Padiamenope (Petamenophis) (figs. 1, 6, table 2)	TT 33	Lector Priest and Chief	End XXVth Dyn. (or beginning of the XXVIth Dyn. ?)	Room XIII, S wall (E part)
Montuemhat (figs. 2, 7, table 2)	TT 34	Fourth Prophet of Amun	End XXVth Dyn.	Room 40, S wall, E part
Pabasa (figs. 3, 8)	TT 279	Chief Steward (Nitocris)	XXVIth Dyn. (Psamm. 1er)	Sideroom 5, W wall W (N part)
Mutirdis (figs. 4, 9)	TT 410	Chief companion lady of the God's Wife of Amun (Nitocris)	XXVIth Dyn. (Psamm. 1er)	- Version 1 : room IV, W part of the ceiling (scene 43) - Version 2 : room I, N wall (E part) (scene 15)
Papyrus Carlsberg I	Tebtynis	-	IInd Century A.D.	Hieratic text with demotic translation and commentary

Table 1: List of the sources for the *Book of Nut*, paragraphs 1–4

Montuemhat (TT 34) (figs. 2, 7, tables 1–2)

Only faint traces of the 'falcon vignette' remain in Room 40 of TT 34. Nevertheless, thanks to parallel versions, it is possible to propose a facsimile of the scene.[12] The lower part of the falcon's standard is still visible above the conclusion of the *Book of the Gates*. One can note that Montuemhat is depicted praying inside the sun barque,[13] in a kneeling position: indeed, on the left side of the sun, in a position usually occupied by the goddess Isis, one can still discern a male figure with a short wig.

Pabasa (TT 279)[14] (figs. 3, 8, table 1)

The Nut tableau is absent in side-room 5 of tomb TT 279. Only the *Book of Nut* vignette including the falcon upon its standard. On the lower part, the remains of the final scene of the *Book of the Gates*, with Nun lifting the solar barque to the sky. This morning falcon was again associated with the final scene of the *Book of the*

[11] DERCHAIN, *CdE* 37: 73 (1962), 31–44.
[12] REGEN, in THIERS (ed.), *Documents de théologie thébaine*, figs. 9–10 (photo, facsimile). I am taking this occasion to warmly thank my necropolis neighbours, particularly Farouk Gomaà and Louise Gestermann. Thanks to their courtesy, I received access to Montuemhat's version.
[13] In the final scene of the *Book of the Gates*, the deceased is absent from the solar barque in the Osireion, the tomb of Padiamenope, and Pabasa. The detail is not preserved in Mutirdis tomb. ASSMANN, *Mutirdis*, pl. 24.
[14] REGEN, in THIERS (ed.), *Documents de théologie thébaine*, figs. 13–4 (photo, facsimile).

Gates, one celebrating in different ways the same phenomenon by representing the emerging sun either as a rising scarab or a falcon.

Mutirdis (TT 410)[15] (figs. 4, 9, table 1)

The book occurs twice in TT 410: first, on the northern wall (eastern part) of Room I, without the body of Nut (only the falcon vignette); second, on the ceiling of Room IV (western part), with the Nut tableau. This double occurrence demonstrates that the Nut tableau template was still accessible at that time. It also shows the designers' deliberate choice not to use this tableau in the other Asasif tombs described in the present paper. One can also note that the Nut tableau (and the falcon vignette) occurs as expected on the ceiling (Room IV, version 2), while the single falcon vignette of version 1 (Room I) is depicted on a wall.

Summary

It is now clear that a special Asasif *Book of Nut* was created for these tombs. As far as I know, this template occurs nowhere else but, although it is not impossible that Late Period discoveries in Middle or Lower Egypt may reveal parallels. Additionally, this *Book of Nut* vignette is also included in an original decoration synthesis that we may call 'the sunrise room'. It is specific to the tombs of Padiamenope, Montuemhat, Pabasa, and Mutirdis. However, one cannot totally exclude the original presence of the scene in the tomb of Padineith (TT 197). Room 12 of this monument offers a decoration not so different from that described above, but the state of preservation of some parts of the walls is poor and may have included the falcon vignette. On the north wall, a praising figure of the deceased is standing in front of the Twelfth Hour of the *Amduat*. On the adjacent eastern wall, the standing deceased offers flowers in front of columns of texts, including, in particular, the sequence BD 56-55. On the other walls, scenes of the *Book of the Earth* are found.[16]

Layout Comparison (figs. 5–9, table 2)

Following this brief review of the scenes, the position of the vignette in the general decorative programme and the decoration template of 'the sunrise room' can be touched upon. The layout of the walls where the falcon appears is summarised in figures 5–9, for they present the closest template. I will concentrate my comments on the tombs of Padiamenope and Montuemhat.

Padiamenope (TT 33) (figs. 1, 6, table 2)

The falcon vignette appears at the very (eastern) end of the southern wall of Corridor XIII, close to the Osirian Cenotaph. The decoration of the zone includes two standing figures of the adoring deceased facing two rising sun scenes in Corridor XIII-3 (*Amduat*; *Book of the Earth*). Additionally, this part of the tomb is dedicated to sunrise: six book ends are present (*Book of Amduat*, *Gates*, *Night*, *Earth*, *Nut*, *Litany of Re*). This anthology seems to gather together all the sunrise scenes ever utilised in the Asasif. Moreover, the architecture and text blend solar and stellar traditions.[17] Consequently, TT 33 contains the most complex template, including the 'falcon vignette' of the *Book of Nut*.

[15] REGEN, in THIERS (ed.), *Documents de théologie thébaine*, figs. 15–6 (photo, facsimile).
[16] For details of the scenes, see ROBERSON, *Books of the Earth*, 52–4.
[17] See TRAUNECKER, RÉGEN, *BSFE* 193–4 (2015–2016), 82.

Montuemhat (TT 34) (fig. 2, 7, table 2)

The *Book of Nut* is located in a passage room (nr. 40) accessible through two doors. The decoration of this room is totally dedicated to the rising sun. Indeed, the conclusion of four netherworld books were collected in this room: *Amduat*, *Gates*, *Nut*, and probably the *Book of the Earth*. Consequently, four different books as a collection were gathered to offer four different depictions of the rising sun. On both sides of the entrance, the lower part of the preserved adjacent walls of the door contain the remains of two standing figures of the deceased in adoration towards the rising sun, as is the case with TT 33.

Summary

The features of TT 33 and TT 34 can be summed up and compared as follows:

Petamenophis (Padiamenope) (TT 33, room XIII-3)	**Montuemhat (TT 34, room 40)**
Dead-end corridor (one door) with architectural **illusion** of depth (ascending floor / descending ceiling)	'common' **passage** room (2 doors) with **classical** architecture
false-door ('tomb exit')	(**real**) door
Two praying figures of the deceased on the **same wall** of the sunrise scene	Two praying figures of the deceased on the **adjacent walls** of the sunrise scene
6 Book ends with sunrise scene (12th Hour) **following** the previous hours (1-11) around the Osirian Cenotaph	**4** Book ends with sunrise scene (12th Hour) **without** the previous hours (1-11) not surrounding a architectural specific structure
Solar decoration running to the **East & North**	Solar decoration running to the **South**
Solar & Stellar 'resurrection' (entrance lintel : TP 690B 'Imperishable Stars')	**Solar** 'resurrection'
↓ **inclusive model** (full version of the Books)	↓ **exclusive model** (= only the end of the Books)
'Sunrise room' included in a coherent program	Isolated 'sunrise room'
Full reproduction of the (papyrus) model?	Citation of the (papyrus) model?

Table 2: Decorative layout comparison of the *Book of Nut* in Padiamenope's Room XIII-3 and Montuemhat's Room 40

After this short review of the scenes, what can we learn from this comparison, in addition to the fact that the tomb of Padiamenope contains the most complex template dedicated to the rising sun, a much more complete and refined decorative template than the one used in the tomb of Montuemhat? The version of Padiamenope is a complete version, for the full notations of the texts present within the sunrise room were noted on the previous walls. It seems that TT 34 has a partial reproduction of a more complex template whose full application had been used in TT 33. In this way, the stellar aspect (Imperishable Stars and Northern Orientation) in addition to the 1–11 hours of the night before the book ends seem to have been present only in the tomb of Padiamenope. They do not seem to appear in the tomb of Montuemhat (TT 34), Pabasa (TT 279), or Mutirdis (TT 410). Additionally, the decorators of TT 33 had to face higher constraints than in Montuemhat's tomb: indeed, the night hours had to be carefully positioned in order to extend around the full length of the circumambulation corridor of Padiamenope's Osirian Cenotaph (Room XIII) and to end in the same zone.

In addition, the designers had to face the issue raised by the difference of length between the *Amduat* and the *Book of the Gates*, the latter being much shorter than the former. In this regard, it can be assumed that Padiamenope's layout is based on a more refined procedure.

The Abydos Reference

It is now time to bring to light what could be a fourth peculiarity of the Asasif *Book of Nut*: the Abydenian reference. This book reuses the template specific to the Osireion at Abydos where the 'falcon vignette' is used as a transition between the 'Shadow Clock Text' and the Nut tableau (goddess' body). Indeed, the falcon is specific to the Osireion template. Consequently, there is a desire to link the Asasif to Abydos in this template. More generally, the link between the Kushites and the Osireion is known.[18] Greater attention now had to be given to some of the links of Padiamenope and Montuemhat with the city of Abydos.

Padiamenope and Abydos

As previously stated, the TT 33 template including the 'falcon vignette' appears first in the Osireion at Abydos. It should also be noted that, with the exception of some Late Period Theban tombs, the falcon text is only known by the Osireion and the Papyrus Carlsberg I. It does not appear in Ramesside royal tombs.

Other decorative elements point to a link between Padiamenope and Abydos. For instance, the insertion of the extremely rare pelican-headed goddess in BD 146, otherwise only attested in the Osiris Temple of Ramesses II in Abydos and Montuemhat's tomb.[19] Additionally, the thirty-six guardian deities of the burial chamber are identical to the ones noted in the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos.[20] Moreover, the TT 33 '*Book of Caverns*' version reuses and adapts a comparable illustration that seems to be a feature specific to the Osireion: in the latter monument, the king is depicted entering the Duat behind the sun god,[21] while in TT 33, the figure of the king was replaced by Padiamenope.[22] Unfortunately, one cannot check this detail in TT 34 due to the poor preservation of this area. Generally speaking, the main text of the *Book of Caverns* in tomb TT 33 comes from a copy related to the version in the Osireion.[23]

[18] As shown, for example, in the papers of BUDKA and EINAUDI in this volume.
[19] ABDELRAHIEM, *SAK* 34 (2006), 12, 14 (fig. 1) (ref. Mareike. Wagner); ISKANDER, GOELET, *Temple of Ramesses II*, 304 (pl. 4.2.21), 309 (pl. 4.2.26) (ref. Laurent Coulon); VON LIEVEN, in HARING, KLUG (eds.), *6. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, 184.
[20] Personal communication with Laurent Coulon. *Cf.* EINAUDI in this volume.
[21] FRANKFORT, *Cenotaph*, pl. 23.
[22] WERNING, forthcoming.
[23] WERNING, *Höhlenbuch*, I, 64–6.

In addition, as shown by Traunecker,[24] a part of the plan of TT 33 is inspired by the Abydenian Osireion plan (Rooms XII–XIII); the Cenotaph (Room XIII) may be a copy and 'lieu de substitution' of the Abydenian Osireion (circumambulation rituals). Evidently, the Osireion was used as a reference in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, as it already was in the Ramesside Period.[25]

Finally, some titles of Padiamenope relate to Abydos. It should be kept in mind that Padiamenope was the 'Scribe of the Temple of Osiris, Lord of Abydos' (TT 33; offering table Brussels 5811)[26] (fig. 10), or 'Scribe of the Temple of Abydos' (Syracuse statue).[27]

Montuemhat and Abydos[28]

As with TT 33, Montuemhat's template, including the 'falcon vignette', reuses the Osireion template of the *Book of Nut*. Moreover, this official declares having restored the Osirian's sacred barque at Abydos (Berlin 17271, l. 10).[29] In addition, two inscriptions bearing titles and the name of Montuemhat (one inscription including the epithet *maa-kheru*) was left on limestone boulders at the entrance to the wadi leading to the royal tombs at Abydos.[30] Petrie suggested that the first inscription was made during a visit by Montuemhat to Abydos, perhaps on the occasion of opening the royal tombs for inspection, but the significance of these inscriptions remains unclear.[31]

Padiamenope and Montuemhat

As a matter of fact, Padiamenope and Montuemhat had clear connections with Abydos. The existence of a link between the templates of Padiamenope and Montuemhat, more than in any other Asasif tomb, has also been previously noticed.[32] Does this mean that there also existed a connection between Montuemhat and Padiamenope themselves?[33] This echoes the conclusion of a statuary analysis that has shown the close connexion between the two officials: Coulon suggested the existence of a common statuary project between Padiamenope and Montuemhat and does not exclude the idea that Padiamenope himself may have been its author or backer. This statuary project created by/for Padiamenope would have been reused and adapted by/for Montuemhat.

In a similar manner, could Padiamenope have been the author of the complex decorative layout of the central part of TT 33, including the 'sunrise room'? Indeed, in the present state of documentation, this layout

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[24] TRAUNECKER, RÉGEN, *BSFE* 193–4, 53, 65, 66, 70–73.

[25] For example, in the decoration of the Ramesside royal tombs (*Amduat, Book of the Gates*): ZEIDLER, *Pfortenbuchstudien* I, 126. *Cf.* BARBERIO-MAURIC, *Amdouat et Livre des Portes*, 628–9, 679–86; WERNING, in CARDIN, GOYON (eds.) *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress*, 1940 and fig. 1.

[26] *sš ḥw.t-nṯr Wsjr nb ȝbḏw*: for example, on the door leading to Room VI. *Cf.* ANTHES, *ZÄS* 73 (1937), 31 (e); DÜMICHEN, *Grabpalast* I, pl. 16 (the *ḥw.t* sign was drawn like a *sḫ* by Dümichen).

[27] RÖSSLER-KÖHLER, *Individuelle Haltungen*, 166 [nr. 36g]; SIST, *VicOr* I, 137; SPELEERS, *Inscriptions*, 87 (332).

[28] Note that 'the connection of a vizier from the Montuemhat family with Abydos, with which the [Abydenian] Nespakashuty family had extensive connections, is intriguing', NAUNTON, *Regime Change*, 5, n. 23.

[29] LECLANT, *Montouemhat*, doc. 9.

[30] KITCHEN, *Third Intermediate Period*, § 358; LECLANT, *Montouemhat*, doc. 40; PEDEN, *Graffiti*, 267–8. See, most recently, EFFLAND, EFFLAND, *Abydos*, 81–2, fig. 9.

[31] PETRIE, Abydos, 31, 47–8, pl. 67; LECLANT, *Montouemhat*, doc. 40.

[32] The layout of the 'sunrise room' of Pabasa is also similar, but to a lesser degree: the standing figures of the adoring deceased (oriented towards the rising sun scenes), common to TT 33 and TT 34, were indeed replaced by figures of the kneeling Isis and Nephthys (oriented towards the entrance of the side-room) (fig. 3). Despite the poor state of preservation of the burial chamber (Room 10), one can assert that at least the eighth and ninth hours of the *Book of the Gates* were noted in in this room of Pabasa's tomb. Other fragmentary hours (*Gates*? *Amduat*?) occur in Room 8 (now used as a storage) of Pabasa's tomb but the decoration is almost entirely lost and deserves further examination. Consequently, (a part of?) the 1–11 hours were noted in Pabasa's tomb, while they do not seem to appear in TT 34.

[33] Thanks to a statuary analysis, Coulon has shown the nature of their relationships, particularly Padiamenope's possibly dominant position over Montuemhat. See COULON, in COLLOMBERT *et al.* (eds.), *Aere perennius*, 91–119.

does not seem to have any predecessor. It may be a rewriting of the Osireion's decorative and architectural programme in order to integrate the Abydenian monument inside Padiamenope's tomb. It is therefore no coincidence that the whole decorative units found in the central part of TT 33 are already present in the Osireion (*Book of the Gates*, *Book of Caverns*, *Book of the Night*, *Litany of Re*, *Book of Nut*, *Book of the Amduat*[34]). Actually, the designer(s) of TT 33 may have only operated a selection of the decorative units before moderating them to adapt to the high spatial constraints caused by the choice of integrating a monumental Osiris cenotaph (15 m per side). In addition, in the same manner that Coulon suggests,[35] the common statuary project between Padiamenope and Montuemhat may have originated from the same workshop, is it conceivable that the same decorators would have operated in TT 33 and TT 34? This point would need further analysis in order to test this hypothesis.

Moreover, as noted above, the rare detail of the pelican goddess appears only in the Osireion, in addition to TT 33 and TT 34. This suggests a close link between Abydos, Padiamenope, and Montuemhat. Additionally, Padiamenope may have elaborated a rewriting of the Osireion to integrate it into his own tomb and then Montuemhat copied it. Be that as it may, these elements show the close connection between the two officials, it still does not solve the difficult question of their chronology. Consequently, it is hard to definitely say who comes first. Although it is tempting to assume that the full copy of Padiamenope's indicates that he could have been the first to use this particular layout, it cannot be definitely assessed with absolute certainty. In addition, the chronology of Montuemhat and Padiamenope is a tricky issue and it has to be acknowledged that, in the current state of research and documentation, there are no critical arguments in favour of either hypothesis. The question thus remains open.[36] In any case, Padiamenope and Montuemhat were certainly contemporary officials.[37]

The study of a part of the decorative programme of their tombs tends to confirm the close connection between Padiamenope and Montuemhat. It also shows the deep will of Padiamenope, who most frequently presents himself a 'ritualist priest and chief' (while Montuemhat had chosen to present himself as the Fourth Prophet of Amun), to fix his image as an intellectual for posterity. It has already been noted that there was a 'little correlation' between their wealth and the titles held by the officials buried in the Asasif necropolis.[38] Finally, Pope noted that: 'interestingly, despite the comparable scale and chronological and topographic proximity of their tombs, no familial relation is attested between these men, and no single office was held by all four. Their similar wealth and evident desire to be associated with one another must therefore be explained by some factor beyond strict genealogical or official succession'.[39] With this in mind, were they all *courtisans*?[40]

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[34] In his forthcoming book about the decoration of the Osireion, Charles Herzer has formulated the hypothesis that a long version of the *Amduat* was originally sketched in the Central Hall of the Osireion. I warmly thank him for sharing with me this information. However, the absence of *Book of the Twelve Caverns* (ex-BD 168) in tomb TT 33 is striking, although exemples are known on papyri and thus Padiamenope may have originally owned one.

[35] COULON, in COLLOMBERT *et al.* (eds.), *Aere perennius*, 113.

[36] A common hypothesis is that Padiamenope is chronologically later than Montuemhat. For example, Manfred Bietak, Claude Traunecker, Karl Jansen-Winkeln, Herman de Meulenaere (summary and bibliography in COULON, in COLLOMBERT *et al.* (eds.), *Aere perennius*, 112–3). However, during discussions at the conference, Laurent Coulon, Meg Gundlach, and Aleksandra Hallmann argued against this. Gundlach's unpublished PhD thesis concerning the Twenty-fifth Dynasty stone shabtis led her to relate Padiamenope to a group of seven other individuals (Karakhamun, Harwa, Montuemhat, Udjarenes, Dieshebsed, Amenirdis I, and Shepenwepet II). GUNDLACH, *Shabtis*, 314–6. On the chronology of Padiamenope, see also COULON, in COLLOMBERT *et al.* (eds.), *Aere perennius*, 111–3, 115 (Montuemhat would have survived Padiamenope); COULON, *BiOr* 73: 5–6, 678.

[37] COULON, in COLLOMBERT *et al.* (eds.), *Aere perennius*, 115.

[38] Naunton, cited by POPE, *Taharqo*, 203.

[39] POPE, *Taharqo*, 201–2 (Harwa, Montuemhat, Akhamenru, Padiamenope).

[40] COULON, in COLLOMBERT *et al.* (eds.), *Aere perennius*, 118 ('autobiographie du parfait courtisan'); TRAUNECKER, *EAO* 51, 41–2; TRAUNECKER, RÉGEN, *BSFE* 193–4, 74–6.

Acknowledgments

I warmly thank Dieter Eigner for kindly allowing me to reproduce some elements of his Asasif tomb plans, and Joshua Roberson for sharing with me information and photos of Room 12 of the tomb of Padineith.

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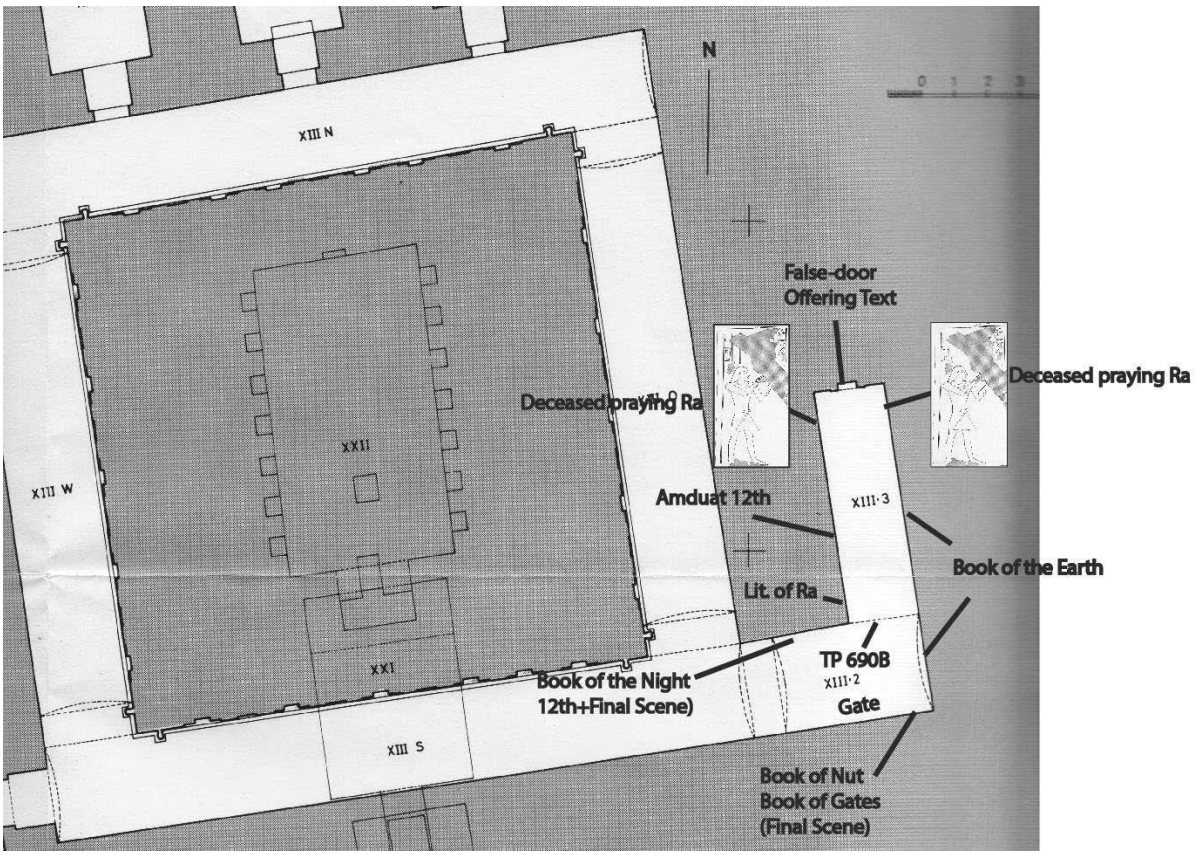


Figure 1: TT 33, Tomb of Padiamenope. Decorative layout of Room XIII-3
(after EIGNER, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten*, pl. 14)

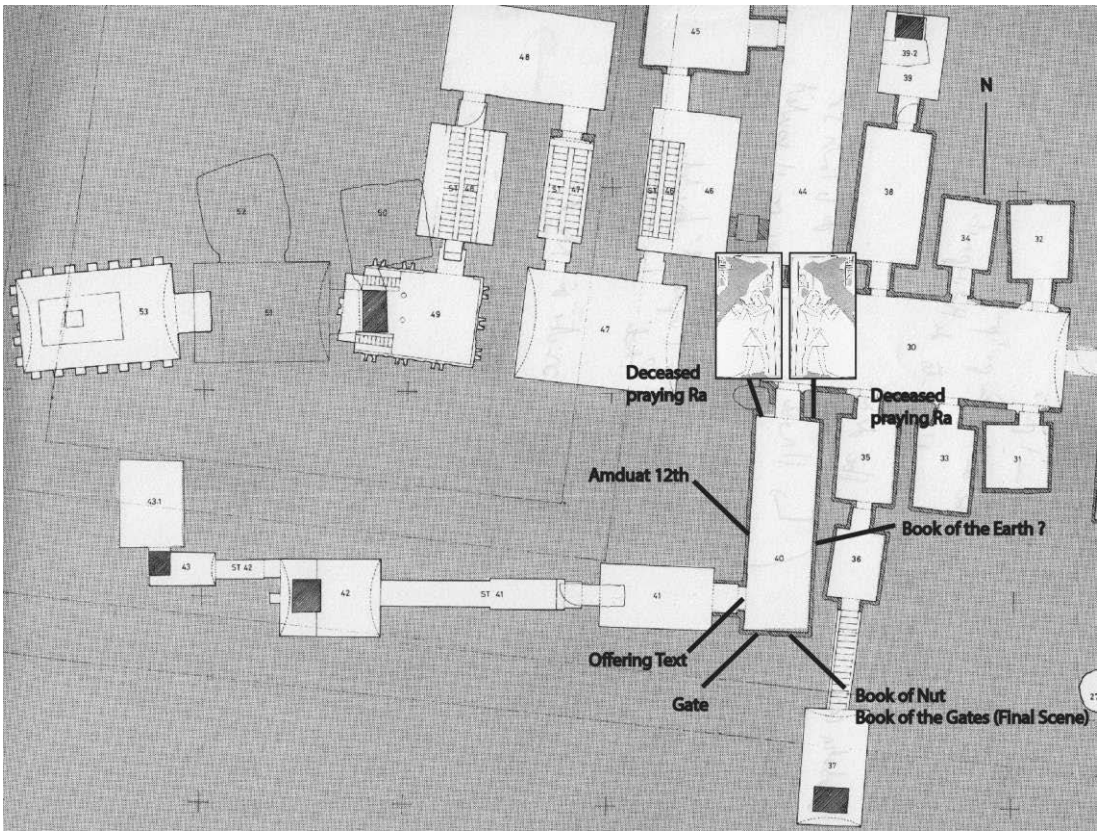


Figure 2: TT 34, Tomb of Montuemhat. Decorative layout of Room 40
(after EIGNER, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten*, pl. 13)

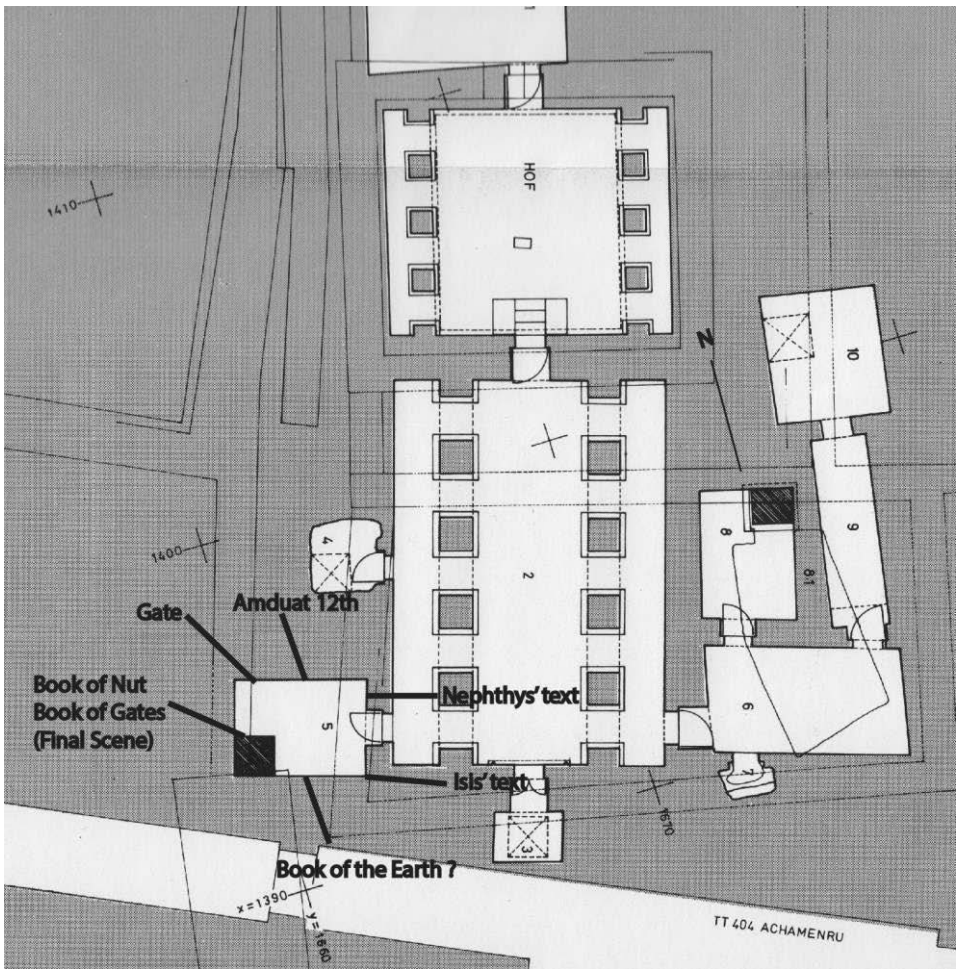


Figure 3: TT 279, Tomb of Pabasa. Decorative layout of Sideroom 5, west wall (after EIGNER, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten*, pl. 18)

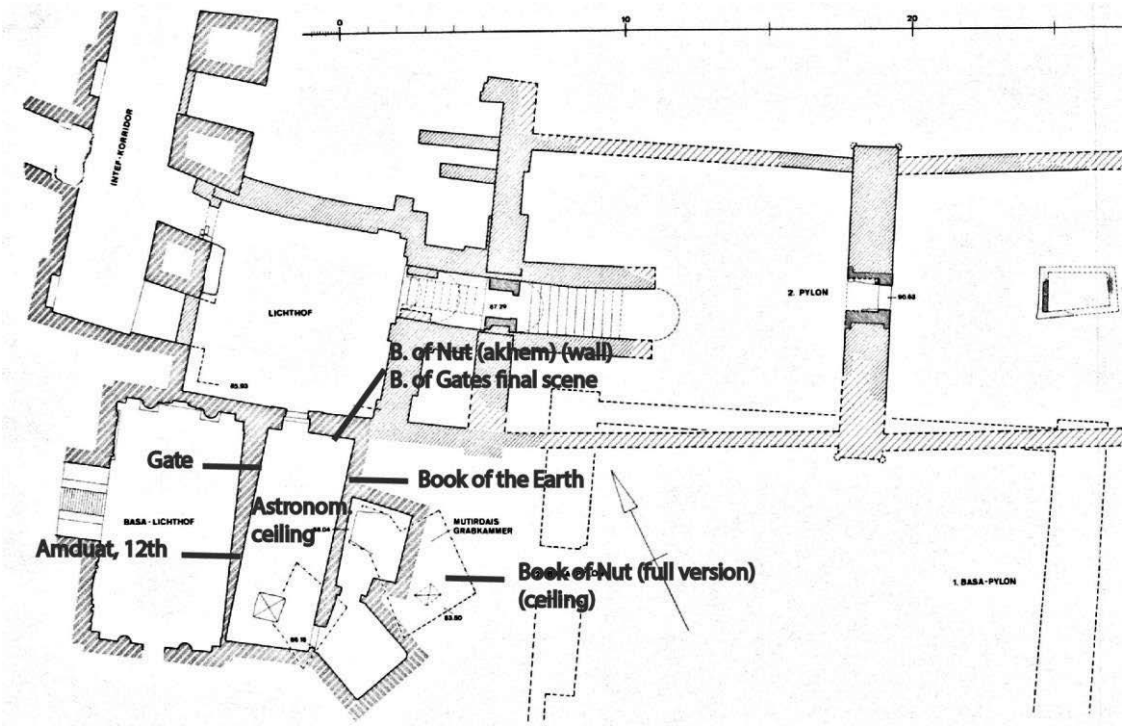


Figure 4: TT 410, Tomb of Mutirdis. Decorative layout of Room I (after ASSMANN, *Mutirdis*, pl. 46)

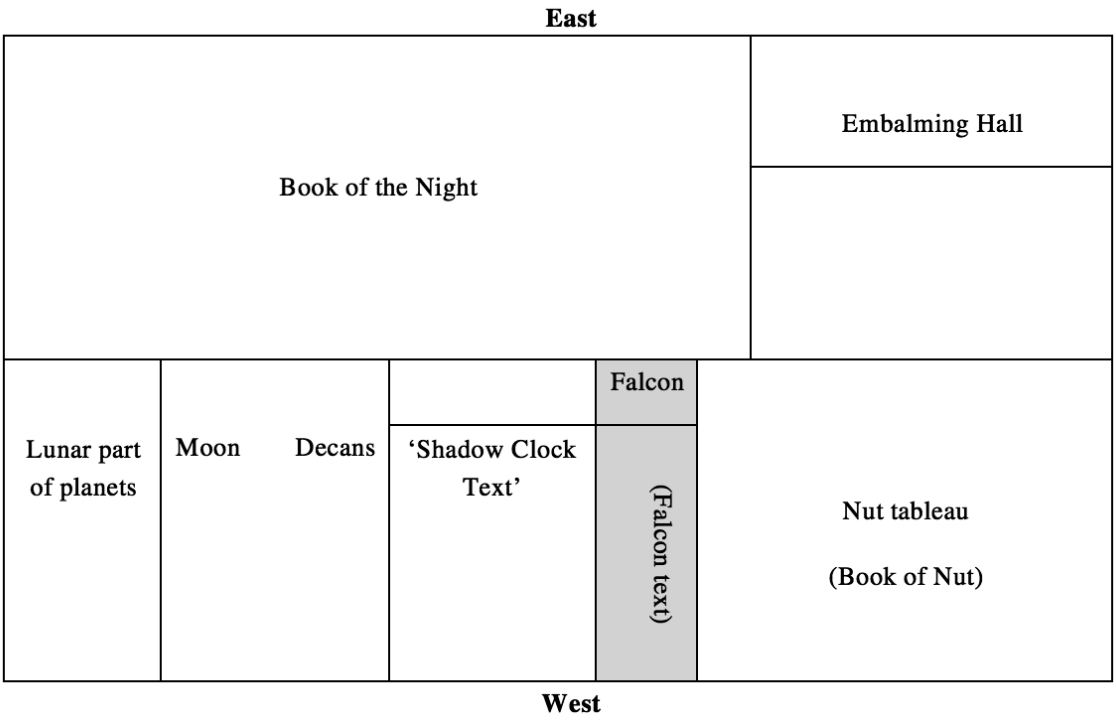


Figure 5: Osireion, Abydos. Decorative layout of the sarcophagus chamber's ceiling (after VON LIEVEN, *Grundriss*, 15)

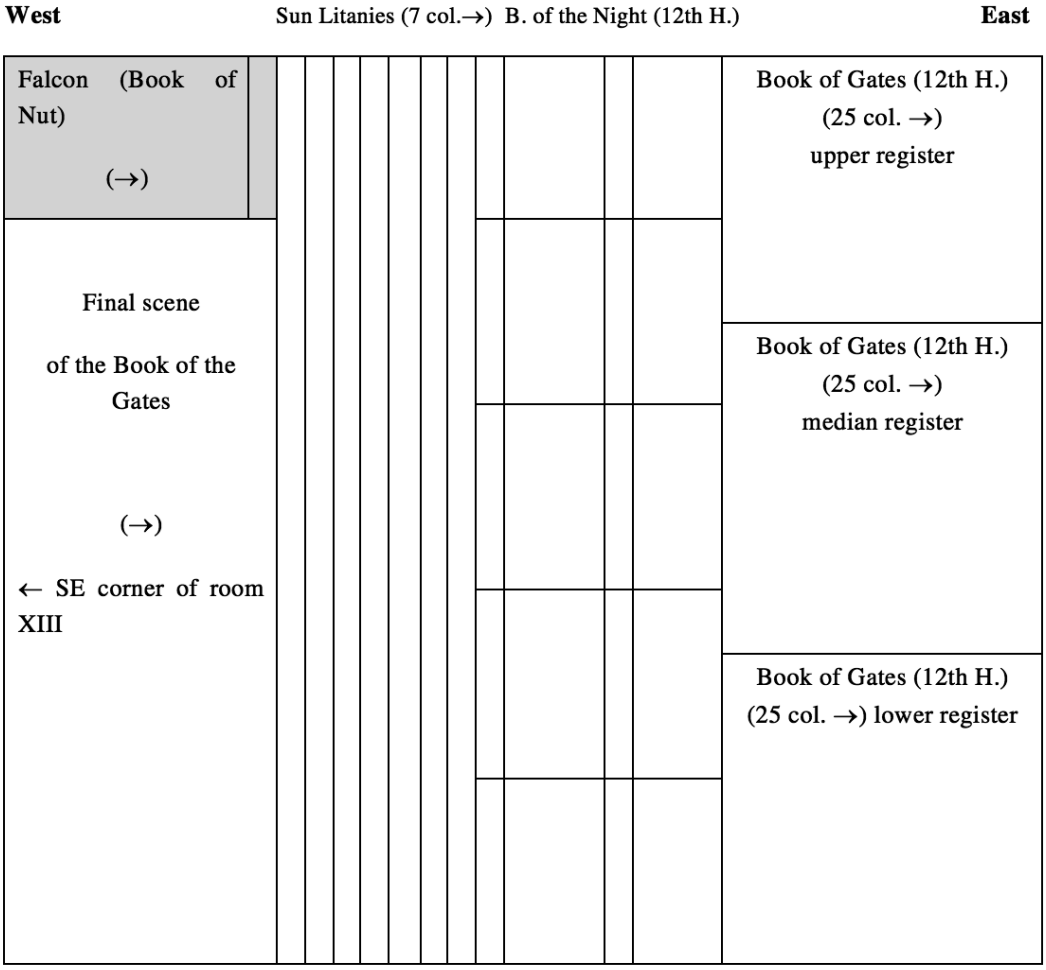


Figure 6: TT 33, Tomb of Padiamenope. Decorative layout of the eastern end of the southern wall of Room XIII

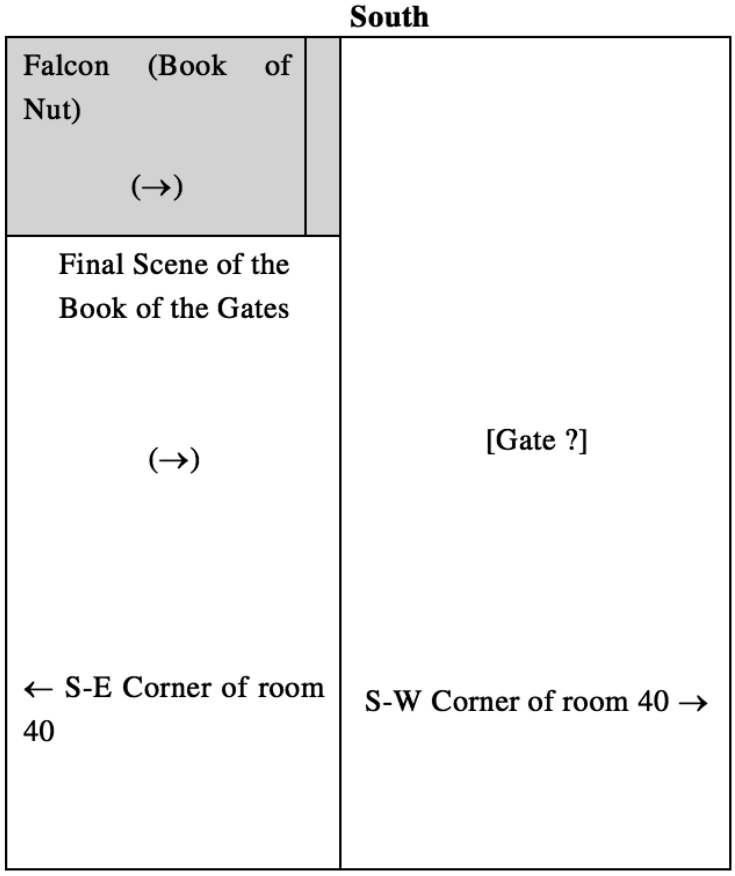


Figure 7: TT 34, Tomb of Montuemhat. Decorative layout of Room 40, south wall

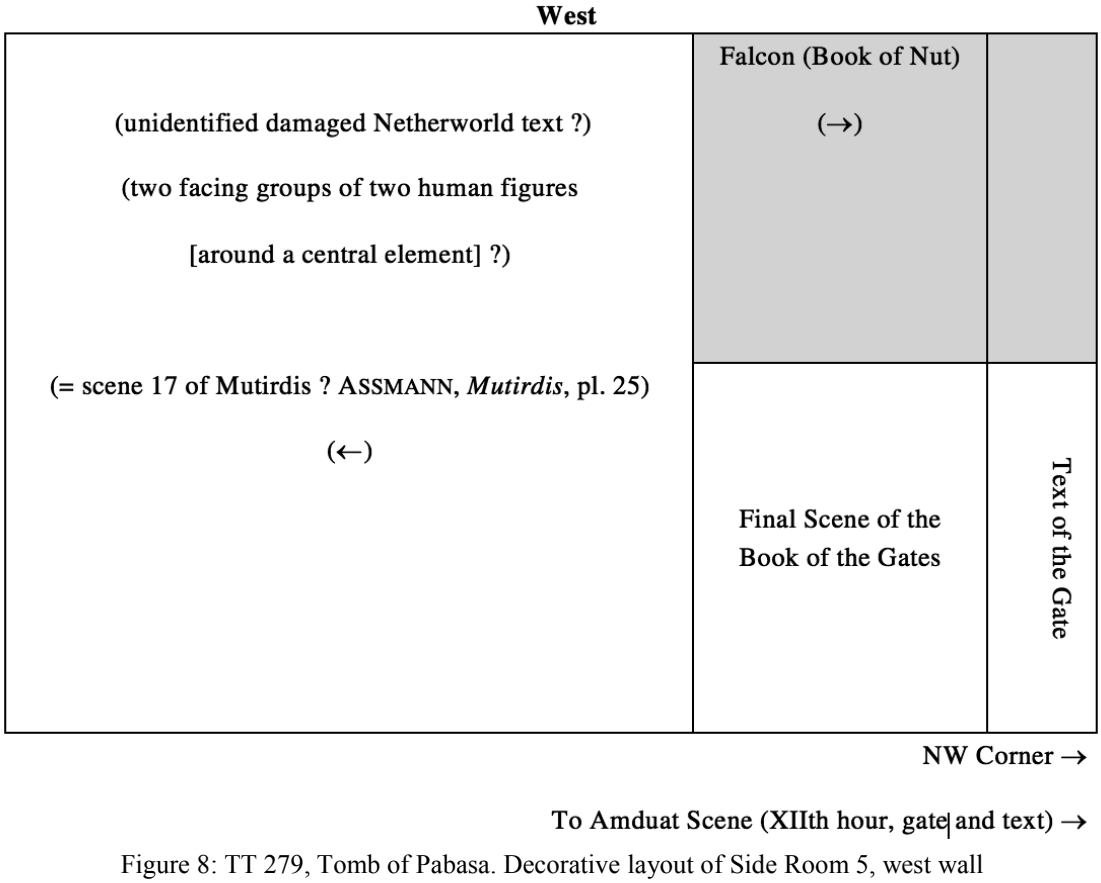


Figure 8: TT 279, Tomb of Pabasa. Decorative layout of Side Room 5, west wall

North

?	Falcon Book of Nut (←)	? (two superimposed rows of 4+x deities, including Isis and Hapy)
Fragmentary scene **similar** to the final scene of the Book of the Gates cf. ASSMANN, *Mutirdis*, 66 (cf. pl. 40).		[Rows of 5 deities] (praying for sunrise?) cf. ASSMANN, *Mutirdis*, 70, pl. 40.

Figure 9: TT 410, Tomb of Mutirdis. Decorative layout of Room I, north wall



Figure 10: TT 33, Outer frame of the door leading to Room VI. Detail of Padiamenope's title 'Scribe of the Temple of Osiris, Lord of Abydos' (photo: L. Schmitt)

New Research in the Tomb of Ibi (TT 36)

Mareike Wagner

Abstract

In March 2015, work on a part of the unpublished material from the tomb of Ibi (TT 36) was undertaken by this author. The research project 'Neues aus dem Grab des Ibi (TT 36)' focuses on the sarcophagus chamber of a man called Psamtik, who was buried in the tomb of Ibi, and the two anthropoid sarcophagi of Ibi himself. Both sarcophagi were found in situ within the burial chamber by Kuhlmann and Schenkel during the 1970s. Apart from the well-preserved lid of the inner sarcophagus, which is now in the Museo Egizio in Turin, all other parts are badly damaged and in a fragmented condition. Polz, Eisermann, and Kuhlmann discovered the sarcophagus chamber of Psamtik, who calls himself a son of Ibi, in 1989 during the excavation of three shafts in the northern part of Ibi's tomb. The chamber is decorated with the Chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead*, a short version of the so-called '*Stundenritual*', a scene from the *Book of the Earth*, and one or two currently unknown texts. Several features of the decoration deserve closer attention.

Introduction

The tomb of Ibi (TT 36), located in the Asasif region on the West bank of Luxor, is one of a number of tombs belonging to officials connected with the institution of the god's wives of Amun. Ibi himself was the *jm.j-rˁ pr-wr*, 'Chief Steward', under the God's Wife Nitocris, a daughter of Psamtik I (*c*. second half of the sixth century BC).[1] Contrary to the former opinion that Ibi's origin lay in the north of Egypt, we know he was born in Thebes.[2] However, his parents, especially his father Ankhhor—not to be confused with the owner of tomb TT 414—do not possess elevated titles.[3] His mother was Dienbastetiri, but the name of his wife has been lost.[4] Ibi had several sons and daughters, including Padihorresnet A, who was the grandfather of Padihorresnet B, the owner of TT 196.[5] Another family member named Psamtik will be of special interest in the following paper.[6]

The tomb of Ibi was published by Schenkel and Kuhlmann in the 1970s, while the superstructure was analysed and published by Graefe under a Belgium grant.[7] Due to the difficult division of responsibilities, Schenkel and Kuhlmann were not able to properly excavate the subterranean structure of the tomb. They had the permission to document the decoration on the walls—which is why it was called an epigraphic survey—and to empty the sarcophagus chamber, but they were not allowed to empty the three shafts in rooms R 5, R 7, and R 9.[8] The excavation of the shafts was undertaken by Polz, Eisermann, and Kuhlmann in 1989. Several fragments of the sarcophagi of Ibi, parts of the decoration of the door leading to R 5, fragments of cartonnage, mummy wrappings, and pottery etc., were recovered from the filling. Additionally, they discovered the beautifully decorated and well-preserved sarcophagus chamber at the bottom of the shaft leaving R 5. The owner is identified as a man called Psamtik, who might belong to the family of Ibi. However, until now

[1] For further titles of Ibi, see GRAEFE, *Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung* I, 21–5. The main information for Ibi's career is his inauguration in 639 BC and his mandate under Necho, which would place his death before 625 BC. See GRAEFE, *Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung* I, 25; VITTMANN, *Priester und Beamte*, 141.

[2] For the origins of Ibi, see GRAEFE, *SAK* 1 (1974), 201–6.

[3] The title *mrj-nṯr* is the only one conveyed for his father. See BRUNNER, *ZÄS* 86 (1961), 90–100; CHRISTOPHE, *ASAE* 53 (1955–56), 52, with n. 10; CHRISTOPHE, *ASAE* 54 (1956–57), 97–9; GRAEFE, *SAK* 1 (1974), 204–6; HELCK, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln*, 94–5; KEES, *ZÄS* 86 (1961), 115–25; VAN DER WALLE, *RdE* 15 (1963), 79–80 The family tree is presented in GRAEFE, *Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung* I, 81.

[4] For the hypothetical reconstruction of the name of the wife based on the preserved fragments, see VITTMANN, *SAK* 5 (1977), 246, n. 9.

[5] For the publication of the tomb, see GRAEFE, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet*.

[6] GRAEFE, *Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung* I, 91–2 [p277] and the family tree on 81 (Psamtik C).

[7] For the tomb of Ibi, see GRAEFE, *Das Grab des Ibi*; KUHLMANN, SCHENKEL, *Das Grab des Ibi*.

[8] A plan of the tomb is published in KUHLMANN, SCHENKEL, *Das Grab des Ibi*, pl. 3.

these three shafts, the sarcophagus chamber, and the two sarcophagi of Ibi remain unpublished. This paper presents a brief overview of the project ahead of its planned publication of the tomb.[9]

The Two Sarcophagi of Ibi

Schenkel and Kuhlmann found fragments of two sarcophagi in situ within the burial chamber of Ibi (R 14), both orientated with the head to the west, at the entry of the sarcophagus chamber.[10] These are an exterior anthropomorphic sarcophagus of quartzite and an interior anthropomorphic sarcophagus of basalt. Both are decorated only on the outside, although the bottom side of the lid of the exterior sarcophagus displays some inscriptions as well. The two sarcophagi are in really poor condition and currently consist of hundreds of fragments. Only the lid of the interior sarcophagus, which is housed in the Museo Egizio Torino (nr. 2202), is intact.[11] Nevertheless, there is a real possibility to reconstruct the two sarcophagi due to the known parallels.

Based on their material and design, they showcase an interesting contrast. The white quartzite sarcophagus is decorated with green hieroglyphs and figures, while the black basalt sarcophagus has white decoration as a result of the engraving process. Both are fine works with very detailed signs. Furthermore, the decoration of both sarcophagi seem to complement each other: the exterior sarcophagus follows a very common and popular decoration scheme, attested on royal sarcophagi dating to the New Kingdom, while the interior sarcophagus shows a single register with a procession of different—mainly mummiform—deities. This decoration is known from just a few sarcophagi or coffins dating to the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth dynasties, all of which come from Thebes.

There exists a third, wooden coffin of Ibi, which Graefe found in the superstructure of the tomb of Ibi and which is now kept in the library of Alexandria. Judging by its dimensions, it is not possible that it was intended to be part of the burial ensemble.[12]

In 2015, the photographic documentation of the sarcophagus fragments was undertaken (fig. 1).[13] These were used to create a photo merge of the fragments with the aim to produce a good reconstruction and presentation of the sarcophagi. Further drawings of all parts the sarcophagi by Ulrich Schede were collated and corrected, and, in some cases, also extended based on new fragments found in the filling of the shafts.

The Exterior Sarcophagus of Ibi

The exterior anthropomorphic sarcophagus is a close parallel to the sarcophagi of Pabasa and Nesptah and, to some extent, the sarcophagus of the God's Wife Nitocris.[14] Besides the fine depiction of the face, there are fragments of the wig, the beard, and the collar that ends in two falcon heads. There is also an illustration of

[9] Since the intended second volume of the tomb of Ibi never appeared, the findings were subsequently lost amongst the archives. Some years ago, I had the chance to work with the material, and since 2015 I am working on the publication of the decoration of the sarcophagus chamber of Psamtik and the two sarcophagi of Ibi. This work is being done in cooperation with the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (DAI), headed by Daniel Polz, and financed by the Fritz-Thyssen-Foundation in the framework of a research fellowship. Daniel Polz will undertake the archaeological part of the publication, while the study of the ceramics and the small findings is also planned. Since this is a work in progress, some analysis and conclusions are not yet completed.

[10] See KUHLMANN, SCHENKEL, *Das Grab des Ibi* I, fig. 92.

[11] This is why only this part of the sarcophagi is mentioned in the corresponding literature. See, for example, JW*IS* IV, 654–6; BUHL, *The Late Egyptian Anthropoid Stone Sarcophagi*, 122–4, fig. 73 (G,b 3).

[12] Inv.-nr. BAAM. 829. See HAWASS, *Bibliotheca Alexandrina*, 33. For the publication of the coffin, GRAEFE, *Das Grab des Ibi*. This coffin was filled with embalming material. For further coffins in a similar context see, for example, Budka, *Bestattungsbrauchtum*, 435–6.

[13] At this point, I want to thank David Höpfner for his help with the photography. Without him I would never have been able to produce the pictures in this quality.

[14] AWADALLA, EL-SAWY, *BIFAO* 90 (1990), 29–39; CAMPBELL, *The Sarcophagus of Pabasa*; KOCH, in AMENTA, GUICHARD (eds.), *Proceedings First Vatican Coffin Conference*, 231–48.

the two *wḏ3.t*-eyes on the shoulders, a depiction of the winged Nut on the breast, and three-dimensional hands holding an *ʿnḫ*-sign and *ḏd*-pillar. On the surface of the lid there are several lines with inscriptions imitating mummy wrappings (transversal lines), which run over the body.[15] From head to foot there are five lines, with one additional line at the end of the head part of the lid. They include the texts:[16]

1. Hayes Text 12/von Falck Nephthys-Text KD
2. Hayes Text 26/von Falck Flankentext K1
3. von Falck Flankentext K3
4. Hayes Text 1/von Falck Nut-Text K (Nutgebet)/Grallert Text G
5. Hayes Text 45/von Falck Nut-Text K.I.1 and Flankentext 4
6. Hayes Text 36/von Falck Flankentext K2.1–2

Four further lines extend from the central line to the sides, continuing on the long sides of the coffer. On the sides of the coffer, one can find images of the four sons of Horus, separated by the two forms of Anubis (*Ḥnt.j-sḥ-nṯr* and *Jm.j-wt*) and four illustrations of the god Thoth carrying the sky canopy and along the correspondent texts from BD 161 in the four corners of the sarcophagus.[17] On the head and foot parts are figures of the goddesses Isis and Nephthys, accompanied by the standard texts. This is a common decoration concept that is well-known with the royal and private sarcophagi of the New Kingdom, before again becoming common in the Late Period coffins and sarcophagi. Some of the texts have their origins even in the Middle Kingdom.

What is unusual is the four vertical lines of inscription on the underside of the lid (fig. 1). They contain two texts of the group of glorification spells (*s3ḫ.w*), even if they are not part of the spells published by Assmann.[18] Direct parallels for these spells exist in the tomb of Basa.[19] Thanks to this parallel, the dimensions of the inscription can be determined. However, in some difficult passages, the text in Basa cannot really help due to its state of preservation. Some discrepancies also seem to be present.

Additionally, it is worth noting the comparison of the decoration of the sarcophagus and the design of the sarcophagus chamber, since BD 161 is also present at the four corners of the long sides of the burial chamber of Ibi.[20] Therefore, the chamber and the outer sarcophagus form an analogy, and perhaps even a kind of dialog.[21]

The Interior Sarcophagus of Ibi

The interior sarcophagus of basalt is also in a poor condition as well as being fragmented, except for the lid housed in Torino (nr. 2202). There exist two large fragments of the bottom of the coffin, which are still in the tomb of Ibi. One large fragment was found by Quibell within the Ramesseum and is now housed in the

[15] IKRAM, DODSON, *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt*, 205–6; HAYES, *Royal Sarcophagi*, 81. For the Middle Kingdom, see LAPP, *Typologie der Särge*, 219–20 [§ 515].

[16] See GRALLERT, *SAK* 23 (1996); HAYES, *Royal Sarcophagi*; VON FALCK, *Textgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu Götterreden*.

[17] For the royal sarcophagi of the New Kingdom, see HAYES, *Royal Sarcophagi*. For an example, see the sarcophagi of Isis (TT 1) in HAWASS, *Die Verbotenen Gräber in Theben*, 242; the exterior coffin of Henutmehyt in TAYLOR, *Journey Through the Afterlife*, 117; the sarcophagi of Iniuia in SCHNEIDER, *The Tomb of Iniuia*, 108–15; and of Nia in IKRAM, DODSON, *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt*, 225. A summary is given by BÖHME, in NEUNERT, GABLER, VERBOVSEK (eds.), *Grab – Bild – Ritual*, 55–6; LÜSCHER, *Untersuchungen zu Totenbuch Spruch 151*, 57–71; VON FALCK, *SAK* 34 (2006), 125–40. For BD 161, see LÜSCHER, *Untersuchungen zu Totenbuch Spruch 151*, 82–5, 113; STADLER, *Weiser und Wesir*, 236–9, with further coffins in n. 10.

[18] See ASSMANN, BOMMAS, KUCHAREK, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien* 3. Individual publications were edited by BACKES, *Der 'Papyrus Schmitt'*; BARBASH, *The Mortuary Papyrus of Padikakem*.

[19] ASSMANN, *Das Grab des Basa*, 61 [text 14], pl. 6.

[20] KUHLMANN, SCHENKEL, *Das Grab des Ibi*, 250–63. In between are excerpts of the *Litany of Re* on the right side and a solar hymn on the left side. The ceiling is decorated with an astronomical composition.

[21] A comparative analysis of the decorative concept of both sarcophagi of Ibi and that of the sarcophagus chamber is planned.

Oriental Institute Museum in Chicago (Chicago, OIM 1368).[22] Five further, though rather small, fragments were found by Schenkel and Kuhlmann in the burial chamber. This means that a rather large percentage of the sarcophagus is lost today.

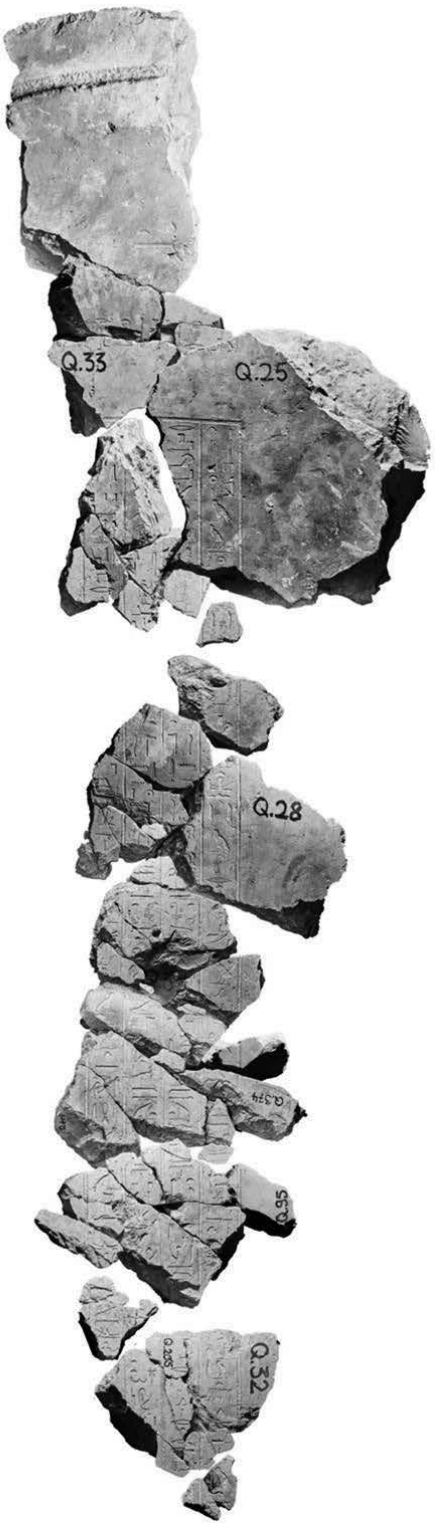


Fig. 1: Reconstruction of the bottom side of the lid of the exterior sarcophagus

[22] See PM I[2], 681; GRAEFE, *SAK* 1 (1974), 202, n. 4; QUIBELL, *The Ramesseum*, 20, pl. 27 (3). This fragment was recently published by LUCARELLI, in SCALF (ed.), *Book of the Dead*.

The anthropomorphic sarcophagus and lid are decorated with a finely worked face, wig, beard, and the classical collar, which ends in two falcon heads. The typical *wḏ3.t*-eye and a ram on a standard are depicted on each shoulder is depicted. In the middle of the lid is a three-dimensional representation of a *ḏd*-pillar, which is held by the two hands of the deceased that protrude from the imitation mummy wrappings. The rest of the lid, up to the feet, is decorated with four registers with four deities, two on the left and two on the right side, with a *p.t*-sign and a horizontal inscription on top. These deities and their speeches are partially known, like the four sons of Horus and their well-known speeches based on BD 151. However, some of them, especially in the third and fourth register, are completely unknown and without parallel.[23]

	←	→	
Duamutef	Imset	Hapi	Qebehsenuef
Neith	Isis	Nephthys	Selqet
Geb	Anubis-Imiut	Horus-Chentienirti	Cheribaqef
Wr-s3ḫ=f	Harendotes	Atum	Chentihutcha

On the feet is an illustration of the winged goddess Nut, while under the feet is a scene with Maat and Anubis leading the deceased to the Hathor cow emerging from the western mountain.[24]

At the head and foot part of the coffer are the typical presentations of Isis and Nephthys with accompanying inscriptions (fig. 2). Moreover, there is a horizontal line at the top of the coffer documented on the fragment in Chicago. This could be reconstructed on both long sides for symmetrical reasons. Below there is a register with the depiction of several deities running from head to foot. Some of them are already known, like the goddess on the fragment in Chicago who appears in the twelfth hour of the *Amduat*.[25] Others seem to be popular but do not have parallels in the Books of the Netherworld, the vignettes of the BD, the mythological papyri, or the enigmatic books. For these reasons, it is a fortunate coincidence that parallels exist for this 'new' enigmatic scene. Also fragmented, but clearly identifiable as a parallel, is the outer wooden coffin of Ankhhor from TT 414 and the outer wooden coffin of a man called Paeftauauiset, which is now in the Museum in Milan (E 1011).[26] Noteworthy in this respect is that the representation on the coffins of Ankhhor and Paeftauauiset includes two registers, when the sarcophagus of Ibi only includes one. This is the upper register on the coffin of Paeftauauiset and, with reservation based on the fragmented state of condition, the second on the coffin of Ankhhor.

The Sarcophagus Chamber of Psamtik

At the bottom of the shaft leaving R 5, Polz and his mission discovered a beautifully painted and very well-preserved sarcophagus chamber (fig. 3 and decoration scheme in fig. 6). It belongs to a man called Psamtik, who was already known from the inscriptions of the decoration of the door leading to room 5.[27] There he

[23] A reproduction of the inscriptions is presented in JW*IS* IV, 654–6.

[24] See HEYNE, in BRODBECK (ed.), *Ein ägyptisches Glasperlenspiel*, 57–68. Additionally, see JAMEN, *Le cercueil de Padikhonsu*, 119–20, with additional literature in n. 531. A nice illustration is given by TAYLOR, *Journey Through the Afterlife*, 202–3 A parallel scene is also attested in the Late Period tombs of the Asasif, such as Harwa (TIRADRITTI, *EAO* 73 (2014), 37, fig. 5), Montuemhat (GESTERMANN, TEOTINO, WAGNER, *Zum Dekorationsprogramm in der spätzeitlichen Grabanlage des Monthemhet* [R St 48.1], forthcoming), Pabasa (unpublished), Padiamenope (DÜMICHEN, *Grabpalast des Patuamenap* II, pl. 22), and Karakhamun (PISCHIKOVA, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 53–4, fig. 3.17).

[25] See HORNUNG, *Altägyptische Jenseitsführer*, 128. Some parallels on sarcophagi are known from CG 29306. See MANASSA, *The Late Egyptian Underworld*, 275, pl. 268.

[26] See BIETAK, REISER-HASLAUER, *Das Grab des Anch-Hor*, 172, fig. 72, pl. 96; LISE, *Museo Archeologico*, 77–80, 219.

[27] See KUHLMANN, SCHENKEL, *Das Grab des Ibi*, pl. 3 for a map of the tomb.

calls himself a son of Ibi, which is the family position Graefe assigned him in the family tree of the family of Ibi.[28] However, in contrast—or rather in clarification—Psamtik gives different names for a second pair of parents for Ibi in the chamber. These are a father called Padimaihesa and a mother called Tachaauenbastet. On the lintel of the door in R 5 and in the chamber for the data of the filiations' from Ibi, there is no mother named. This is rather unfortunate since the name of Ibi's wife remains unknown.[29] Yet this finding left two questions open. Firstly, does Psamtik belong to the family of Ibi but not in a direct lineage, perhaps a grandson or great grandson? Secondly, if he does not belong to the family of Ibi in a genetical way, does he have a kind of ideological connection to Ibi?[30] Since the names of the second pair of parents do not belong to the children of Ibi, or are not yet known such as, this question is difficult to answer. The titles of Psamtik, such as *jm.j-ḫnt n dwꜣ.t-nṯr* or *zꜣ-s.t* (*n*) *dwꜣ.t-nṯr* are well-known in the family of Ibi and for the children of Ibi likewise.[31] Since Psamtik is clearly one of the officials of the God's Wife and working in the funerary cult of Nitocris (*mꜣꜣ sšꜥ n ḥm.t-nṯr N.t-jḳr.t mꜣʿ-ḫrw m wʿb.t*), this leaves only the reign of Ankhnesneferibre for his tenure. That is to say, living more than a maximum of two generations after Ibi seems to be unlikely. The position of a grandson of Ibi is more likely and would be in line with the attestation of a daughter (named Tachaau) of the mayor of Thebes (called Patjenefi), whose tomb is also situated in the Asasif (TT 128).[32] This would correlate with the data known from the tomb of Ibi.[33] The father's name of Padimaihesa is also known from a Papyrus of a *Book of the Dead* in the Vatican (Vatican 48813).[34] The papyrus, which is dated to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, is unedited and fragmented, so the names of Padimaihesa's parents are not mentioned. Further research on the matter is necessary.



Fig. 2: The head part of the interior sarcophagus of Ibi

[28] See GRAEFE, *Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung* I, 81, 91.
[29] For the publication of the decoration of the door, see KUHLMANN, SCHENKEL, *Das Grab des Ibi*, 226–32.
[30] For example, based on the location of his burial chamber in the tomb of Ibi.
[31] For the family tree of Ibi, see GRAEFE, *Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung* II.
[32] SCHENKEL, *MDAIK* 31:1 (1975), especially 148 [T 128/19], fig. 22.
[33] EIGNER, *Die Monumentalen Grabbauten*, 15, table 1.
[34] JW*IS* IV, 1083; GASSE, *Les papyrus hiéroglyphique*, 39–42, pl. 33 [nr. 26].

The chamber is 2.20 m long, 0.84 m wide, and 0.92 m high. The decoration includes the north, south, and west walls as well as the ceiling. The east wall opens onto the shaft. The texts are applied on a white undercoat, in alternating white and yellow columns with blue and red dividing lines, similar to the tomb of Mutirdis. The sidewalls are segmented in two registers with two horizontal lines on top. On the west wall, a winged sun is placed over the two lines. The ceiling contains a central line and two registers on each side. The inscriptions consist of three different texts. BD 125, a text without parallel, and the so-called '*Stunden-ritual*'.

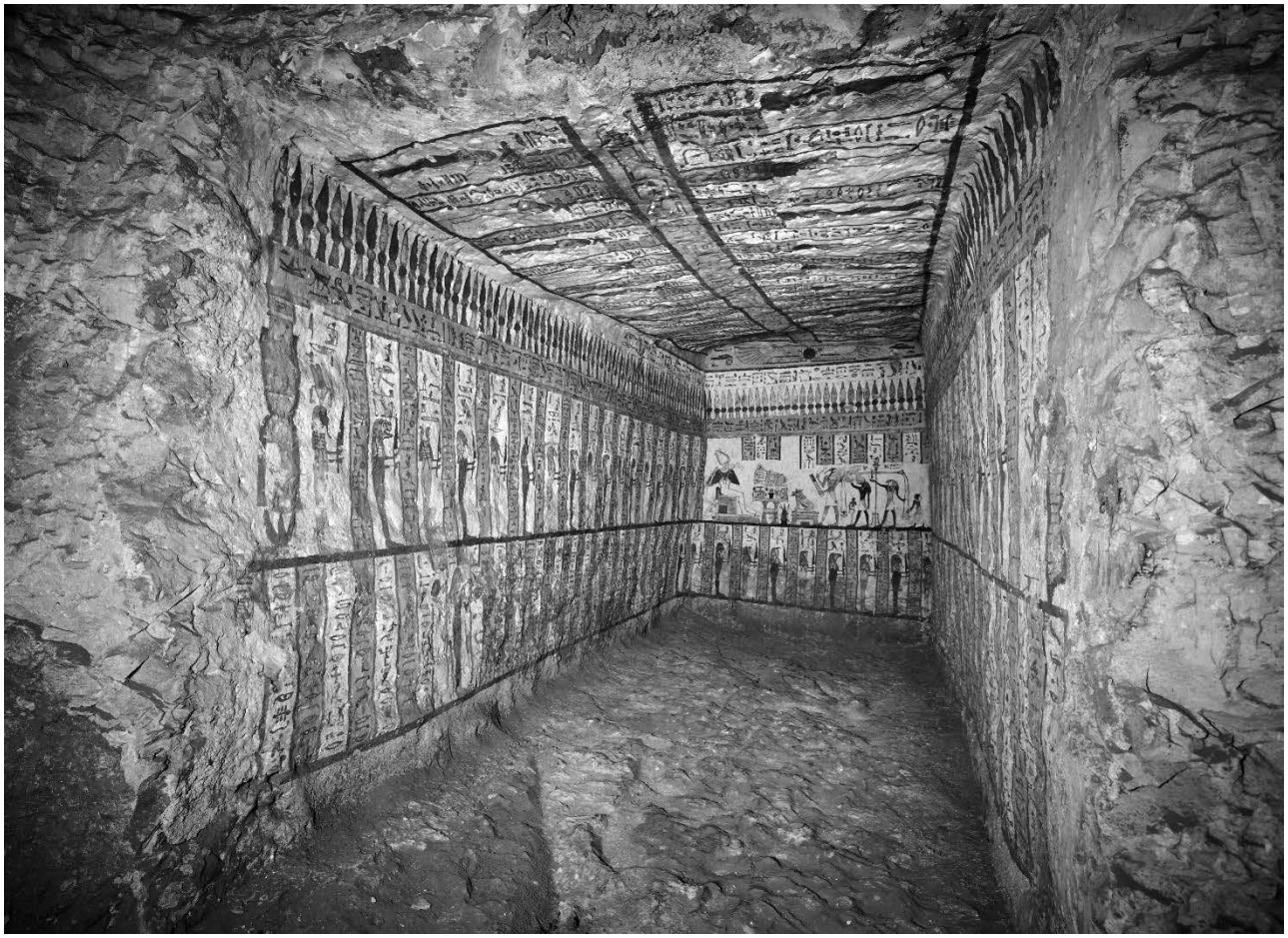


Fig. 3: Overview of the sarcophagus chamber

BD 125

The version of BD 125 (figs. 4–5) in the sarcophagus chamber of Psamtik includes the negative confession (Lepsius part B),[35] the final part of the text (C), and the inscription accompanying the vignette (D).[36] The confession starts in the first register of the north wall, at the eastern end, and continues in the direction of the west wall. It continues at the western end of the first register of the south wall until to the eastern end. The third part runs from the northern end of the second register to the southern end of the west wall. The vignette

[35] It seems that the version of the confession handed down by Psamtik is very close to P. Turin 1791: LEPSIUS, *Das Todtenbuch*. See also P. Iahtesnacht: VERHOEVEN, *Das saitische Totenbuch der Iahtesnacht*.

[36] See LEPSIUS, *Das Todtenbuch*, 47–50. For Part C the version in Turin is incomplete, starting only on the second horizontal line. For the extended version, see NAVILLE, *Das ägyptische Totenbuch* I, 137. For the parallels of the New Kingdom, see LAPP, *Totenbuch Spruch 125*, 150–75. For the New Kingdom tombs, see SALEH, *Das Totenbuch*, 97. See also the Late Period tombs of the Asasif where the text is familiar: EINAUDI, *BSFE* 183 (2002), 34. Not mentioned in this article is the version in the tomb of Montuemhat (TT 34): See GESTERMANN, TEOTINO, WAGNER, *Zum Dekorationsprogramm in der spätzeitlichen Grabanlage des Monthemhet* [Raum R 47], forthcoming.

with the weighing of the heart, accompanied by a short inscription, is depicted in the first register of the western wall. The writing is retrograde, as common in the tombs of the Asasif. Part C, the 'Schlusstext', is situated in the two horizontal lines on the top of the northern, western, and southern wall.[37]

The text of the negative confession is presented in the columns and in a retrograde orientation. On the contrary, the inscriptions in the two horizontal lines on the top of the wall are written in a cryptographic or enigmatic manner. Here the single squares have to be read from bottom to top and from back to front. Additionally, sometimes it jumps forward and then backward again. It was initially thought that this was the result of a wrong transfer from a retrograde, vertical template, but after checking all versions without success, it is possible that this was intentional. This cryptographic manner of writing is located in the first register of the western wall. The whole text block, with a well-known text, is to be read from bottom to top. If it is to be understood as a reproduction of the usual text, it is sometimes necessary to skip one column. If not, it also makes sense if the text is read from bottom to top and from left to right, but then it is a different version of the original texts. In this case, some more research is necessary. However, this method of writing is without doubt one of the highlights and it represents a remarkable anomaly/feature of this sarcophagus chamber.

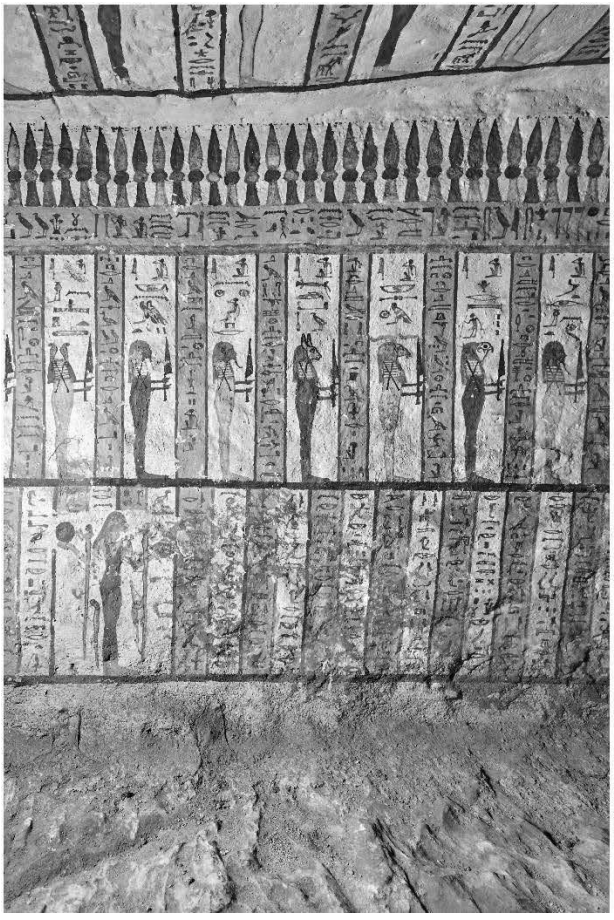


Fig. 4: Southern wall

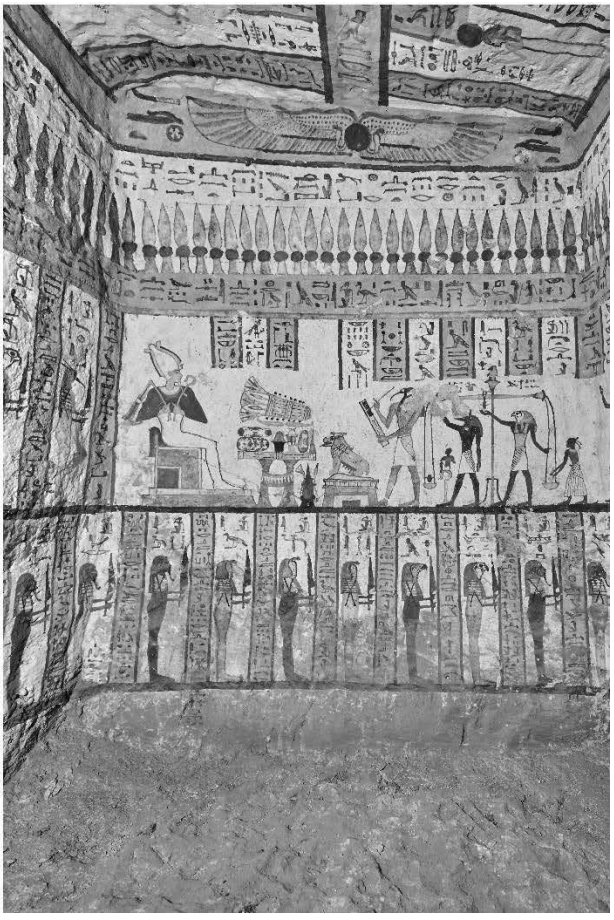


Fig. 5: Northern wall

[37] The text is incomplete, with only columns 35–8 written. A similar presentation of the spell seems to exist in the tomb of Karakhamun, see MOLINERO POLO, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN, *Thebes in the First Millennium. New Discoveries*, 269–93; MOLINERO POLO, RODRÍGUEZ VALLS in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis. New Discoveries*, 161–216.

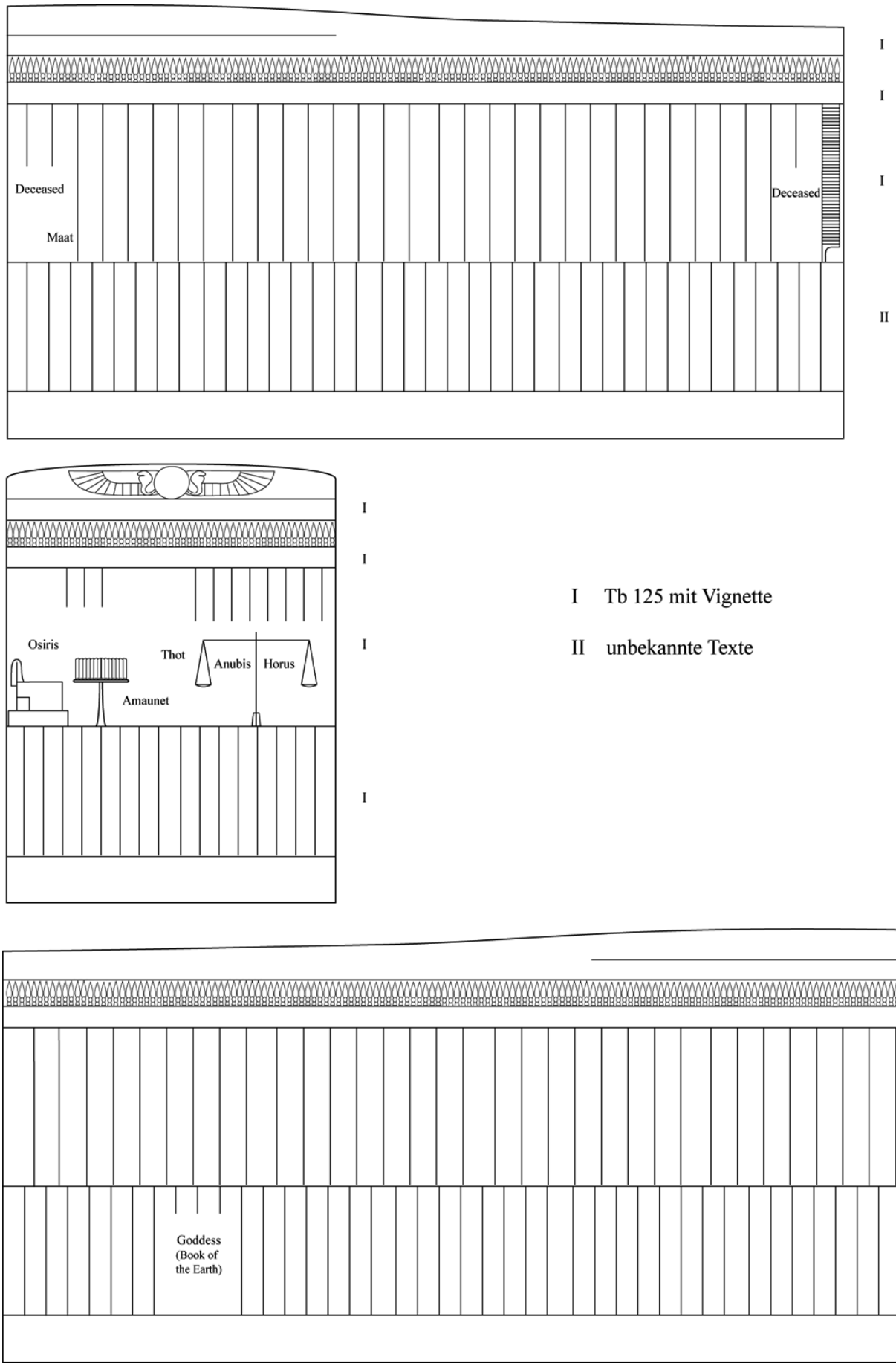


Fig. 6: Scheme of the decoration of the sarcophagus chamber

The Unknown Text/Texts

In the second register of the north and south walls (fig. 4) is a text for which no parallels are currently known.[38] The part on the northern wall starts with several names, which are comparable to the hymns of the 'Namensformel', followed by a kind of hymn to the solar eye. The first part of the text ends with a type of glorification spell. The cited names and epithets seem to be common, but on closer inspection it is not possible to find a parallel.[39] The prominent role taken by the *bꜣ* in the whole text and the syllabic writing of some names is remarkable. Therefore, it is possible to assume that we have here a new composition.

On the southern wall the text starts with a *jnḏ-ḥr* formula addressed to the primeval god, who is called in several of his appearances. The primeval waters, Nun, takes a prominent role in this part, but so does the Ba. Further in the text, the solar eyes receive more attention and move to the focus. In this part multiple matches can be found to the litany of the twelve names of Re-Horakhty.[40] The end of the text seems to be a kind of hymn to a falcon formed deity, who is invoked in his multiple forms. Noteworthy is also an illustration from the Book of the Earth (fig. 4) which is integrated in the last columns of the southern wall while the texts are showing no matches. In this case more research is necessary.

The Stundenritual

The so-called *Stundenritual* in the sarcophagus chamber of Psamtik is located on the ceiling. It is divided into two tableaus with a central line in the middle. On the northern part of the ceiling is a depiction of the Hours of the Night, with the first hour in the west and the twelfth in the east, and on the southern part of the ceiling the corresponding Hours of the Day, orientated from the west to the east. Each hour consists of an illustration of the personification of the hour with a star (Night) or a sun (Day) on the head, as well as three columns of text. The text is reduced to part A, after Griffin, and the parts B, D, and G, after Graefe.[41] This means it comprises the number of the hour, the name of the hour, and the god or goddess the hour stands up for (*ḏd mdw jn wnw.t XY n.t hrw/grḥ XY rn=s ꜥḥꜥ=s n XY*). Finally, there is a protection formula added towards the end with the name of the beneficiary Psamtik and some various titles. The names of the hours and the protection deities follow the version in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, the temple of Thutmose III, and the tombs of Patjenefi (TT 128) and Bakenrenef at Saqqara. The tomb of Patjenefi is of special interest since there are some deviations in the day hours that are also present in the version of Psamtik.[42] The night hours follow the usual canon, except for the reversal of the names of the eighth and ninth hours.

Summary

Positive results have already been achieved for the research on the two sarcophagi of Ibi. The development of both the coffin and sarcophagus decoration can be related to the Late Period, with the decorative schemes being even more precisely dated to the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth dynasties at Thebes and the Asasif respectively. Since it is unusual to have two sarcophagi for one person available, only the partial parallels of Nesptah, Pabasa, and Ankhhor can be consulted.

As for the sarcophagus chamber of Psamtik, we are fortunate enough to have decoration that is perfectly preserved, which is quite a rare occurrence for the Late Period tombs in the Asasif. It was, therefore, possible to introduce a complete—even if short—version of the *Stundenritual*, which might fill in the gap between the older version in the temples of Deir el-Bahari and those in the later tombs. Additionally, the presentation of

[38] There are a lot of similarities to the text of the litany of the twelve names of Horus. See the latest publication by QUACK, in LEPPER (ed.), *Forschung in der Papyrussammlung*, 165–87.
[39] For example, by searching the *LGG*.
[40] See GASSE, *BIFAO* 84 (1984), 189–227. A new edition of the text is currently in preparation by Quack.
[41] See GRAEFE, in ASSMANN *et al*., *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen*, 90; GRIFFIN, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.) *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 107–10.
[42] See SCHENKEL, in *MDAIK* 31:1 (1975), 151–8.

the BD 125 might help to understand the fragmented versions in other tombs, such as Montuemhat, Padihorresnet, Karakhamun or Padiamenope, where I could already find some parallels. It is hoped that the greatest developments will come with the study of the unknown text, which might facilitate our understanding of Late Period religious concepts and developments.

As the research on this project is a work in progress, questions relating to the material, especially concerning the texts found in the sarcophagus chambers, are open. Preliminary work has been completed here, but further research will be undertaken next year. This paper has presented a brief survey of the interesting material being studied by the project, in addition to several questions that have arisen. These include the new enigmatic book on the interior sarcophagus of Ibi, the questions concerning the relationship between Psamtik and Ibi, the explanation for the cryptic writing of BD 125, and the investigations on the unknown text inscribed on the lower register of the northern and southern wall.

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PART C:

WEST BANK



Fig. C-1: The West Bank of Thebes with the Ramesseum in the foreground (photo: K. Griffin)

From the Foundations to the Excavation: A Stratigraphy-based History of the Temple of Tuya

Benoît Lurson, with a contribution by Franck Mourot

Abstract

Since 2010, the temple of Tuya, a ruined monument built by Ramesses II against the north-eastern external wall of the Ramesseum, has been excavated anew. The objective of this project is to define the phases of the temple's history, based on its stratigraphic excavation. After a short overview of the previous archaeological works, of the methodology and of the objectives of the new excavation, the paper focuses on three phases of the temple's history: its origins, its transformation into a necropolis during the Third Intermediate Period, and its destruction around the end of the second millennium BC.

As for its origins, the excavation showed that the temple had been preceded by an aborted architectural project, also dating to the reign of Ramesses II. The excavation of the tomb of Karomama and of three further tombs helped to establish a two-phase expansion of the necropolis; the first one around the beginning of the ninth century BC, and the second around 750 BC. Lastly, a stratigraphic sequence and the dating of the tombs show that the temple was already at least partially destroyed in the ninth century BC, a destruction that can be a consequence of the earthquake that struck the West Bank between 1200 BC and 900 BC.

Introduction

The temple of Tuya was built against the north-eastern external wall of the Ramesseum.[1] Its remains consist of column bases and parts of the stone pavement (fig. 1). Although these ruins were already identified by Lepsius as a 'side-temple' (*Seitentempel*),[2] the first excavation of this area was not undertaken until the work of Steckeweh, who was entrusted by Hölscher, in 1931.[3] The latter was working in Medinet Habu and sought in the Ramesseum information that could help him to better understand the architecture of the temple of Ramesses III. Steckeweh cleared out the foundation trenches of the temple and reconstructed its plan. Most importantly, his work revealed another set of foundation trenches, which Hölscher interpreted as those of a previous temple having preceded that of Tuya, which he dated to the reign of Seti I based on a foundation deposit.

In 1971–1972, a team from the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, headed by Desroches-Noblecourt, cleared the surface of the temple. During this clearing, the section of a ramp parapet bearing a dedicatory inscription and a Hathoric capital containing the name of Nefertari were uncovered. Having compared them with a doorjamb found by Quibell[4] and with the blocks reused in the Ptolemaic extensions of the Small Temple of Medinet Habu,[5] Desroches-Noblecourt concluded that the monument had been dedicated to Tuya and Nefertari, and that the blocks reused in Medinet Habu come from here.[6] Twenty years later, based

[1] *Cf. PM* II², 442.
[2] *Cf.* L*D* III, *Text*, 139.
[3] *Cf.* HÖLSCHER, *Excavations at Ancient Thebes*, 54–65; HÖLSCHER, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu* III, 71–82. For a detailed history of the excavations of the temple of Tuya and the relevant bibliography, *cf.* LURSON, in LURSON (ed.), *De la mère du roi à l'épouse du dieu*, 11–24.
[4] *Cf.* QUIBELL, *The Ramesseum*, 9, 20, nr. 42, pl. 20.1.
[5] For these blocks, *cf.* HABACHI, *RdE* 21 (1969); LURSON, *SAK* 39 (2010); LURSON, in CANNUYER, VIALLE (eds.), *Les naissances merveilleuses*; LURSON, in LURSON (ed.), *De la mère du roi à l'épouse du dieu*, 30–44, with bibliography.
[6] *Cf.* LECLANT, *Orientalia* 41 (1972), 266; LECLANT, *Orientalia* 42 (1973), 417; DESROCHES-NOBLECOURT, *Courrier du CNRS* 9 (1973), 32; DESROCHES-NOBLECOURT, in *L'Égyptologie en 1979*, 239–43; DESROCHES-NOBLECOURT, *Memnonia* 1 (1992), 25–46.

on the episodes of the divine birth of Ramesses II preserved on some of the Medinet Habu blocks, she also advocated the view that the temple was the first of the birth houses (*mammisis*).[7]



Figure 1: View of the temple of Tuya in 2009 (Photograph Yann Rantier/CNRS)

Thus, at the beginning of the 1990s, with the combination of the results of the 1931 excavation and the interpretation put forward by Desroches-Noblecourt, views on the temple of Tuya were consistent: a monument dedicated by Ramesses II to his mother and his Great Wife, preceded by a temple built by Seti I, and the first of the birth houses. It is with these results in mind that a re-excavation of the site was undertaken. The point of departure of this project is the inventory by the present author of the sandstone blocks scattered on the temenos of the Ramesseum,[8] among which a few could be identified as belonging to the temple of Tuya. For the study of this material, the Medinet Habu blocks were re-examined. This showed that far more blocks, than previously thought, coming from the temple are reused there. Thus, a reconstruction of the architecture and iconography of the temple of Tuya was considered possible. Based on this reconstruction, the question of its function could be addressed anew. The results of this preliminary study were published 2010.[9]

Since a precise plan of the temple was necessary in order to reconstruct its architecture, its re-excavation was essential. Thus, this new excavation became the backbone of an integrated project combining epigraphy, iconography, architecture, and archaeology, of which the ultimate target is a reassessment of the temple's function. Five excavation seasons have been organised so far (2010–2012; 2014–2015), the project being placed in the frame of the scientific Franco-German cooperation.[10] At the end of the fifth excavation season, about half of the temple's area had been excavated (fig. 2).[11]

[7] *Cf.* DESROCHES-NOBLECOURT, *Memnonia* 1 (1992).
[8] *Cf.* LEBLANC, *Memnonia* 10 (2000), 56; LEBLANC, *Memnonia* 11 (2001), 29; LEBLANC, *Memnonia* 12–13 (2003), 23; LEBLANC, *Memnonia* 15 (2005), 33; LEBLANC, *Memnonia* 17 (2007), 37–8; LEBLANC, *Memnonia* 19 (2009), 51–2.
[9] *Cf.* LURSON 2010; LURSON, in CANNUYER, VIALLE (eds.), *Les naissances merveilleuses*; LURSON, in LURSON (ed.), *De la mère du roi à l'épouse du dieu*, 27–44.
[10] *Cf.* LURSON, in LURSON (ed.), *De la mère du roi à l'épouse du dieu*, 18. Since 2014, this cooperation brings together the Universität Leipzig and the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.
[11] After the 2015 season, the work has been stopped by the Mission Archéologique Française de Thèbes-Ouest (MAFTO) and the site progressively backfilled. Consequently, the plan shown on fig. 2 does not reflect the present state of the site.

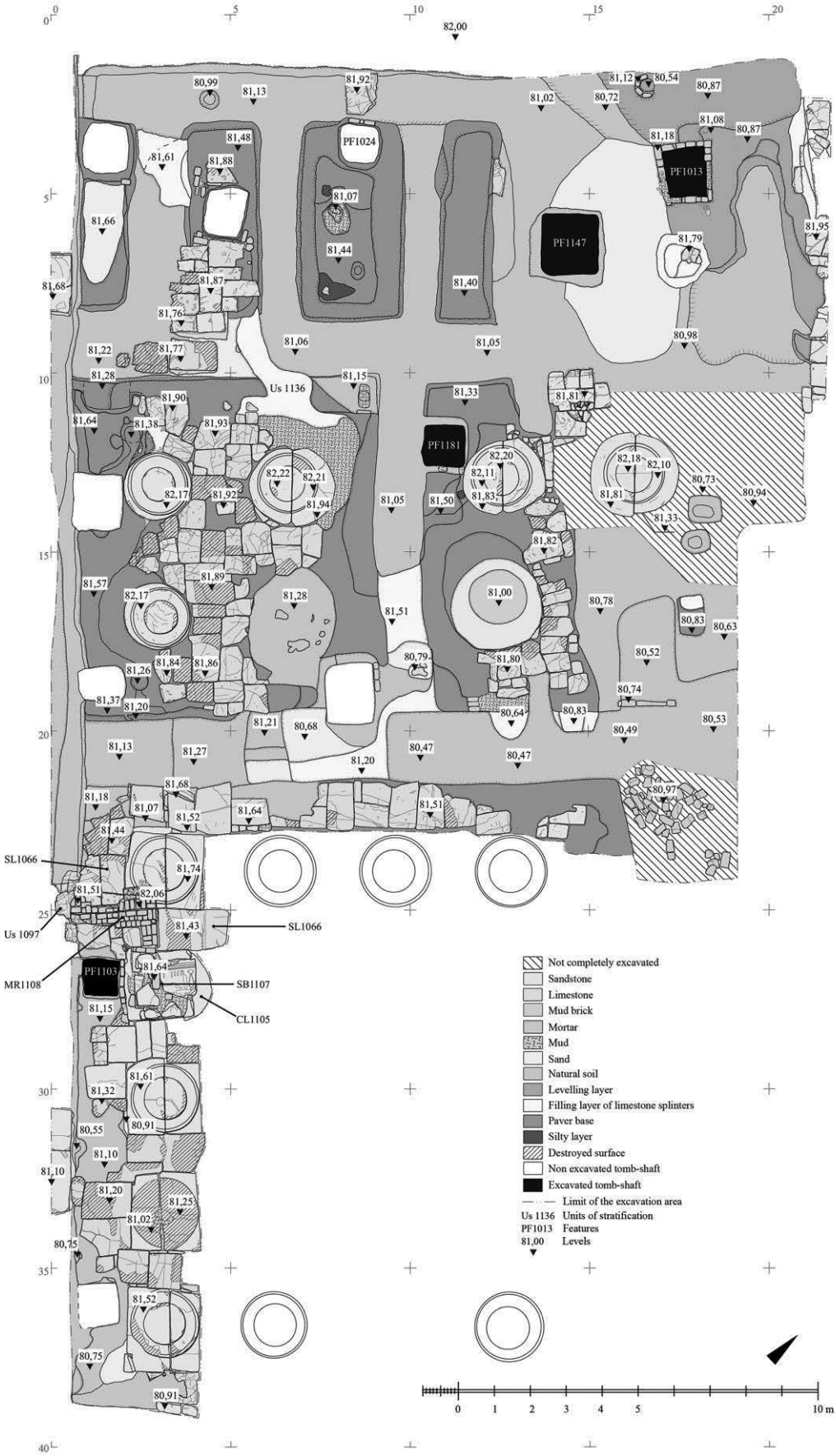


Figure 2: Excavation plan of the temple of Tuya at the end of the 2015 excavation season (Drawn record/CAD T. Gutmann/D. Blaschta 2012 and 2015)

Methodology, Objectives, and the First Phase of the Site's History

Even though this excavation should ultimately enable the reconstruction of the temple's architecture, this purpose should not lead to confuse archaeological objectives and methodology with architectural ones. Moreover, the reassessment of the temple's function must consider the changes that took place over the temple's history. Therefore, the excavation of the temple of Tuya could not exclusively consist of another clearing of its foundation trenches. Above all, the obvious necessity to work in accordance with the actual standards of archaeology—at least for the sake of accountability—along with the need to define the phases of the temple's history, led us to undertake a stratigraphic excavation of the site.

Basically, favouring the stratigraphy of the site over the architecture of the temple results in the isolation and the progressive removal of the contexts, whatever their kind and dating, including the backfill of the 1931 excavation and the looting layers. These basic principles were adapted to the excavation of the Third Intermediate Period tomb-shafts by Franck Mourot, based on the excavation of Karomama's tomb, by adding micro-stratigraphy and systematic sieving.[12] Undertaking a stratigraphic excavation also means that the finds have to be registered systematically and in relation to their context, not to the architectural unit in the limits of which they are found.[13] Still, methods are essentially serving objectives, which give to the excavation a principle line to follow and specific questions to answer. The main objective of the excavation is to single out the phases of the temple's history. This objective remained unchanged through the five excavation seasons, but the phases of the temple's history being the focus of this objective changed, dividing up these five seasons into two work phases.[14] The first phase ran from 2010 until 2012, with specific questions posed by the results of Steckeweh's and Hölscher's excavation. The second one started 2014, with specific questions relating to the results of the first work phase.

Reflecting on the site's history, the major result of the 1931 excavation is certainly the uncovering of foundation trenches, which Hölscher interpreted as those of a temple built by Seti I. However, the structural relationship between this monument and the temple of Tuya remained unclear: Did, for example, Ramesses II dismantle his father's monument and replace it with his own foundation? Clarifying these relationships and this early phase of the site's history was the specific question of the first three-yearly work phase. To reach it, the sector of the sanctuaries was fully excavated. In addition, a strip of about 2 m broad, running along the north-eastern external wall of the Ramesseum, was also excavated in order to find areas where the foundations of the Ramesseum and of the temple of Tuya would intersect each other, which could bring a frame of relative dating for their respective construction phases. At the end of the first work phase, these objectives were reached.

Firstly, it could be observed that the foundation trench of the south-western external wall of the so-called temple of Seti I was never completed (figs. 2–3).[15] The conclusion could be drawn that there never was any

[12] *Cf.* MOUROT, in LURSON (ed.), *De la mère du roi à l'épouse du dieu*, 68 and esp. 76–8, for a theoretical and methodological assessment of the excavation of Karomama's tomb.

[13] Because the archaeological investigations conducted in the Ramesseum area consists mainly in the clearing of architectural structures and the reconstruction of ground plans (*cf.* e.g. LEBLANC *et al.*, *Memnonia* 25 (2015)), tools had to be created for the implementation of this methodology: a 5-metre square site grid, orientated to the shape of the temple; the abbreviation 'TC' for referring to the site, instead of 'TWY', which relates to the monument in its architectural state during the reign of Ramesses II; a system of stratigraphic registration numbering of the finds, based on the nomenclature 'TC' and their context; numbered zones, after which the contexts are numbered; databases for the systematic inventory of the finds; *cf.* LURSON, in LURSON (ed.), *De la mère du roi à l'épouse du dieu*, 20, n. 55.

[14] For a detailed presentation of the objectives of the excavation and its work phases, *cf.* LURSON, *Memnonia* 23 (2013), 137–42; LURSON, in LURSON *et al.*, *Memnonia* 25 (2015), 107–11; LURSON, in LURSON (ed.), *De la mère du roi à l'épouse du dieu*, 19–24. An overview is given in the following lines.

[15] It is interesting to point out the difference between the excavation plan and the restoration drawing of the foundation trenches published by HÖLSCHER, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu* III, 76–7, figs 48, 50. Although the south-western foundation trench appears incomplete on the former, it is restored as if running from the rear to the front part of the building on the latter.

temple of Seti I, but, instead, an aborted architectural project. The question of the structural relations between both 'temples' was thereby answered, as it can be stated that the temple of Tuya is an original building that never was preceded by any previous monument.[16] A subsequent study of the foundation deposits also showed that the aborted project has in fact to be dated to the reign of Ramesses II.[17] Therefore, this aborted project and the temple of Tuya can be seen as two sub-phases of the same construction phase and the first phase of the temple's history, for which the following *terminus post quem* can be set: 1279 BC, that is, the first year of the reign of Ramesses II. Secondly, two connecting points between the foundation of the Ramesseum's external north-eastern wall and the pavement of Tuya's temple were identified, with the stratigraphy of one of them enabling a relative dating for the construction and destruction phases of both temples to be specified.



Figure 3: View of the uncompleted foundation trench of the planned south-western external wall of the first architectural project (Photograph © Yann Rantier/CNRS)

[16] During the excavation seasons 2014 and 2015, other sections of uncompleted foundation trenches were spotted. *Cf.* LURSON, in LURSON *et al.*, *Memnonia* 25 (2015), 118–20; LURSON, in LURSON (ed.), *De la mère du roi à l'épouse du dieu*, 22, pls. 2.2, 3.1.

[17] *Cf.* LURSON, in LURSON (ed.), *De la mère du roi à l'épouse du dieu*, 162–5; LURSON, MOUROT, EBEL, *BIFAO* 117 (forthcoming). This project is most probably to be linked with the 'first Ramesseum', an initial project modified into the 'actual Ramesseum', of which traces were observed in the reworked foundation trenches of the Ramesseum's sanctuaries by Guy Lecuyot. *Cf.* LECUYOT, *Memnonia* 11 (2001), 119–20; LECUYOT, *Memnonia* 14 (2004), 93–4. One may conclude from these observations that the 'first Ramesseum' project also included a main temple and a small temple situated on its north-eastern side. *Cf.* LURSON, in LURSON (ed.), *De la mère du roi à l'épouse du dieu*, 171–2.

The Stratigraphy of the Temple's Court, the Necropolis, and the Second Work Phase

This connecting point is situated in the court of the temple, south-west of the tomb-shaft PF1103 (figs. 2 and 4). Its underlying layers consist of a foundation block [Us 1097], still in situ in the foundation trench [Us 1096] of the wall of the Ramesseum [MR1096]. On this block lie limestone slabs [Us 1066] of the court's stone pavement [SL1066], which abutted onto the wall of the Ramesseum. This stratigraphy, the abutment of the slabs and a mortar of mud [Us 1098] used to point these slabs and the blocks of the wall together, prove that the Ramesseum and Tuya's temple belong to the same construction phase (Phase 1b).

Later on, at some point in the transformation of the temple into a necropolis, a wall of mudbrick [MR1108] was built upon the pavement of the court [SL1066]. By being situated vertically to the south-western end of the pavement, its own south-western end shows that the wall of the Ramesseum was still standing when it was built.[18] The wall MR1108 is an integral part of a funerary chapel [CFN1108], which also includes a structure of stones, mud, and mudbricks [SB1107], built upon the levelled surface [Us 1106] of one of the columns [CL1105] of the peristyle court. Other columns of this peristyle court have been levelled the same way (fig. 1), and the remains of a further stone and mud structure is still identifiable on one of them.[19] This leads to the conclusion that the peristyle court was already destroyed when the necropolis settled there, which meant that the builders just had to level the remains of some of the columns to build the funerary chapels.

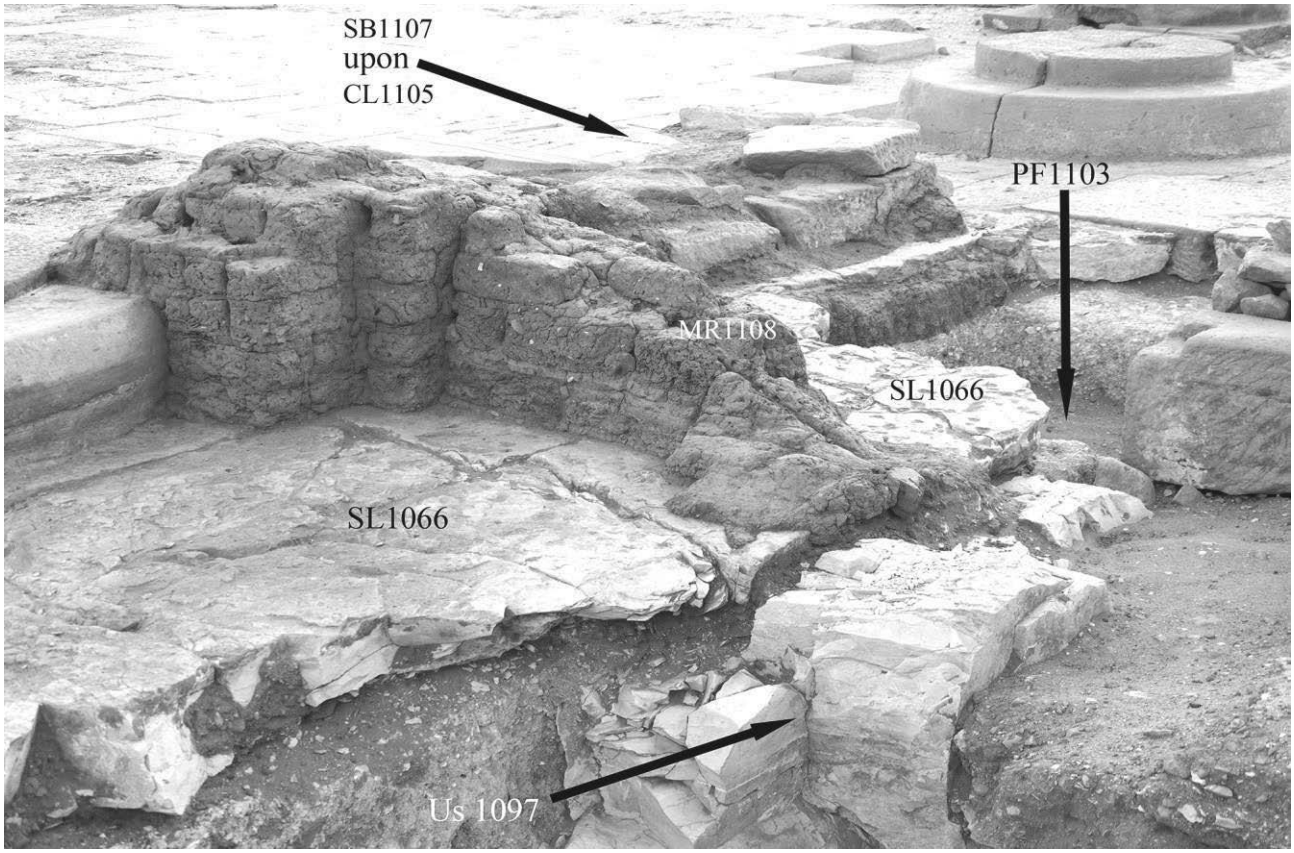


Figure 4: The intersection between the foundation trench of the external north-eastern wall of the Ramesseum MR1096, the stone pavement of the court SL1066 of Tuya's temple, and the Third Intermediate Period wall of mudbrick MR1108 (Photograph B. Lurson)

[18] Photographs taken by Guy Lecuyot in 1978, when the wall of mudbrick was better preserved, confirm the position of its south-western end. I warmly thank him for having sent me a copy of them.
[19] *Cf.* LURSON, in LURSON (ed.), *De la mère du roi à l'épouse du dieu*, 128, 185.

The stratigraphy of this connecting point thereby enables the following reconstruction of a temporal sequence for the court of temple of Tuya, which runs from its construction until the destruction of the Ramesseum:

1. Construction of Tuya's temple and of the Ramesseum;
2. Destruction of the peristyle of Tuya's temple;
3. Expansion of the necropolis in the court;
4. Destruction of the Ramesseum (at least its external north-eastern wall).

This result is very important, as it is the first time that the destruction phases of the Ramesseum and one of its 'satellite' monuments can be sequenced. In particular, that the destruction of the peristyle of the temple and of the Ramesseum clearly come under two different phases is an unexpected and worthy result, one which changes our perception of the history of the temenos. As a consequence, this temporal sequence called for an investigation of the late phases of the history of the temple. Moreover, the funerary chapel CFN1108 is part of a funerary unit EFN1103, including the tomb-shaft PF1103. Thus, when excavated, if the artefacts could date the burial, then dating the burial would also mean setting a *terminus ante quem* for the destruction of Tuya's temple, which, at the same time, would be the *terminus post quem* for the destruction of the Ramesseum. A frame of absolute dating could then be set for the phases evidenced by the stratigraphy of the connecting point. Lastly, nine tomb-shafts were uncovered during the first three seasons, a number that shows the importance of the necropolis that settled in the temple during the Third Intermediate Period.

Consequently, at the end of the 2012 season, with the question of the structural relations between the so-called temple of Seti I and Tuya's temple being resolved, the excavation of the necropolis, and, through it, the study of later phases of the temple's history, became the specific question of the second work phase.
Four axes were defined to answer it:

1. Sociological (who?): The temple of Tuya being an independent monument, one could expect the location to have been reserved to a particular category of individuals;

2. Typological (how?): For the same reason, one could expect the tomb-shafts to be of another type from those already excavated in the temenos of the Ramesseum;

3. Topographical (where?): According to the stratigraphy of the central sanctuary of the temple of Tuya,[20] the possibility for the necropolis to have 'colonised' the temple sector-after-sector was to be considered;

4. Chronological (when?): If the necropolis 'colonised' the temple sector-after-sector, then the dating of the tombs should reflect this sectorial expansion. Applied to the tomb-shaft PF1103, this objective was the link with the absolute dating issue of the construction and destruction phases of the temple and of the Ramesseum. This second work phase started in 2014 with the excavation of the tomb-shaft PF1147 (fig. 2).

The Stratigraphy of Karomama's Tomb and of the Shaft-Tomb PF1181 (by Franck Mourot)[21]

Situated in the north-eastern sanctuary of the temple, the tomb of Karomama [PF1147] was excavated during the work seasons 2014 and 2015. As for the tomb-shaft PF1181, located in the north-eastern hypostyle, it was excavated during the work season 2015 (fig. 2). The stratigraphic excavation of these tombs enables a reconstruction of their interwoven history.

The first phase of their history is the hollowing [Us 1147] of Karomama's tomb [PF1147]. Its 4.50 m deep shaft is oriented north-east/south-west and has an above average size opening (*c.* 1.60 m x 1.70 m). The funerary chamber opens in the south-western side of the shaft. Dug in a layer of aggregated sand, it is oriented north-west/south-east, with a surface of about 20 m^2 (*c.* 6.70 m x 3 m). The impressive dimensions of the tomb certainly reflect the social status of the Divine Adoratrice. Likewise, the stone pavement [Us 2016]

[20] *Cf.* LURSON, *Memnonia* 23 (2013), 162–3.
[21] For the reports on this excavation, *cf.* MOUROT, in LURSON *et al.*, *Memnonia* 25 (2015), 126–40; MOUROT, in LURSON (ed.), *De la mère du roi à l'épouse du dieu*.

covering the floor of the funerary chamber (fig. 5) is a further sign of her status, even though it may also have been aimed at stabilising the floor of a chamber dug in a layer of sand. Of the burial itself, the second phase in the tomb's history, very little remains: a layer of decomposed wood [Us 2017], but one has to add the canopic jars bought by Lepsius in 1844 along with nine ushabtis, the 209[22] fragments of ushabtis retrieved during the excavation,[23] together with fragments of inlays and pieces of metal.

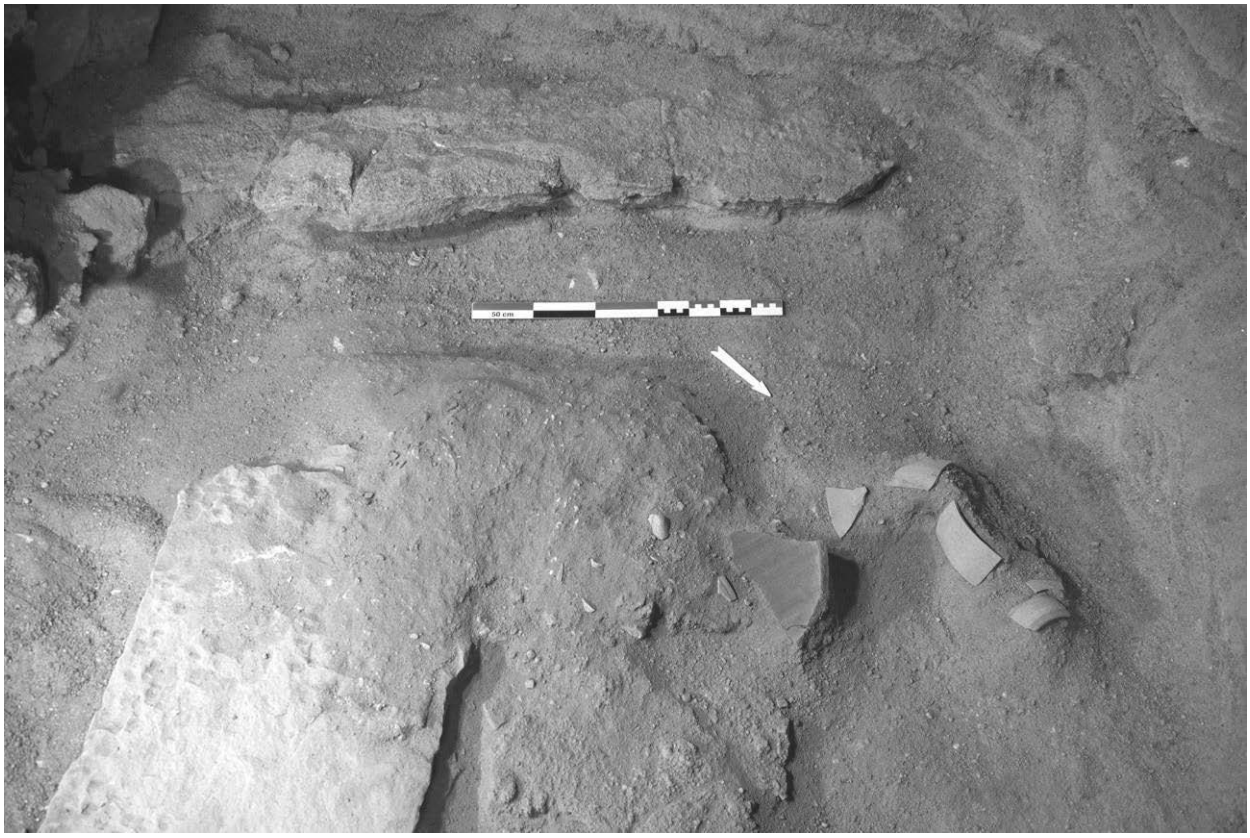


Figure 5: General view of the remains of the stone pavement (Us 2016) and of Karomama's burial (Us 2017) in situ (Photograph J.-C. Sztuka)

The third phase, the closing of the funerary chamber and the backfilling of the shaft are well documented, thanks to sealed and undisturbed layers isolated in the shaft (fig. 6). Its stratigraphy enables a reconstruction of eight sub-phases of the closing and the associated rites:

1. Construction of a door made of reused parts of column drums [Us 2014];
2. First filling layer [Us 2012], made after a cup was deposited at the bottom of the shaft, left-side of the door;
3. Hollowing of a niche [Us 2009/2009A] in the northern angle of the shaft;
4. Deposit of a jar and three miniature vessels in the niche and in front of it;
5. Filling of the niche with sand and sealing of it with mud and mudbricks;
6. Construction of a stand of reused stones, mud, and mudbricks [Us 2007];
7. Offering deposit laid upon this stand [Us 2006] (fig. 7);[24]
8. Filling of the shaft, destroyed during the looting of the tomb.

[22] A 210th fragment was found in the backfill of Hölscher's and Steckeweh's excavation [Us 1002].
[23] *Cf.* GAUTHIER, in LURSON (ed.), *De la mère du roi à l'épouse du dieu*; MOJE, in LURSON (ed.), *De la mère du roi à l'épouse du dieu*.
[24] For this deposit, *cf.* CALLOU, in LURSON (ed.), *De la mère du roi à l'épouse du dieu*. Let us highlight the presence of dogs among the mammals constituting the deposit.

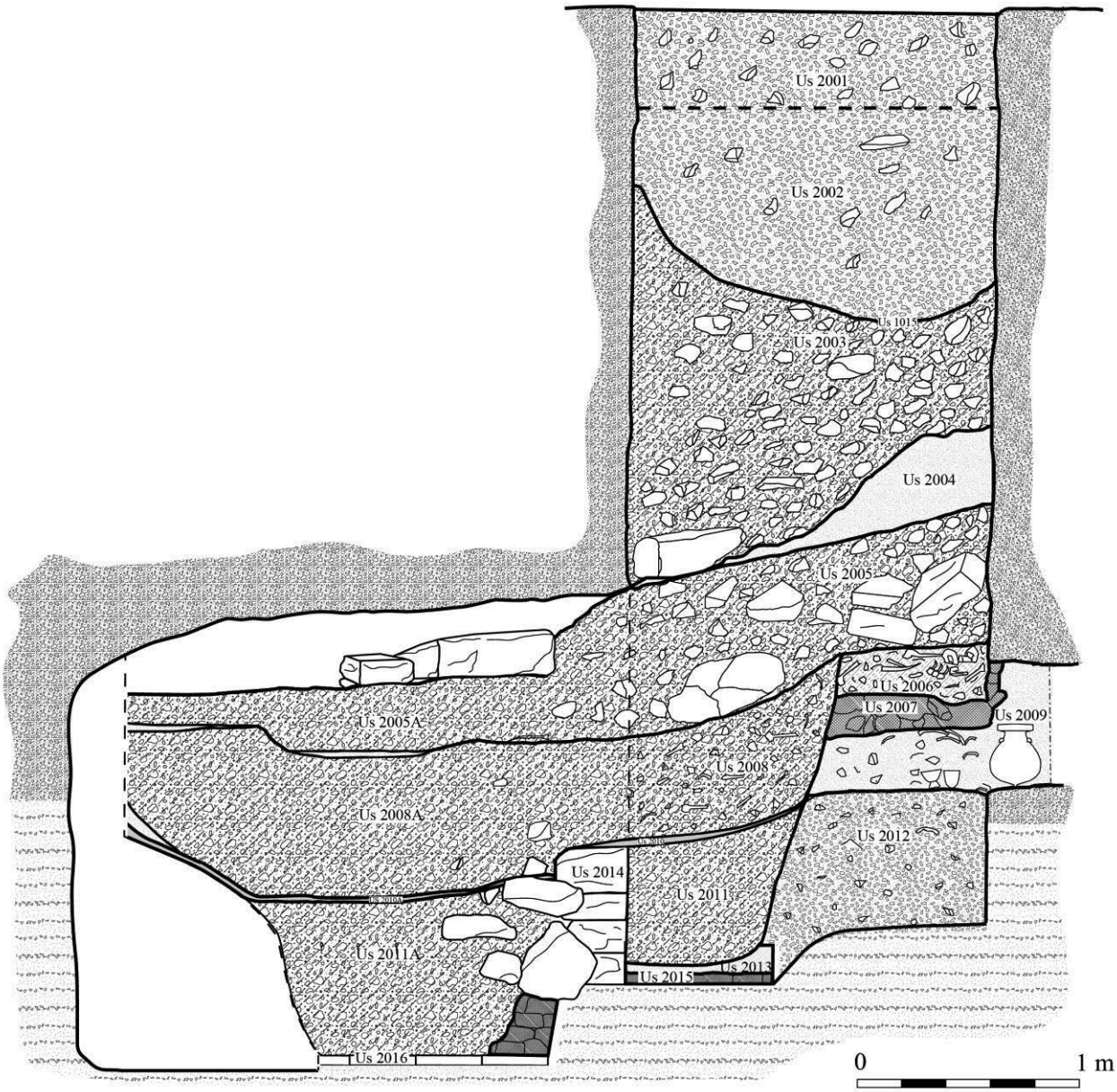


Figure 6: The shaft and the funerary chamber of Karomama's tomb (PF1147): North-eastern/south-western section (Drawn record/CAD F. Mourot/J.-C. Sztuka 2014/2015)

The uncovering of these layers is of great value. It not only provides an insight on the funerary rites, but also renews the typo-chronology of the pottery mixed up in these sealed contexts. Based on reliefs at Karnak, a *terminus post quem* for the burial of Karomama can indeed be set in 840 BC,[25] a historical dating that can be used for dating the abundant sherds. As a matter of fact, some of them happen to belong to types thought to be much later than the second half of the ninth century/first half of the eighth century BC.[26]

Later on, a tomb-shaft was hollowed out in the north-eastern hypostyle [PF1181]. The stratigraphic study of this tomb showed that it was constructed after the Divine Adoratrice had been buried. It could indeed be observed that the central part of the north-western wall of PF1181's funerary chamber, also dug in a layer of aggregated sand, collapsed into the funerary chamber of Karomama during its construction (fig. 8). It does not seem that her funerary chamber has been reoccupied after this upsurge, but it is very probably at this

[25] *Cf.* JW*IS* II, 160 [nr. 2]; MOUROT, in LURSON *et al.*, *Memnonia* 25 (2015), 126–7 for this *terminus post quem*.
[26] *Cf.* EBEL, in LURSON (ed.), *De la mère du roi à l'épouse du dieu*.

occasion that her ushabtis were systematically broken, mainly in three parts [Us 2018]: feet, legs, and torso+head (fig. 9), or feet+legs, torso and head. The tomb PF1181 was subsequently used, as shown by remains of the burial [Us 2112 and Us 2113] and of the blockage of mudbricks at the bottom of the shaft [Us 2105].



Figure 7: General view of the offering deposit (Us 2006) (Photograph F. Mourot)

In the history of both tombs, the next phase is their looting. The purchase by Lepsius of the aforementioned artefacts indicate that the tomb had been looted in 1844 at the latest, whilst the fragment of a Turkish pipe found in the looters' filling layer Us 2003 shows it was looted after 1820. Three sub-phases of this looting can be specified. Firstly, the looters emptied the shaft [Us 1060 and Us 1148], until they reached the door, of which they dismantled the uppermost layers [Us 2005, Us 2008, and Us 2011]. Part of the rubble was left in the north-eastern part of the shaft, sealing a portion of the ninth century offering deposit and the layers underneath. Secondly, three ditches [Us 2021/2021A, Us 2022/2026, and Us 2023/2025] were dug in the chamber, in order to probe and loot. A gallery [Us 2020] was also excavated, in search for potential neighbouring tombs. Thirdly, once the looting was over, the shaft was backfilled [Us 2003 and Us 2004]. The looting of the tomb-shaft PF1181 follows the same steps, with the probe ditches [Us 2106/2107 and Us 2108/2109], a 2 m long gallery [Us 2111], and the backfill of the shaft [Us 2102, Us 2103, and Us 2104]. That both tombs have been looted by the same team and at the same time is proven by fragments of Karomama's ushabtis found in the filling of the ditches of PF1181's funerary chamber [Us 2106/2107].

Finally, the last phase of the history of those tombs before the excavation seasons 2014/2015 is the 1931 excavation, when the uppermost part of both shafts has been emptied [Us 1015] and refilled [Us 1146, Us 2001 = Us 2002, and Us 2101].



Figure 8: View of the collapsed part of the south-eastern wall of Karomama's funerary chamber (Photograph J.-C. Sztuka)

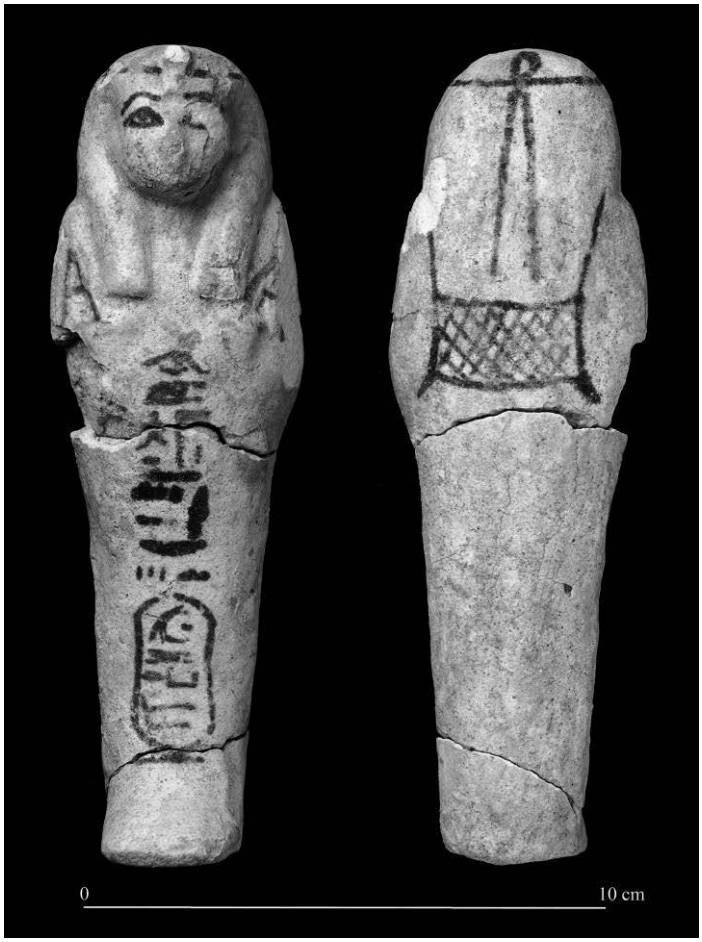


Figure 9: A reconstructed ushabti of Karomama broken in three parts (Photograph Yann Rantier/CNRS)

The following Harris matrix presents the stratigraphic relationship between the contexts of Karomama's tomb and of the tomb-shaft PF1181 (diagram 1).[27]

To sum up, the stratigraphic excavation of the tomb of Karomama [PF1147] and of the tomb-shaft PF1181 allows to distinguish sealed and undisturbed contexts from the looters' backfills and to reconstruct the phases of their interwoven history. It also enables a reconstruction of funerary rites, as well as the outlining of an archaeology of the looting.

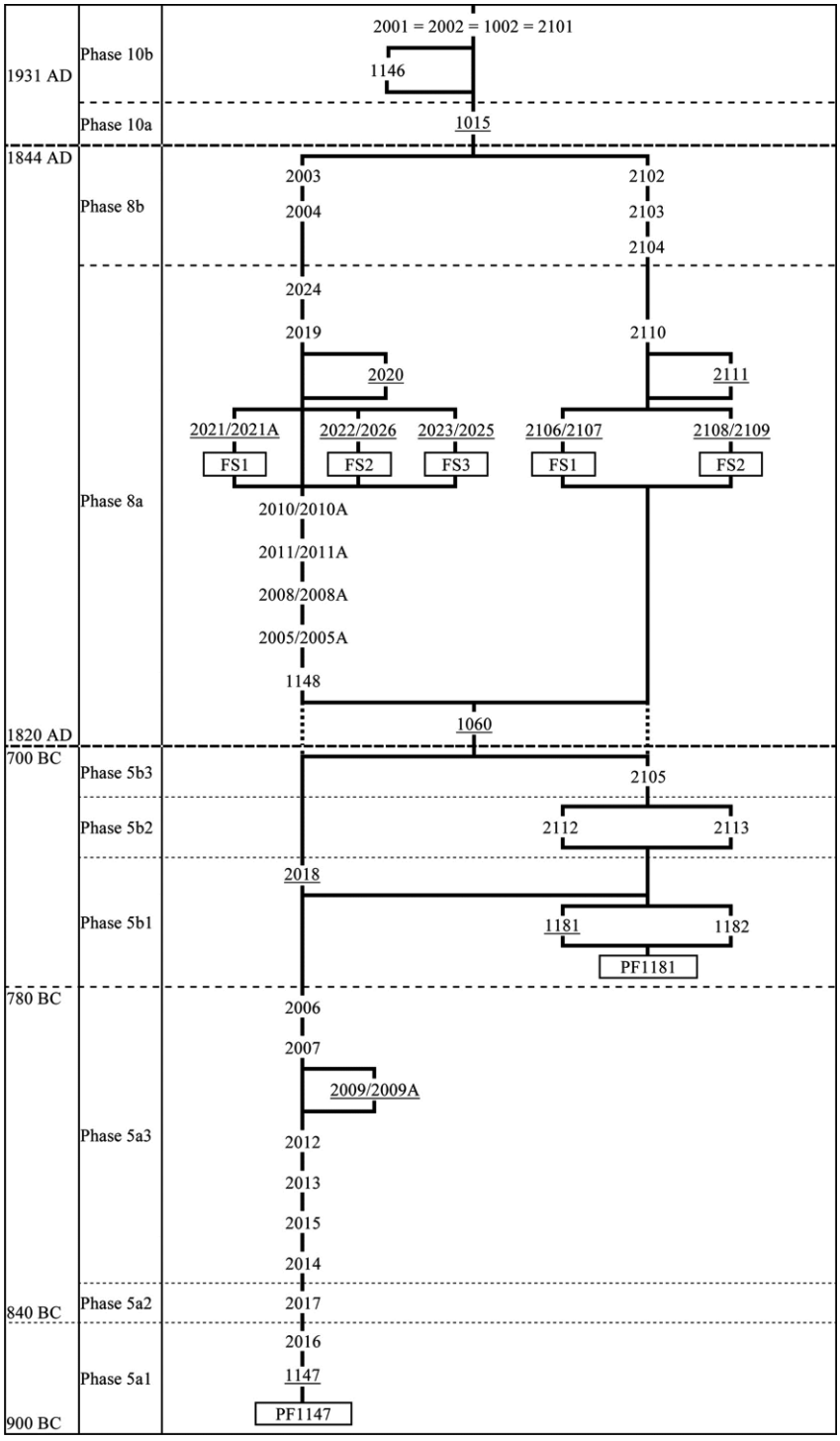


Diagram 1: Harris matrix for the tomb-shafts PF1147 (Karomama's tomb) and PF1181

[27] For the list of the phases and explicative notes to their absolute dating, see the annex at the end of this paper. For the list of the contexts, *cf.* MOUROT, in LURSON (ed.), *De la mère du roi à l'épouse du dieu*, 79–80.

The Sociology of the Necropolis, its Two-Phase Expansion, and the Earthquake

In addition to the reconstruction of their history, the excavation of Karomama's tomb and of the tomb-shaft PF1181 also brought a first set of answers to the questions driving the study of the necropolis. Firstly, concerning the sociological question (who?), the burial of the Divine Adoratrice shows that the temple of Tuya was chosen for a priestess of a very high social status. Yet, it also shows that this question has to be supplemented with issues of gender archaeology. Secondly, the above average size of Karomama's tomb is in accordance with her status, in contrast to the regular size of the tomb PF1181, answering the typological question (how?). With regard to the third and fourth questions (where and when?), by showing that the tomb-shaft PF1181 was hollowed out in the north-eastern hypostyle after Karomama was buried, this excavation may support the hypothesis of a sector-after-sector expansion of the necropolis. For checking on this hypothesis and pursuing the study of the necropolis, two further tombs were excavated in 2015: the tomb-shaft PF1013, also situated in the north-eastern sanctuary, and the tomb-shaft PF1103, located in the court (fig. 2).[28]

As for the sociology of the necropolis, the identity of the deceased could be established with some degree of certainty only for the tomb-shaft PF1013, thanks to an ushabti inscribed on the back. The reading of the name remains uncertain, but the title seems to indicate that the tomb was built for a king's daughter (fig. 10).[29] Since the tomb-shaft PF1013 was hollowed out in the north-eastern sanctuary like Karomama's tomb (fig. 2), the presence of the Divine Adoratrice may have been a factor for the choice of this princess' place of burial. Actually, the choice by Karomama to place her own tomb within a temple dedicated to two of the most prestigious New Kingdom royal women, likely proceeds from the (same) intention to fall within a line of prominent and authoritative royal women.[30] In this phase of its history, the temple of Tuya may therefore have functioned as a 'repository' for royal women and a source of inspiration for Karomama.

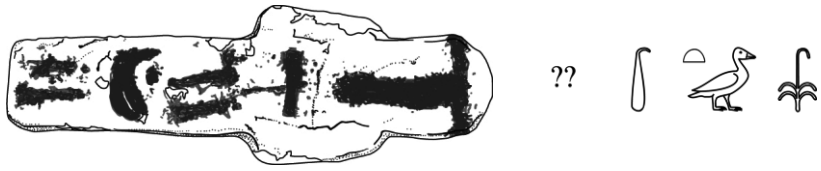


Figure 10: Drawing of the back of the ushabti found in the ushabti box in the tomb-shaft PF1013 and proposed transcription of the title and name in hieroglyphs (Drawing A. Stoll)

For dating the burials, the remains of the funerary material found in stratigraphic contexts proving that they originally belonged to the tomb have been exploited. They are pottery, coffins,[31] ushabtis, beads, etc. The respective typo-chronologies of these finds have been compared with each other, and the period of time during which all of them are attested was considered the most probable period to which the burial dates. The constitutive parts of these burial assemblages have then been considered in their synchronicity, not in their diachronies. In the case of the tomb-shaft PF1181, its construction after the burial of Karomama was also a

[28] For the excavation reports, *cf.* LURSON, in LURSON (ed.), *De la mère du roi à l'épouse du dieu*, 127–42; SZTUKA, in LURSON (ed.), *De la mère du roi à l'épouse du dieu*.

[29] For a discussion on the identity of this king's daughter, who might be Tentsai B, daughter of Osorkon III, unless it is Tentsai, mother of Karomama, *cf.* LURSON, in LURSON (ed.), *De la mère du roi à l'épouse du dieu*, 178–9.

[30] Unless she was not the first of the Twenty-second Dynasty Divine Adoratrices to have chosen the temple of Tuya as her place of burial, as Kenneth Griffin rightly points out to me (personal communication), so that she herself followed the choice of a predecessor. For the Ramesseum area as the burial place of Qedmerut in particular, and other Divine Adoratrices in general, based on the provenance of their ushabtis, *cf.* GRIFFIN, in LURSON (ed.) *De la mère du roi à l'épouse du dieu*, 148–9.

[31] It is noteworthy that the coffins in all tombs and the ushabti box in the tomb PF1013 had decomposed and were 'transformed' into sand, although paint and varnish(?) were still partially in position.

chronological factor to be considered. Based on these elements, the burial of the tomb-shaft PF1013 can be dated *a minima* between 775 BC and 725 BC, those of the tomb-shafts PF1181 and PF1103 between 750 BC and 725 BC.[32]

These results show that the necropolis settled in both the north-eastern hypostyle and the court of the temple around the same time.[33] Firstly, this leads to discard the hypothesis of a spatial sector-after-sector expansion of the necropolis, to replace it by the hypothesis of a two-phase expansion, the first one during the ninth century BC, and the second around 750 BC. Secondly, the dating of the burial in the tomb-shaft PF1103 allows to set a frame of absolute dating for the temporal sequence of the court's connecting point, by showing that the peristyle of the court was destroyed around 750 BC at the latest. According to these results, the following Harris matrix can be designed (diagram 2).

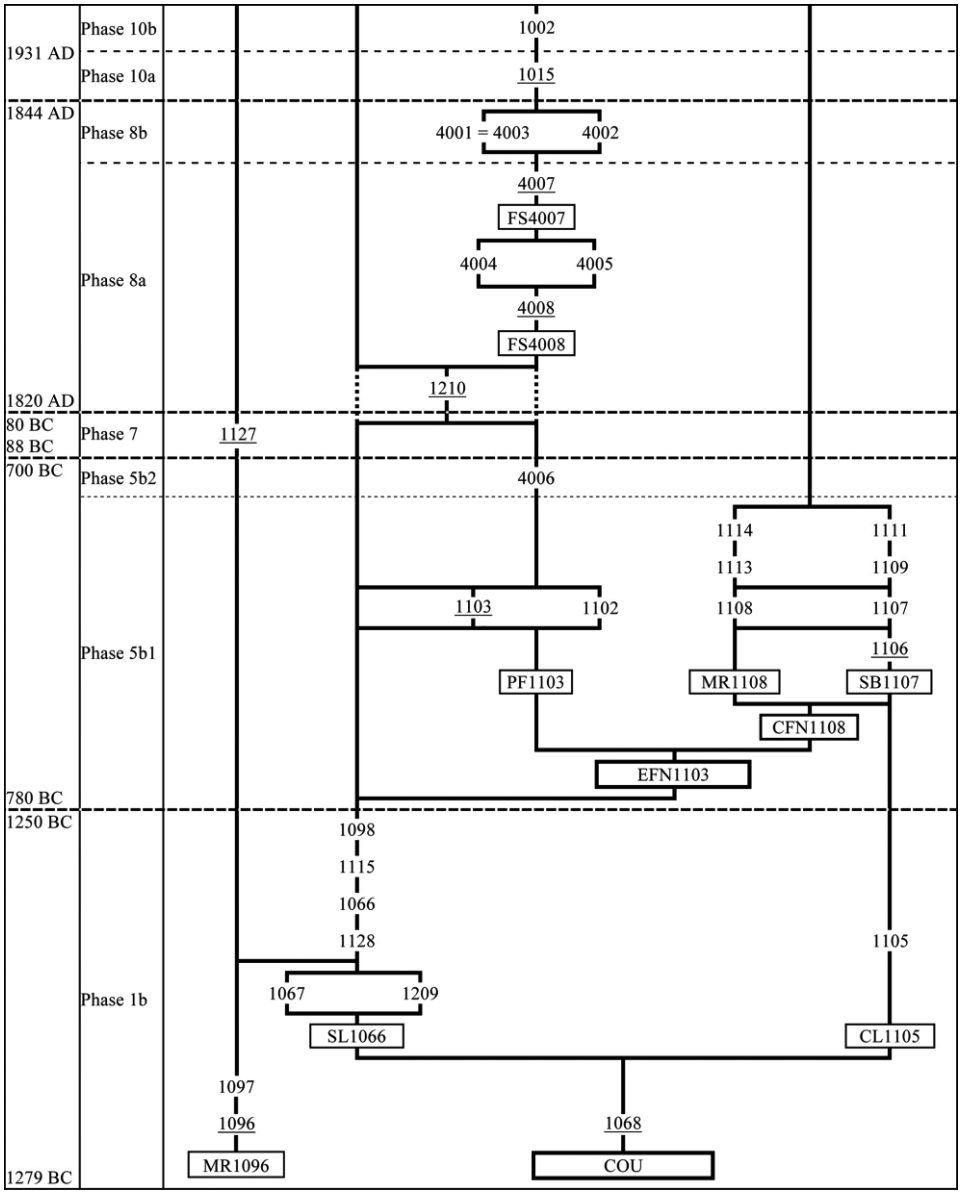


Diagram 2: Excerpt from the Harris matrix for the north-eastern external wall of the Ramesseum MR1096, the court of the temple COU, and the funerary unit EFN1103

[32] For dating the burial in the tomb-shaft PF1103, sherds coming from the structure SB1107 were added to the ushabtis.
[33] According to the dating of the pottery retrieved in the looting layer [Us 1040], the tomb-shaft PF1024 hollowed out in the central sanctuary of the temple (pl. 2) is probably to date to the same period of time, which could show that the necropolis also expanded in this room at the same time as in the north-eastern hypostyle and in the court.

Showing that the peristyle of the court was already destroyed in the eighth century BC is an unexpected and important result. The dismantling of the monuments of the temenos is indeed usually dated *en bloc* to the Ptolemaic Period, when they were used as stone quarries for building other monuments, in particular the extensions of the Small Temple of Medinet Habu, where blocks coming from the temple of Tuya have indeed been reused.[34] A destruction as early as the eighth century BC obviously does not fit with this view, which, at the opposite, can explain the later dismantlement of the north-eastern external wall MR1096 of the Ramesseum, such as observed in the sequence of the court's connecting point (*cf.* diagram 2; Phase 7; Us 1127). Which event could explain such an early destruction? As an explanation, I propose to see in that destruction the consequence of the earthquake that struck the West Bank between 1200 BC and 900 BC, which archaeoseismological studies conducted in the frame of the 'Colossi of Memnon and Amenhotep III Temple Conservation Project' highlighted.[35] One may even see in the damages resulting from this earthquake to the Ramesseum and to the temple of Tuya, one of the reasons, if not the main reason, for their transformation into a necropolis during the ninth century at the latest for the temple of Tuya.

From Fieldwork to Interpretation: The Temple of Tuya and the Spaces of the West Bank

Fieldwork is the foundation of archaeology. But archaeology also defines itself through a methodology and an interpretive frame. Thus, what kind of archaeology does a stratigraphic excavation define, when applied to a site such as the temple of Tuya? By isolating the undisturbed contexts from the looting layers like in Karomama's tomb, it allows to separate pottery for the last use of which a historical dating can be used, therefore enriching typo-chronological studies. But it also lays the foundations of an archaeology of looting, enlightening, for example, the techniques used by the looters. Among the lessons to be learned from these techniques, the fact that undisturbed contexts can be preserved at the bottom of the shafts is worth being considered. In the temple, by isolating the backfill of the 1931 excavation and handling it as any other layer, it also initiated an archaeology of archaeology. Thus, the daily-life of our predecessors and their workers can be glimpsed at through the material mixed up in this layer, such as newspapers, leftovers, soap wrappings, etc. But, it also enables a study of their methods in relation to their objectives, for instance through a comparison between the real extent of the excavation and its published plan. This helps us to understand why certain layers have been left untouched and others dismantled, bringing very useful information to try to reconstruct a destroyed stratigraphy. Therefore, on sites like the temple of Tuya, looting layers or the backfill of previous excavations should certainly not be regarded as 'disturbed contexts' and dismantled without further care, not only because isolating them means isolating undisturbed contexts, but above all because they are parts of the history of such sites. Excavating the temple of Tuya along the lines of a stratigraphic excavation then defines a kind of total archaeology, which considers every aspect of the site's history and function(s) on a timescale as long as possible. Moreover, by implementing that kind of archaeology, it becomes possible to consider the site's history and function(s) in spatial terms.

Even though the implemented methodology is a proven one, reliable and scientifically founded, it cannot answer all questions. For example, to interpret the choice by Karomama of one of the sanctuaries of Tuya's temple as her place of burial, the person of King's Mother Tuya, who also bore the title of 'God's wife', is a possible motivation that did not leave any trace in the stratigraphy of the site. Likewise, the two-phase expansion of the necropolis, with the first phase during the ninth century and the second around 750 BC, seems to suggest a broadening of the sociology of the necropolis, as can be observed in the stratigraphy, but not explained by it. A reason for the opening of the area of the temple of Tuya to other social classes could in-

[34] For the whole discussion summed up in this paragraph, *cf.* LURSON, in LURSON (ed.), *De la mère du roi à l'épouse du dieu*, 183–7; above, the introduction, with n. 5 for bibliography.
[35] *Cf.* KARAKHANYAN, AVAGYAN, in LEBLANC, ZAKI (eds.), *Les temples de millions*, 266; KARAKHANYAN, AVAGYAN, SOUROUZIAN, in SINTUBIN *et al.* (eds.), *Ancient Earthquakes*, 213–4, fig. 13; SOUROUZIAN *et al.*, *ASAE* 85 (2011), 298.

deed be the transfer of the necropolis of the Divine Adoratrices to Medinet Habu under Shepenwepet I, then considered a better place for these God's Wives to be buried than the temple of some royal women of the ancient Nineteenth Dynasty. Whether this transfer can be explained by an evolution of funerary architecture, the will to break free from the Divine Adoratrices of the Twenty-second Dynasty, or the importance taken by the liturgies of the Medinet Habu Eighteenth Dynasty Temple, or all of them, still needs to be clarified, but are in any case socio-cultural reasons. As an interpretive frame for such changes, of which the socio-cultural dimension is dominant, one can propose the notion of 'spaces'.

In this interpretive frame, each phase of the history of the temple can be associated with at least one kind of space. Thus, the choice by the Divine Adoratrices of Tuya's temple as a place of burial, then of Medinet Habu, can be interpreted in terms of a transfer of the centre of their 'gender space', or in terms of a shift from a 'gender space' towards another kind of space, as they leave a temple specially built for women. Likewise, the 'disappearance' of a temple of Seti I supposed to have preceded the temple of Tuya, has obvious consequences for the early Nineteenth Dynasty architectural landscape of the West Bank of Thebes, the architectural side of its 'religious space'. As for the destruction of the peristyle court in the eighth century BC at the latest, such as explained by the earthquake that struck the West Bank between 1200 BC and 900 BC, the latter can be seen as its 'environmental space'. Lastly, the grave-robbing conducted in the temple of Tuya can be investigated as an element of its nineteenth century 'socio-economical space' and 'colonialist space'. Thus, over time, different spaces combine and succeed each other on the West Bank of Thebes, whereas the very notion of space has the advantage of being adaptable to socio-cultural features as well as environmental realities. It allows thereby a holistic approach of the site in both its synchronicity and diachrony.

Within this multi-spaced interpretation model, the excavation of Tuya's temple defines an archaeology of interwoven spaces, of which the monument can be the centre, or be at its periphery, in which it can be a portion, like in the twentieth century 'archaeological space', or a part, when it comes to the 'environmental space', or even be all of it, when the temple was Karomama's 'funerary space'. Within this interpretive frame, the very notion of 'site' can be reassessed, as the 'religious space' of the New Kingdom or the 'funerary space' of the Third Intermediate Period is limited neither to the temple of Tuya nor the Ramesseum, but extends up to the whole Western Bank of Thebes.[36]

Annex: List of the Phases of the Temple of Tuya's History and Explicative Notes to their Absolute Dating

The following list of the phases of the history of the temple of Tuya and the explicative notes to their absolute dating are mainly based on the results of the previous and present excavations of the temple, but also on epigraphical and iconographical data given by the blocks reused in the Small Temple of Medinet Habu as well as the results of archaeoseismological studies. Therefore, this list results from both an inductive and deductive process, inasmuch as, for example, some phases are not archaeologically attested by the excavation in its present state, but deducted from other phases evidenced by it and by external data. It is not possible to go any further into the details of this interpretive part in this paper. This list does not intend to be exhaustive either. There are indeed huge chronological gaps between some of the listed phases that may not have remained 'blank'. For example, it cannot be excluded that the Coptic occupation phase of the

[36] For a general overview of the extension of the Third Intermediate Period necropolis on the West Bank of Thebes, *cf.* PM I/2[2] (Western Bank of Thebes); COPPENS, in WILKINSON, WEEKS, *The Oxford Handbook of the Valley of the Kings*, 470, 477 (Valley of the Kings); for recent discoveries and excavation of tombs of the Third Intermediate Period, *cf.* http://www.cefb.it/diario15.htm and BELLANDI, DE MARZO, BENAZZI, SESANA, in IKRAM, KAISER, WALKER, *Egyptian Bioarchaeology*, 20 (Temple of Amenhotep II); BICKEL, in AMENTA, GUICHARD (eds.), *Proceedings First Vatican Coffin Conference*, 88 in particular, for the mention of the Ramesseum (Valley of the Kings). I am indebted to Kenneth Griffin for having provided me with a copy of the article by Bickel.

Ramesseum, attested by burials along the south-western side of Tuya's temple,[37] may be evidenced at some future point of the excavation by still to be uncovered layers. In sum, this list is likely to change. After all, it reflects a work in progress.

List of the Phases:

Phase 1: Construction of the temple
- Phase 1a: Aborted architectural project
- Phase 1b: Temple of Tuya and Ramesseum

Phase 2: Occupation of the temple

Phase 3: Destruction by earthquake of the temple

Phase 4: Abandonment of the temple

Phase 5: Transformation of the temple into a necropolis
- Phase 5a: Assignment of the temple to the Divine Adoratrice(s)
  - Phase 5a1: Construction of the tomb-shaft
  - Phase 5a2: Burial of Karomama
  - Phase 5a3: Closing of the tomb-shaft
- Phase 5b: Opening of the necropolis to other members of Amun's priesthood
  - Phase 5b1: Construction of the tomb-shafts
  - Phase 5b2: Burials
  - Phase 5b3: Closing of the tomb-shafts

Phase 6: Abandonment of the necropolis

Phase 7: Dismantlement of the temple

Phase 8: Looting of the necropolis
- Phase 8a: Digging and removal of the funerary material
- Phase 8b: Backfilling of the tomb-shafts

Phase 9: Modern occupation of the temple

Phase 10: Hölscher's and Steckeweh's excavation
- Phase 10a: Excavating
- Phase 10b: Backfilling

Explicative Notes to the Absolute Dating of the Phases:

Phase 1:

1279 BC: Since the aborted project can be dated from the reign of Ramesses II, his first year of reign can be set as the *terminus post quem* for the construction phase of Tuya's temple (see above).

1250 BC: Among all the blocks coming from the temple of Tuya, the version of the king's birth name *Rᶜ-mś-św-mr*(*y*)*-Ỉmn* is attested on only one, showing that the construction and the decoration of the temple was achieved at the very latest at the end of the third decade of his reign.

Phase 5a:

840 BC: The depiction of Karomama in one of the chapels at Karnak allows for setting the *terminus post quem* for her burial (phase 5a2) in 840 BC (see above, n. 25, for bibliography). Whether the Divine Adoratrice just took office or was already long in office when this depiction of her was made, is unknown. Therefore, sixty years have been considered a reasonable period of time to set the *terminus post quem* for the construction of her tomb (phase 5a1), that is 900 BC, and the *terminus ante quem* for her burial and the closing of her tomb (phase 5a2 and phase 5a3), that is 780 BC.

[37] *Cf.* MACKE, *Memnonia* 25 (2013).

Phase 5b:

The dating of the retrieved artefacts of the other excavated tomb-shafts allow for dating the burials around 750 BC (Phase 5b2; see above). This dating is not contradicted by the *terminus ante quem* for the closing of Karomama's tomb: 780 BC (Phase 5a3). The latest can consequently serve as an acceptable *terminus post quem* for the construction phase of these tombs (phase 5b1). The dating of the funerary material also shows that the burials are certainly not later than the end of the eighth century BC, allowing for setting the *terminus ante quem* for the closing of the burials of this phase (phase 5b3) in 700 BC.

Phase 7:

The dates proposed for this phase are those of the reign of Ptolemy IX Soter II, whose name is engraved on the door of the pylon of the Small Temple at Medinet Habu, built with reused blocks coming from Tuya's temple.[38] Nevertheless, the latter may have been dismantled by earlier and/or later Ptolemaic kings, so that the indicated period of time should not be considered definitive.

Phase 8:

For the *terminus post quem* and the *terminus ante quem* of the looting phase, see above.

Phase 10:

The absolute dating of Hölscher's and Steckeweh's excavation is provided by the excavation reports and confirmed by two fragmentary newspapers dated from February 16, 1931, which were mixed up in the backfill of the excavation [Us 1002].

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank the editors of the proceedings of the conference *Thebes in the First Millennium BC 2016*, for having accepted to publish this contribution despite the fact that we could not attend it. We would also like to warmly thank Kenneth Griffin for improving our English. However, any anomalies that remain are entirely our own.

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[38] *Cf.* LURSON, in LURSON (ed.), *De la mère du roi à l'épouse du dieu*, 183–5.

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The Third Intermediate Period and Late Period Burials to the West of the South Asasif Necropolis: Polish Excavations in the Tombs MMA 1151 and 1152

Marta Kaczanowicz

Abstract

Tombs MMA 1151 and 1152, located on an unnamed hill south-west of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, are currently under investigation by the Polish archaeological mission. They were hewn in the Middle Kingdom for officials related to the owner of the unfinished royal mortuary complex in the nearby valley. Both tombs were reused many times since then, as a place of numerous burials during the Pharaonic era and finally as a hermitage in Coptic times. Particularly interesting are the burials of members of the Theban elite from the beginning of the Late Period (Twenty-fifth–Twenty-sixth Dynasty). New architectural features of the tombs, which were added in this period, as well as the character of grave goods, indicate that the burials in tombs MMA 1151 and 1152 were not for ordinary citizens of Thebes. It seems that the location of the tombs at the rear of the South Asasif necropolis is an important factor in this respect.

History of Research

Since 2003, the Polish Archaeological Mission at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna directed by Tomasz Górecki has been conducting research on an unnamed hillock situated between Sheikh Abd-el Qurna and Deir el-Medina (fig. 1). Surprisingly, the small hill, surrounded on all sides by famous Theban monuments, had received very little scholarly attention in the past. Of some interest for early explorers was the Coptic hermitage, located on the hill, which 'gives one the impression of being a smaller replica of the Epiphanius monastery',[1] as stated by Winlock and Crum in their publication on the aforementioned monastery in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna.[2] The excavation of the hermitage was the primary aim of the first seasons of works by the Polish expedition.[3] In 2015, a new project was initiated, this time focusing on the study of the original Pharaonic structures.[4]

The hill borders the Valley of the Colours[5] (sometimes also referred to as 'the Second and Third Valley',[6] or 'La Vallée du Dernier Mentouhotep'[7]) from the south, thus being located at the westernmost part of the South Asasif necropolis.[8] Four tombs were hewn into the cliff of the hill: MMA 1151 (on the northern slope), MMA 1152 (on the eastern slope) and two more (unnumbered) both on the eastern slope of the hill and abandoned at a very early stage of completion. One could expect the presence of more tombs on the northern face of the hill, and indeed on archival photographs taken by Winlock's expedition working in the valley in the 1920s, there seems to be an outline of a courtyard visible (fig. 2). This part of the hill is today completely covered with debris and only future excavations can provide an answer.

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[1] WINLOCK, CRUM, *Monastery of Epiphanius*, 11.
[2] The monastery of Epiphanius was located in a tomb of a Vizier Dagi, dated to the Eleventh Dynasty (TT 103).
[3] Reports of these works are published in CHUDZIK, *ŚSA* 55 (2013); GÓRECKI, *PAM* 15 (2004); GÓRECKI, *PAM* 16 (2005); GÓRECKI, *PAM* 17 (2007); GÓRECKI, *PAM* 19 (2010); GÓRECKI, *PAM* 20 (2011); GÓRECKI, *PAM* 22 (2013); GÓRECKI, SZPAKOWSKA, *PAM* 18 (2008). All the above-mentioned volumes of *PAM* are available online on http://www.pcma.uw.edu.pl/en/pam-journal/.
[4] The pharaonic project is directed by Dr. Andrzej Ćwiek.
[5] This name is commonly used by the inhabitants of modern Qurna.
[6] PM I/2^2: 668. The two valleys (the Second and Third) are in fact one *wadi*, separated by a mountain ridge.
[7] PEDEN, *Graffiti*, map 8.
[8] PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif*; PISCHIKOVA, (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif. New Discoveries*.



Fig. 1: South Asasif and its neighbourhood, Western Thebes (© 2015 Google Inc, used with permission. Google and the Google logo are registered trademarks of Google Inc. Processed by Piotr Witkowski)

Although the tombs were never published, MMA 1151 was certainly excavated by Winlock and its plan and description of the finds can be found in his notes.[9] The shaft of MMA 1152 remained unexcavated during Winlock's exploration of the site. Shortly after, most probably in the 1930s,[10] some excavation took place in MMA 1152. Who exactly excavated the tomb and when remains a mystery. The position of the two tombs is marked on the plan published in the *Topographical Bibliography*,[11] although only MMA 1151 is mentioned (briefly) in the text.[12]

Both MMA 1151 and 1152 must have been cut simultaneously or within a short period of time, perhaps the turn of Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasty. Most probably, the two other tombs—even though their construction was abandoned soon after they had started—belong to the same chronological phase. No names of the tomb owners are known; the only decorated surfaces inside are Coptic paintings and texts. The two main

[9] With courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Winlock's unpublished notes were made available to Dr. Andrzej Ćwiek, present deputy director of the mission.
[10] The mixed material in the shaft contained a number of objects dated to this time.
[11] PM I/2[2], plan V.
[12] PM I/2[2], 668.

tombs were reused during later times and subsequently looted. The largest group of finds, apart from remains coming from the Coptic hermitage, can be dated to the First Millennium BC.



Fig. 2: The Valley of Colours in 1922 (Arnold, *MMJ* 26 (1991), fig. 3)

Architecture

The original architecture of MMA 1152 (fig. 3) has been recently discussed by Chudzik[13] and is thus beyond the scope of this paper. It is worth recalling, however, that both MMA 1151 and 1152 have a very similar plan: a long corridor leading to a rectangular chamber, with a shaft located in its central part, which provides access to the burial complex (Arnold IIB, Kampp IIIA).[14] The depth of the shafts varies: in MMA 1152, exploration of which was completed in March 2016, the shaft's depth is 18.5 m, while the depth of the yet unexcavated shaft of MMA 1151 is at least 25.36 m (distance measured from the opening of the shaft to the upper level of debris layer).[15] Another interesting feature of the original architecture of MMA 1152 is the presence of a chamber for models, analogous to the one found in the tomb of Meketre (TT 280).[16]

The excavation of the shaft of MMA 1152, completed in 2016, confirmed the previous suspicion that the tomb had never been finished. The vertical shaft ends with a small chamber from which another corridor, this time sloping downwards, presumably should lead to a proper burial chamber. The corridor, however, suddenly ends after approximately 4 m. Some attempts were made to smooth the surface of the walls but results of this are only visible in the slanted corridor rather than the chamber at the bottom of the shaft (fig. 4).

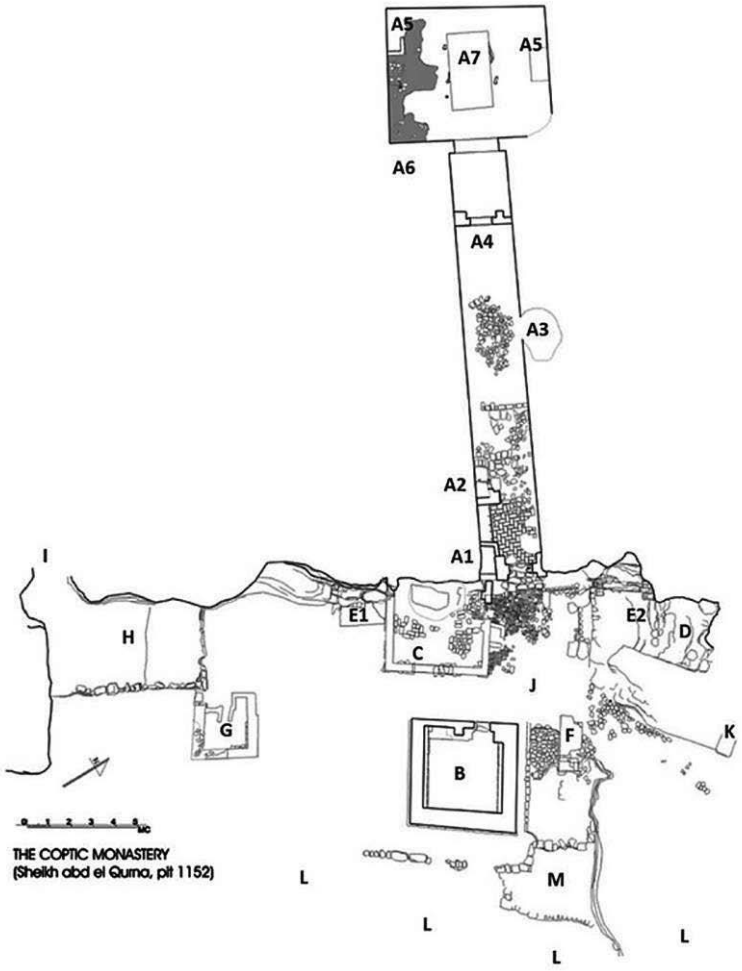


Fig. 3: Plan of the Coptic hermitage in MMA 1152 (drawing by Małgorzata Czapińska)

[13] CHUDZIK, *PAM* 22 (2013).
[14] ARNOLD, *Jnj-jtj.f*, 46–7; KAMPP-SEYFRIED, in STRUDWICK, TAYLOR (eds.), *Theban Necropolis*, 4.
[15] This is in agreement with Winlock's notes, according to which the depth of the shaft is *c*. 26 m.
[16] CHUDZIK, *PAM* 22 (2013),197.



Fig. 4: The corridor in the underground part of MMA 1152 after exploration (photo by Marcin Romaniuk)

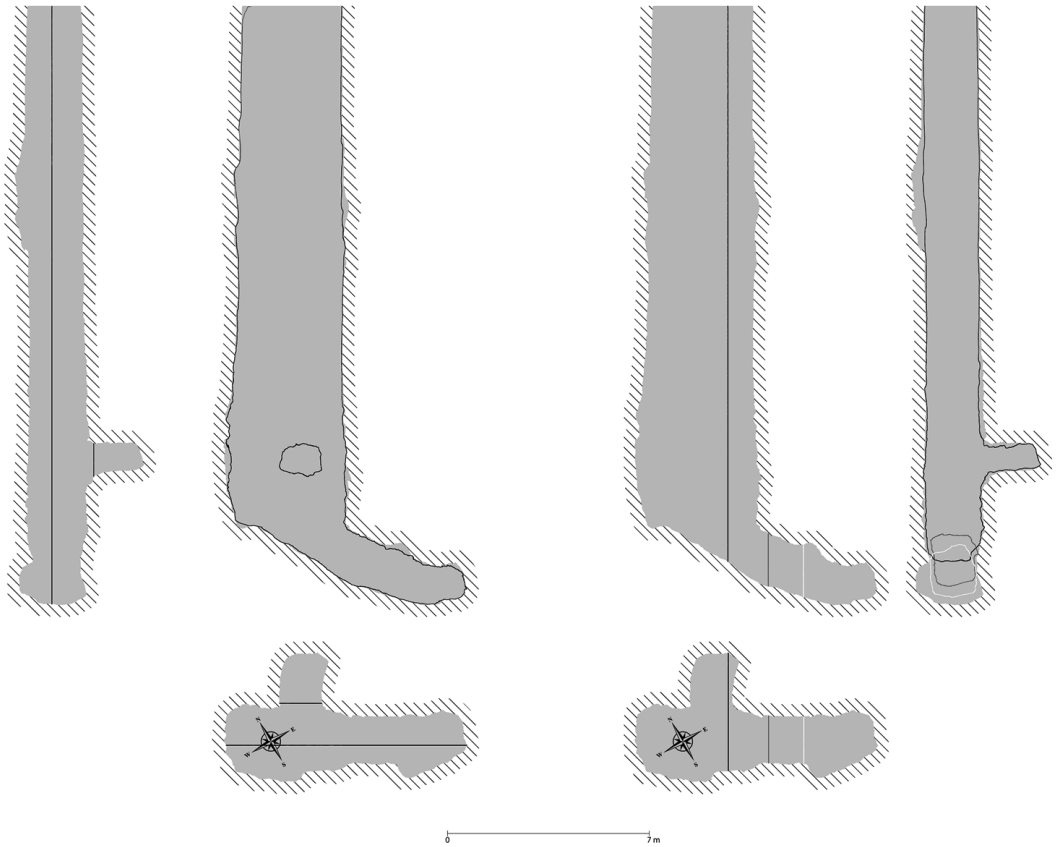


Fig. 5: Vertical section of the main shaft in MMA 1152 (drawing by Piotr Witkowski)

The question of whether the tomb was indeed used during the Middle Kingdom emerges, particularly as the pottery study strongly indicates that some kind of burial must have taken place in the tomb at that time.[17] There can be no doubt, judging from the funerary equipment, that the tomb was reused extensively during the First Millennium BC for multiple burials. Reusing older tombs was a popular practice during the Third Intermediate and Late Periods.[18] There are a number of architectural elements, likely added in later periods, which were possibly intended for new 'tenants'.

When trying to identify the function of particular features of the tomb, two major problems arise. First, the presence of Coptic monks inhabiting the tomb between seventh and eighth centuries AD as they likely cleared earlier structures from pharaonic remains and adapted them for their own needs, thus making it impossible to precisely date the features. Second, the excavations in the 1930s, never published or even mentioned in contemporary sources, which finished the job of destruction of existing stratigraphy inside the tomb. As a result, almost all the features were filled with a mix of ancient, Coptic, and modern materials.

A large number of objects dated to the First Millennium BC have been found inside the underground sloping corridor (fig. 5). Near the end of the corridor there is a shallow depression in the floor that very much resembles small hollows for canopic jars found in the tombs at Medinet Habu and dated by Aston to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.[19] The cavity was filled with a mixture of human and faunal remains, pieces of cartonnage, beads, textile, and ushabti fragments (see below), as well as pieces of broken mudbricks. Thus, it would be convincing to argue that at least one burial during the First Millennium BC took place at the end of the sloping corridor.

The other features, however, pose a certain challenge when it comes to dating. The most likely spaces for Third Intermediate–Late Period burials are therefore:

a) A niche in the northern wall of the shaft. The niche, measuring 1.4 x 1.0 x 2.0 m, perhaps once held a coffin, or at least embalming materials or canopic vessels. It contained all kinds of objects such as: fragments of cartonnage, bandages, other textiles, remains of black resinous substance, often found on cartonnages, amulet fragments, beads, ushabtis, and mudbricks with remains of coating, as well as human and faunal remains. An additional problem with the niche is that between the 1930s, when the shaft was arguably cleared, and the early 2000s, when the mudbrick wall in the entrance to the tomb was erected, the shaft was open and therefore objects could have fallen into it incidentally or have been dropped inside by occasional visitors to the tomb. This was certainly the case with a modern matchbox found on the top of debris in the niche.
b) A chamber in the northern wall of the entrance corridor, measuring 2.4 x 2.4 x 1.4 m (A3 on fig. 3). It was later reused by the monks as a storage area, hence large amounts of Coptic material such as amphorae stoppers and sherds were found inside. It was suggested by Górecki that the room was cut by the monks,[20] but its earlier date cannot be excluded.
c) A pit located to the south of the entrance to the tomb, measuring 2.5 x 1.0 x 2.4 m (a shaft within C on fig. 3). Like the aforementioned chamber, it was used as a storeroom by the anchorites, although it was very likely cut during the pharaonic era.[21]

Particularly interesting for the study of tomb reuse during the First Millennium BC is MMA 1151, the shaft of which is yet to be re-excavated. It was speculated by Winlock that the tomb was never finished in the Middle Kingdom, and that the burial chamber was chiselled in the Late Period. Winlock observed differences in the width of chisel marks in the upper and lower parts of the tomb, as well as a peculiar dressing of

[17] RZEUSKA, ORZECHOWSKA, *PAM* 16 (2005), 248–53; Teodozja Rzeuska, personal communication.
[18] STRUDWICK, in MORENO GARCÍA (ed.) *Élites et pouvoir en Égypte ancienne*, 251–3.
[19] ASTON, *Burial Assemblages*, 251.
[20] GORECKI, *PAM* 17 (2007), 266.
[21] GÓRECKI, *PAM* 16 (2005), 241.

the sarcophagus slabs, which he compared with stone treatment in the temple of Hibis. Because of that, and the unusual shape for an Eleventh Dynasty chamber (with rounded corners), he concluded that the burial chamber was created much later that the rest of the tomb.[22] The next seasons of work should help us better understand the history of the reuse of MMA 1151.

Finds

Since the beginning of excavation on the hill, a large amount of material coming from the pharaonic burials, Coptic settlement, and modern times, has been found. Preliminary remarks on the pharaonic remains were published by Szpakowska in 2007.[23] Since then, however, the number of finds has increased significantly. As there is no stratigraphic sequence readable within the tomb, dating must be based on stylistic criteria.

Coffins and Cartonnages

Numerous fragments of coffins and cartonnages came to light during the excavation of MMA 1152 and its surroundings. Unfortunately, these are preserved in such a fragmentary state that it is difficult to distinguish a particular style and thus date the objects. As this group of finds still awaits detailed analysis, the following very general remarks must be treated as merely an introduction to the study.

So far two main groups can be distinguished among the many decorated pieces found in the tomb: coffin and cartonnage fragments with polychrome on a yellow background and others with decoration on a white background. The remaining pieces either received no decoration or had text painted on a plain background (coffin fragments only). The colouration itself does not seem to be a sole dating criterion in our case, however, the cartonnages certainly belong to Taylor's Phase 2 (Twenty-second to Twenty-fourth Dynasty).[24] A limited amount of texts or details on an unpainted surface of an intermediary coffin is commonly found in coffin assemblages from the Libyan Period,[25] nevertheless, such a surface treatment was applied to some intermediary and *ḳrsw*-coffins during the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties as well.[26] On a large number of pieces there are remains of a black resinous substance, perhaps identical to the one observed by Barwik on some of the Deir el-Bahari coffins, being a result of presumed funeral rites.[27]

The iconography of the unguent cone (Taylor's Type 2) belonging to the falcon-headed son of Horus, Qebehsenuef, on a cartonnage piece recovered from MMA 1152 (fig. 6), suggests a date between 850 and 700 BC.[28] The vivid colours on this piece fit well into Taylor's description of Phase 2 cartonnages, distinctive for their polychrome on a contrastive light background, symbolising the rejuvenated deceased.[29] Such a date is supported by the study of pottery with characteristic bowls with straight walls on a flat ledged foot representing the Libyan phase.[30] However, the aforementioned fragment is the only preserved piece containing elements of iconography useful for dating purposes. Other fragments are either too small or contain non-characteristic decorative elements, which can hardly be treated as dating criteria.

Pieces of at least two wooden beards have been found: one of them painted blue with details added in black ink, and the other one incised, but also with visible traces of blue paint. Both beards are tapered and braided, of the 'divine' type. Another coffin fragment from the tomb is a pair of incised hands, both painted red.

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[22] WINLOCK, unpublished notes.
[23] SZPAKOWSKA, *PAM* 17 (2007).
[24] TAYLOR, in STRUDWICK, TAYLOR (eds.), *Theban Necropolis*, 95, 110.
[25] TAYLOR, in STRUDWICK, TAYLOR (eds.), *Theban Necropolis*, 110.
[26] TAYLOR, in STRUDWICK, TAYLOR (eds.), *Theban Necropolis*, 118.
[27] BARWIK, *PAM* 20 (2008), 395.
[28] TAYLOR, in STRUDWICK, TAYLOR (eds.), *Theban Necropolis*, 101–2.
[29] TAYLOR, in STRUDWICK, TAYLOR (eds.), *Theban Necropolis*, 110.
[30] RZEUSKA, ORZECHOWSKA, *PAM* 16 (2005), 254.

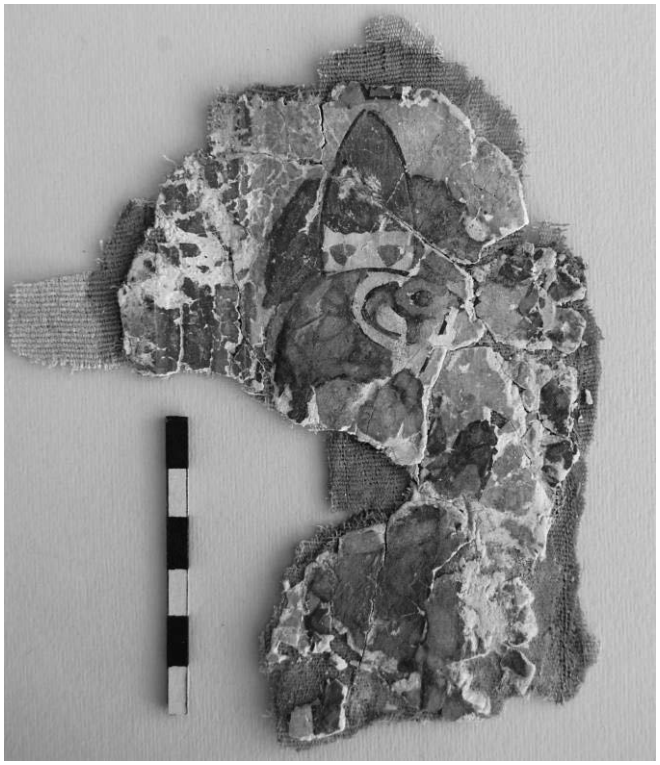


Fig. 6: Cartonnage fragment (courtesy of the PCMA archive)



Fig. 7: Coffin fragment (photo by Patryk Chudzik)

Texts on the coffins and cartonnages are mainly written in black ink, although in one instance blue paint was used to write on a pale-yellow background. The texts recovered so far contained the name of only one of the deceased buried in the tomb: *Wn-nfr*. Most of the fragments, however, contain only one to three signs, although in two cases the beginning of the offering formula could be read. The palaeography of the texts indicates that they were written by at least two different scribes. The first group of inscriptions comprises of texts written with wide, thick signs (fig. 7), while in the other group sings are small and slender, giving the impression that they were written in haste (fig. 8). Such differences could result from personal preferences of the scribes, but they can also indicate different dates for our coffins, as the latter seem to correspond with the change observed by Taylor on coffin texts from the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasty when 'signs were more likely to be written with single strokes of the pen, not drawn in outline and filled with colour'.[31] Pottery found amongst the material inside MMA 1152 include vessels dated to the Twenty-fifth or Twenty-sixth Dynasty, making such dating feasible.[32] Moreover, spelling of the name of Osiris on one of the pieces (fig. 9) is another argument for Twenty-fifth–Twenty-sixth Dynasty date.[33]

Three pieces of gilded cartonnage were found inside the chamber at the bottom of the main shaft. They must have belonged to a much richer assemblage, now missing, which should probably be dated to the Libyan Period.[34] Further evidence for rather lavish funerary equipment are objects made of lapis lazuli: fragment of eye inlay and four leaf-shaped amulets or pendants, all found in the underground unfinished passage, two of them within the cavity at the end of the corridor. The high status of the deceased buried in MMA 1152 is also visible in the material chosen for manufacturing burial equipment: archaeobotanical sampling of wooden objects found in MMA 1152 showed that among objects dated to the pharaonic era, 49% were made of cedar wood, which at all periods was a costly commodity.[35]



Fig. 8: Coffin fragment (photo by Patryk Chudzik)

[31] TAYLOR, in STRUDWICK, TAYLOR (eds.), *Theban Necropolis*, 118.
[32] RZEUSKA, ORZECHOWSKA, *PAM* 16 (2005), 255.
[33] LEAHY, *SAK* 7 (1979).
[34] ASTON, *Burial Assemblages*, 284.
[35] GORECKI, *PAM* 22, 190.



Fig. 9: Offering formula to Osiris on a coffin fragment (photo by Patryk Chudzik)

Ushabtis and Other Figurines

Excavation in MMA 1152 and in the courtyard of MMA 1151 yielded the total of 1238 ushabti figurines and their fragments. The following materials were used for manufacturing statuettes deposited in the tomb:

a) Faience: Four types of ushabtis made of faience were distinguished. No complete faience statuette was found, although the differences between particular types are clear, especially details of an upper part such as colour of wig or presence of beard. Aston's typology of Third Intermediate Period ushabtis proved to be invaluable for dating purposes of these pieces: Aston's types C, D, E, and G have been identified.[36]
b) Burnt clay: Six types of burnt clay figurines came to light during the excavation. Two types are very characteristic; statuettes painted blue in imitation of faience, of similar size but with a clear distinction between *reis* (Group I) and worker (Group II, fig. 10) figures. The remaining four groups are all worker statuettes.[37]
c) Mud: Ushabtis for three distinct groups. Among them, one type (Group I) is quite characteristic; these are worker figurines with beards, which must have been manufactured in the same mould as the burnt clay ushabtis of Group III. Interestingly, the statuettes' dimensions and stylistic features are exactly the same as of figurines found in the tomb behind the temple of Thutmose III at Deir el-Bahari; the only difference between them is presence of beard.[38] It seems likely that ushabtis from Deir el-Bahari and those from MMA 1152 originated from a single workshop and were manufactured within a short period of time.[39]

[36] ASTON, *Burial Assemblages*, 356–64.
[37] KACZANOWICZ, forthcoming. Interesting remarks on clay ushabtis, which have only recently begun to receive attention as a subject of separate studies, can be found in MAKOWSKA, *PAM* 24/2 (2015), 137–60.
[38] These figurines were found during Lipińska's excavation in the temple in the 1980s. I am very grateful to Dr. Monika Dolińska, the director of the mission in the temple of Thutmose III, for showing me finds from this excavation, currently stored in the expedition's magazine at Deir el-Bahari.
[39] The tombs behind the Thutmose III temple were dated by their excavator to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

d) Stone: Only one incomplete stone figurine was excavated. It was a travertine statuette, the so-called 'peg ushabti', dated to the late Ramesside Period.[40] It is one of the very few objects dated to this period found in the tomb, hence it seems reasonable to assume that they were brought to the hill in a later period, e.g. by the monks gathering equipment for their hermitage.[41]

Fragments of at least two Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures have come to light.[42] Due to the presence of horns of the *šwty*-crown, these can be dated to years 700–600 BC.[43]



Fig. 10: Ushabtis, Group II (author's photo)

Amulets and Beads

Faience amulets found during the first seasons of work on the hill were published recently by Chudzik and Ćwiek.[44] Worth mentioning here is a Late Period faience heart scarab, excavated in the courtyard of MMA 1152, found with the remains of two or three burnt human mummies. It is inscribed with the Chapter 30B of the *Book of the Dead*. Sadly, the name of the owner is now lost.[45]

A large number of amulets were found in the courtyard and inside the tomb, mostly made of faience, but there are also specimens made of Egyptian blue and lapis lazuli. During the Metropolitan Museum of Art excavations in MMA 1151, a small scarab made of lapis lazuli came to light, probably an element of the Late

[40] Schneider's type VG (SCHNEIDER, *Shabtis* I, 185).
[41] GÓRECKI, *ÉtudTrav* 27 (2014), 2014.
[42] SZPAKOWSKA, *PAM* 17, 276.
[43] ASTON, *Burial Assemblages*, 307.
[44] CHUDZIK, ĆWIEK, *PAM* 24/1 (2015).
[45] CHUDZIK, ĆWIEK, *PAM* 24/1 (2015), 702; GÓRECKI, SZPAKOWSKA, *PAM* 18 (2008), 309, fig. 6..

Period burial.[46] Tubular beads coming from bead nets, found in great quantities in both tombs, provide information about burials deposited there after 700 BC.[47]

From the last season of work (spring 2016) come a number of amulets found directly in the shaft of MMA 1152: a falcon-shaped amulet, made of Egyptian blue (fig. 11), a faience amulet depicting the god Heh, and half of a very small scarab (1.1 x 0.6 x 0.4 cm), probably made of amazonite.



Fig. 11 Falcon-shaped amulet (author's photo)

Funerary Cones

Among the corpus of funerary cones found in MMA 1152, three could be identified as coming from nearby tombs: two belonging to Padineith (TT 196), published by Kopp,[48] and one belonging to Ramose (TT 132), published by Górecki.[49] Most probably, the cones were brought to the hill by the monks who used them as amphora stoppers.[50] Four more cones bear traces of inscriptions; however, the surface is heavily destroyed and the texts illegible.

Textile Fragments

The largest set of finds, apart from pottery, is formed by textile fragments. Some of them are decorated, such as a piece of linen bandage with representations of a jackal and an ibis painted in black ink. Several pieces with texts have been found, both demotic and hieroglyphic. A piece of temple cloth, dated to the late Ptolemaic Period, was found in the main shaft of MMA 1152 in 2015.

[46] MMA 22.3.64.
[47] ASTON, *Burial Assemblages*, 292–3. In light of new evidence presented by Aston and contrary to previous beliefs, it seems that bead nets did not make their appearance before the Kushite Period.
[48] KOPP, *ÉtudTrav* 27: (2014).
[49] GÓRECKI, *PAM* 20 (2011), 230.
[50] GÓRECKI, *ÉtudTrav* 27 (2014), 142.

Papyri

One of the most interesting papyri found in MMA 1152 belonged to the Fourth Priest of Amun, named Udjahor, whose burial was excavated in TT 99, on the *verso* of which an additional text was—likely later—written in abnormal hieratic.[51]

Chronology of the Tomb

Chronology of the tomb occupation, based on the very preliminary results of the study of the assemblage, is therefore as follows:

Phase	Function
Middle Kingdom (Dynasty 11–12)	Burial(s)?
New Kingdom (Dynasty 19–20)	Veneration of the dead?
Libyan (Dynasty 22–23)	Multiple burials
Kushite/Saite (Dynasty 25–26)	Multiple burials
Ptolemaic	Burial?
Roman	Multiple burials
Coptic (sixth–eighth century)	Hermitage

Table 1: Proposed chronology of MMA 1152

The Site within the Landscape of Western Thebes during the First Millennium BC

The Valley of Colours, today a slightly forgotten part of the necropolis, at the outset of the Middle Kingdom was presumably supposed to become the second core of the cemetery, with a great royal mortuary complex located in the central point of the valley.[52] The name of the owner of this installation remains unknown, although it must have been commissioned during the last years of the Eleventh Dynasty or the beginning of the Twelfth,[53] which is also the date of construction of the tombs on the hill. The royal complex, however, was never finished—in fact, its construction had barely started. The royal tomb was also never reused in later times, even during the First Millennium BC, when the necropolis was already 'overcrowded' and new owners willingly appropriated already existing tombs, even in the Valley of the Kings.[54]

The original layout of the valley and its features were certainly inspired by the spatial organisation of the tombs in Deir el-Bahari. There, the officials' tombs were concentrated on the slopes of the cliff along the Montuhotep's temple causeway.[55] A similar causeway was intended for the southern temple, as indicated by the traces of the rock removal visible on the hill.[56] Construction works in the Valley of Colours were stopped at a very early stage, yet two officials managed to start chiselling their sepulchres: Meketre (TT 280) and the unknown owner of MMA 1151. Each of them chose a site on the slope of the cliff surrounding the valley, Meketre to the north of the king's complex and the owner of MMA 1151 to the south. Such a layout—the king's burial in the centre and his courtiers buried on both sides—would therefore repeat the pattern visible at Deir el-Bahari.

[51] GÓRECKI, *ÉtudTrav* 27, 144–5.
[52] DODSON, IKRAM, *Tomb*, 192.
[53] Initially, the temple was ascribed to either Montuhotep III Sankhkare or Montuhotep IV Nebtawyre. It was Dorothea Arnold who suggested that perhaps the construction was commenced by Amenemhat I Sehetepibre and abandoned after moving the capital to Lisht. There is still an ongoing debate on this matter. *Cf.* ARNOLD, *MMJ* 26 (1991); ARNOLD, *Sokar* 28 (2014).
[54] TAYLOR, in REEVES (ed.), *After Tut'ankhamun*, 200–2.
[55] DODSON, IKRAM, *Tomb*, 190–1.
[56] ARNOLD, *MMJ* 26 (1991), figs. 1–3; WINLOCK, *Middle Kingdom*, 51–3.

The role of the temple during the First Millennium BC is unknown. Winlock's expedition found the remains of a mudbrick construction around the tomb entrance, which according to him was a part of a cultic installation.[57] There is no textual evidence regarding ritual activity taking place in the temple or its surroundings. Worth recalling here, however, is the work by Eigner in demonstrating that there existed a close link between important Middle Kingdom monuments and some of the Late Period tombs, making the vicinity of such spots a preferable location for a burial.[58] Nevertheless, in the light of available evidence, it is impossible to evaluate whether the unfinished royal complex could have been a place of an actual cultic activity or if it was rather vaguely remembered as a monument from the ancient times. The fact that the tomb was never reused speaks in favour of the former.

The original plan of work in the valley included removing the rock face of the surrounding cliffs and thus creating room for a causeway. This was never completed, leaving the platform on which the temple was to be erected hidden behind the hills. Consequently, the main point visible from the floodplain became the hill investigated by the Polish team. Interestingly, in a newly-created layout of the South Asasif, the central point of the whole area became MMA 1152, which originally was rather of secondary importance compared with MMA 1151, as indicated by its position in regard to the royal tomb and perhaps also by the shaft's depth.[59] Moreover, Middle Kingdom tombs cut into the slopes of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna and Qurnet Murai—located on both sides of our hill—made the arrangement of the valley even more similar to Deir el-Bahari, the only exception being the fact that it was MMA 1152, not the royal tomb, which became the focal point of the area. Such an effect was undoubtedly unintentional and resulted from abandoning the construction of the royal mortuary complex.

The position of the hill as a landmark of this part of the necropolis was strengthened even more in the First Millennium BC. The area separating the hill from the Ramesseum during the Twenty-second and Twenty-third Dynasties was occupied by the vast necropolis, with the tomb-chapel of to the Vizier Nebnetjeru just opposite the hill.[60] During the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties, monumental tombs of Kushite and Saite officials appeared on the plain below the hill.[61] The revival of the valley in this period was probably the reason why MMA 1151 and 1152 were reused after a period of hiatus. Perhaps the dominant position of the hill above the South Asasif necropolis made it a particularly desirable location for a burial that is reflected in a relatively rich burial assemblage.

Particularly interesting is the shape of the hill, today heavily eroded, but from a certain perspective still resembling a natural pyramid (fig. 12).[62] Such features of a landscape were sometimes harnessed by ancient Egyptians, with the most evident example being the el-Qurn peak.[63] It is tempting to assume that perhaps

[57] 'We found the tomb surrounded by a low brick wall as though the place had been held sacred; above the tomb entrance a funeral sacrifice of five bullocks had been made and their heads and forelegs buried on the spot'. WINLOCK *BMMA* 16: 11, 2 (1921), 34.

[58] EIGNER, *Monumentalen Grabbauten*, 27–8; PISCHIKOVA, in OPPENHEIM, GOELET JR. (eds.), *The Art and Culture of Ancient Egypt*.

[59] The dimensions of the shaft of the tomb do not necessarily indicate the position of the owner, as shown by Eigner for the Late Period tombs. EIGNER, *Monumentalen Grabbauten*, 130–1. There might have been different factors affecting the shaft's depth, such as character of rock in which shaft was chiselled or personal preferences of the tomb owner. In this case, however, where both MMA 1151 and 1152 are on the same foundation, rock quality could not have been the reason for different depths of the shafts. Certainly, hewing a 26 m shaft required substantial measures and significantly more time than a 18 m shaft; a typical Middle Kingdom tomb had a shaft approximately 10–15 m deep. ARNOLD, *Monuments*, 221. On the other hand, it cannot be ruled out that in the original plan the sloping corridor was supposed to go deeper, perhaps even a second shaft was planned.

[60] EIGNER, *Monumentalen Grabbauten*, 124.

[61] PISCHIKOVA, in THIERS (ed.), *Documents de théologies thébaines*.

[62] The first person to notice this resemblance was Piotr Witkowski, to whom I am very grateful for his remarks.

[63] ĆWIEK, forthcoming. There are strong arguments for the thesis that a similar situation occurs in case of mortuary complex of Senwosret III in Abydos. WEGNER, in SILVERMAN, SIMPSON, WEGNER (eds.), *Archaism*, 108.

what the Thebans saw looking at our hill was a miniature version of el-Qurn and this is one of the reasons why the South Asasif necropolis became so prominent. Such a hypothesis cannot, however, be proven unless we find explicit textual evidence confirming it. Landscape archaeology may provide the answer to the question why it is the South Asasif and not the area around the Deir el-Bahari temples, where the Kushite officials decided to locate their tombs, the first monumental decorated sepulchres of the Late Period.[64]



Fig. 12: Northern face of the hill (photo by Piotr Witkowski)

Future Studies

So far, the bottom of the shaft of MMA 1151 remains to be excavated, even though the upper part of the tomb was partially cleared in the 2006–2007 and 2009–2010 seasons.[65] A full excavation of the tomb is therefore the primary aim during the upcoming seasons of work on the hill. Two more tombs, mentioned at the beginning of this paper, also await study: even though their construction was stopped at an early stage they can provide information on the building process itself. The Middle Kingdom tombs surrounding the Valley of Colours, despite evident traces of their reuse in the First Millennium BC and in the Coptic times, remain unpublished. Archaeology of this area therefore constitutes an important chapter in the history of the necropolis, which still remains to be fully understood.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the late Dr. Tomasz Górecki for permission to publish this material, and Dr. Andrzej Ćwiek for reading the manuscript and offering his remarks. Very warm thanks are due to Natalia Mielniczek for correcting my English. All the remaining errors are my own responsibility. My participation in the conference would not be possible without the generous support of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education (project no DI 2014 000144, funding for 2015–2019).

[64] PISCHIKOVA, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *South Asasif*, 38–9.
[65] GÓRECKI, *PAM* 19 (2010); GÓRECKI, *PAM* 22 (2013).

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The Reuse of New Kingdom Tombs during the Kushite/Saite Period: The Case of Theban Tomb -400-

Gábor Schreiber

Abstract

TT -400-, a Ramesside tomb situated in the el-Khokha cemetery, housed two Kushite group burials deposited in intrusive shafts cut in the tomb chapel. The two burials, from otherwise seemingly unrelated contexts, are contemporaneous, which raises the interesting question of exactly how the usurpation of New Kingdom rock-cut tombs worked in this period. One of the shafts ceased to receive new interments in the reign of Taharqo at the latest, but the use-life of the other continued well into the Saite Period. Besides the equipment found in association with these burials, this paper will also present the finds, discovered in the mixed strata of the chapel and the forecourt, which may be termed Saito-Persian.

When, in 1965, Leclant's seminal study on the Kushite monuments of Thebes appeared, very little, if any, was known of those who had been buried in the private, reused tombs of the New Kingdom during the Kushite and Saite Periods. In presenting an overview of the Kushite activity on the West Bank, Leclant, too, had to be content with focusing on the mortuary monuments newly built in the Kushite Period because data from coeval reused tombs were sparse, almost non-existent.[1] Improving excavation methods and the recognition of the importance of secondary burials contributed much to remedy this situation in the subsequent decades but almost another forty years elapsed until this set of data was first collected and organically integrated into the study of the Kushite and Saite cemetery.[2] Understandably, Kushite historiography and archaeology have long focused on the study of the tombs of high officials in the Asasif necropoleis and the burial ground of the God's Wives in Medinet Habu. While the necessity of further investigations of these quarters of the necropolis—together with other areas that served as collective burial grounds for professional associations—is inevitable, it cannot be denied now that a social history of Thebes and its cemeteries during the Twenty-fifth–Twenty-sixth Dynasties would be incomplete without the data from reused New Kingdom tombs. The study of certain quarters of the necropolis, formerly believed to have been peripheric or unused during this period, suggests moreover that Kushite/Saite burials are distributed throughout the area of the New Kingdom cemetery.[3]

Based on the available data, one may now state with confidence that in terms of socio-economic standing, the spectrum of Kushite proprietors of New Kingdom tombs ranges from high-ranking priests and officials, occasionally of royal descent, to commoners.[4] It is well known that one's profession and social status were key factors in choosing a tomb location already during the New Kingdom. Each individual district of the cemetery had its own character shaped by the rank and social standing of the tomb owners and, naturally, by the resources these owners were capable of spending on their mortuary monuments. We are also aware of 'professional associations' in which holders of the same priestly posts or officials of the same institution were buried together in the same tomb or in the same cluster of tombs.[5] Mirroring a strict social hierarchy, this system, by which the necropolis may be divided into smaller topographical units, seems to have been

[1] LECLANT, *Recherches*, 174–82.
[2] ASTON, in STRUDWICK, TAYLOR (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis*, esp. 149. *Cf.* ASTON, *Burial Assemblages*, 232–7. See now also BUDKA, in GODLEWSKI, ŁAJTAR (eds.), *Between the Cataracts*.
[3] *Cf.* SCHREIBER, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*.
[4] *Cf.* ASTON, in STRUDWICK, TAYLOR (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis*, 149.
[5] *Cf.* BÁCS, *BMSAES* 16 (2011), 9; SCHREIBER, *Amenhotep*, 19, 32–3.

restored and applied also during the Kushite Period. As argued for elsewhere,[6] one such specific district of the Theban necropolis was, I believe, the cemetery on the south slope of the el-Khokha hillock, where mid- and low-ranking officials holding non-priestly posts in the local temple service were interred during the Kushite and Saite Periods.

In this study, I will focus on TT -400-, a Ramesside tomb situated in the first necropolis street, at the base of the hill (fig. 1). TT -400- was built sometime in the early Nineteenth Dynasty and housed two large Ramesside group burials, one dated to the Nineteenth, the other to the later Twentieth Dynasty.[7] After its long abandonment during the early Third Intermediate Period, the tomb was reused in the eighth century BC for two group burials, deposited in two distinct funerary apartments. One of these group burials was found in an intrusive shaft tomb (Structure 5) opening in the axial hall of the monument (fig. 2). The shaft tomb was constructed in the Twentieth Dynasty, having only one burial chamber (Chamber 2) at the time which housed a group burial of officials affiliated to the treasury in the northern part of Karnak. The women interred here were all songstresses, either of Amun, Amunrasonther, or the triad of Amun, Mut, and Khonsu, while among the men one finds two chief workmen, a treasury-scribe, and a chief guardian of the treasury. The latter individual, one Amenmes, attested in the archaeological record of TT -400- by a series of wooden shabtis and three shabti jars, is also known from other documents, including p. BM EA 10068, an investigation file concerning the Theban tomb robberies dating to year 17 of Ramesses IX, in which Amenmes is listed among the citizens of the Town, i.e. Thebes, from whom gold and silver stolen from the royal tombs had been recovered.[8] Based on this evidence and the style of the burial equipment, especially the shabtis and the cartonnages, it is fairly safe to date this burial group to the second half of the Twentieth Dynasty. After the New Kingdom, the shaft tomb fell into disrepair for more than three centuries and its second burial chamber, hewn out of the bedrock in an upper storey, was only constructed in the late eighth century BC. Since the chamber was heavily looted, burnt and then turned into a habitation for the domestic animals of villagers in modern times, the equipment suffered a bad fate. What was found preserved demonstrates that this chamber was prepared for low-ranking local officials and their spouses. A more precise dating to between 720 and 664 BC may be borne out by the presence of a fragmentary cartonnage coffin (fig. 3). This cartonnage represents a late variant of Taylor's frontal body field design 2C in which the lower section of the pictorial registers is bisected by a low-set Abydos fetish.[9] Since the inscriptions show the pennant writing of the name Osiris, the cartonnage was certainly made after 720 BC when this orthography was introduced in Thebes.[10] The proprietor was one Paentyenpauty-rekhsu, a man as yet unattested in other sources, whose preserved title, Chamber Manager in the Domain of Amun, indicates a non-priestly post in the temple hierarchy. Remarkably, the same title occurs in two nearby contexts as well. The earlier in date is a burial group of the Twenty-second Dynasty within neighbouring TT 32.[11] Out of those buried here, two men, probably father and son, bore the title Chamber Manager of the Domain of Amun. The other relevant burial group dates to the later Third Intermediate Period or the early Saite Period and was found dug intrusively in a 'pit' in the forecourt of TT 21, the tomb of User. All the interments discovered there by Sir Robert Mond belonged to one family (the Disiese family), in which the title Chamber Manager of the Domain of Amun seems to have been heredi-

[6] SCHREIBER, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN. (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*.
[7] SCHREIBER, in BÁCS, SCHREIBER (eds.), *Current Research*.
[8] K*RI* VI, 503. 1; PEET, *Tomb-Robberies*, 90, pl. XI, 22–23. For Amenmes' block statue from Karnak, see DE MEULENAERE, DE STOOPER, *CdE* 73 (1998). For Amenmes' shabtis excavated in TT -400- and kept in museum collections, see SCHREIBER, in BÁCS, SCHREIBER (eds.), *Current Research*, 49.
[9] TAYLOR, in STRUDWICK, TAYLOR (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis*, 106–7. *Cf.* ASTON, *Burial Assemblages*, 283–4 (Type IV cartonnages).
[10] LEAHY, *SAK* 7 (1979).
[11] SCHREIBER, *Djehutymes* II, 54–6, nrs. 2.1.2.1-2, pls. 50–1.

tary.[12] The assemblage found in association with the burials in Structure 5 is a mix of Libyan and Kushite Period object types in that the pottery vessels and the amulets given to the dead follow the contemporary, new models but the coffin ensemble and the mass-produced Nile silt ushabtis in the equipment hark back to Libyan Period traditions. These features are indicators of the fact that the burial equipment of low-ranking officials lagged a few decades behind those of the elite in style.

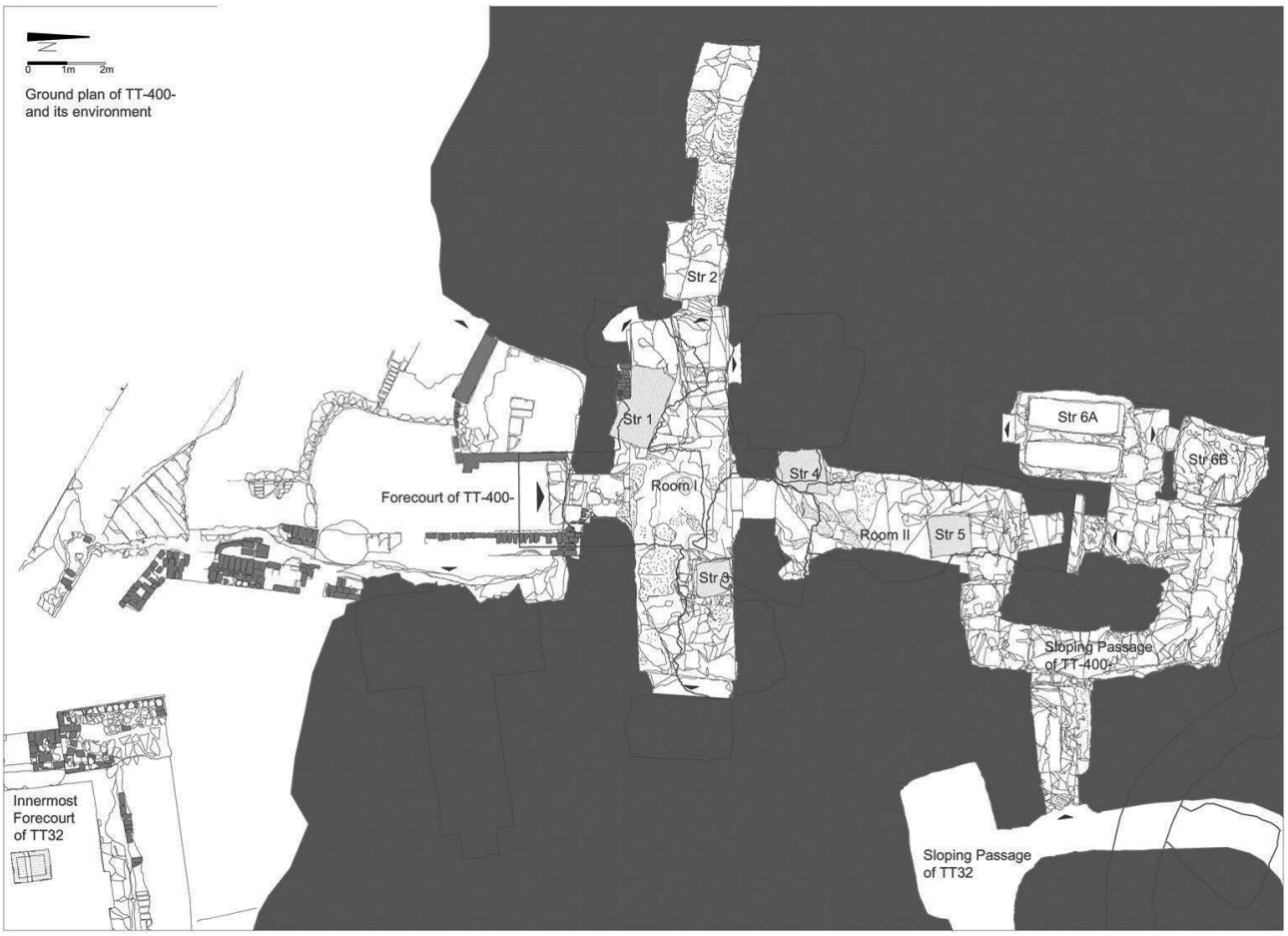


Fig. 1: Ground plan of TT -400- (Survey and drawing: Zsolt Vasáros)

The other Kushite burial group was found in a shaft tomb (Structure 3), which opens in the eastern aisle of the transverse hall of TT -400- (fig. 4). This shaft tomb was newly made in the Kushite Period, being roughly contemporary with the burials in Structure 5. Based on the extant fragments, the small Kushite burial chamber of this shaft, opening at the bottom 5.4 m in depth (Chamber 3), housed four coffined burials. Judging from the size of the chamber, the coffins could only be deposited if two were laid on the floor and two atop them. Chronologically, the earliest burial appears to be represented by fragments of an anthropoid wooden coffin, partly varnished and exhibiting a style typical of the late Twenty-second and the early Twenty-fifth Dynasties as well as fragments of a cartonnage case. Since the drawing style and the varnishing on the coffin and the cartonnage are practically identical, it is likely that they formed a coffin ensemble (wooden coffin + inner cartonnage case), constructed for the first proprietor of Structure 3, who seems to have been buried here in the second half of the eighth century BC when coffin sets consisting of an innermost

[12] COLLINS, *JEA* 62 (1976), 38–9; ELIAS, *Coffin Inscription*, 174–5. ASTON, *Burial Assemblages*, 233–4 dates this tomb group to between 750 and 625 BC.

cartonnage case still continued in existence.[13] The presence of three further burials may be inferred from fragments belonging to three outer/intermediary coffin lids, all exhibiting a single column of axial inscription running from the collar to the foot and bisecting the otherwise undecorated exterior of the lids.[14] A proper name, Djedisety, is preserved on one specimen only. This name appears to be an abbreviated version of Djediset-iufankh (*PN* I, 499.16), which in turn is featured on a fragment of an inner coffin, where the title, once again, is unfortunately missing (fig. 5). The deity invoked in the inscriptions is invariably Ptah-Sokar-Osiris *Neb-shetyt*. In terms of the palaeography, it is noteworthy that the texts employ Taylor's variant 3 for the uniliteral sign Gardiner V28 ('wick'), with two loops and a horizontal line joining the two ends of the flax.[15] Although sporadically attested also during the earlier Third Intermediate Period, this variant became frequent from the second half of the eighth century and went into disuse somewhere about 650 BC. Considering that in the same inscriptions the name of Osiris is spelt with the pennant determinative,[16] a dating for the coffins in the period between Shabaqo and Taharqo seems secure.

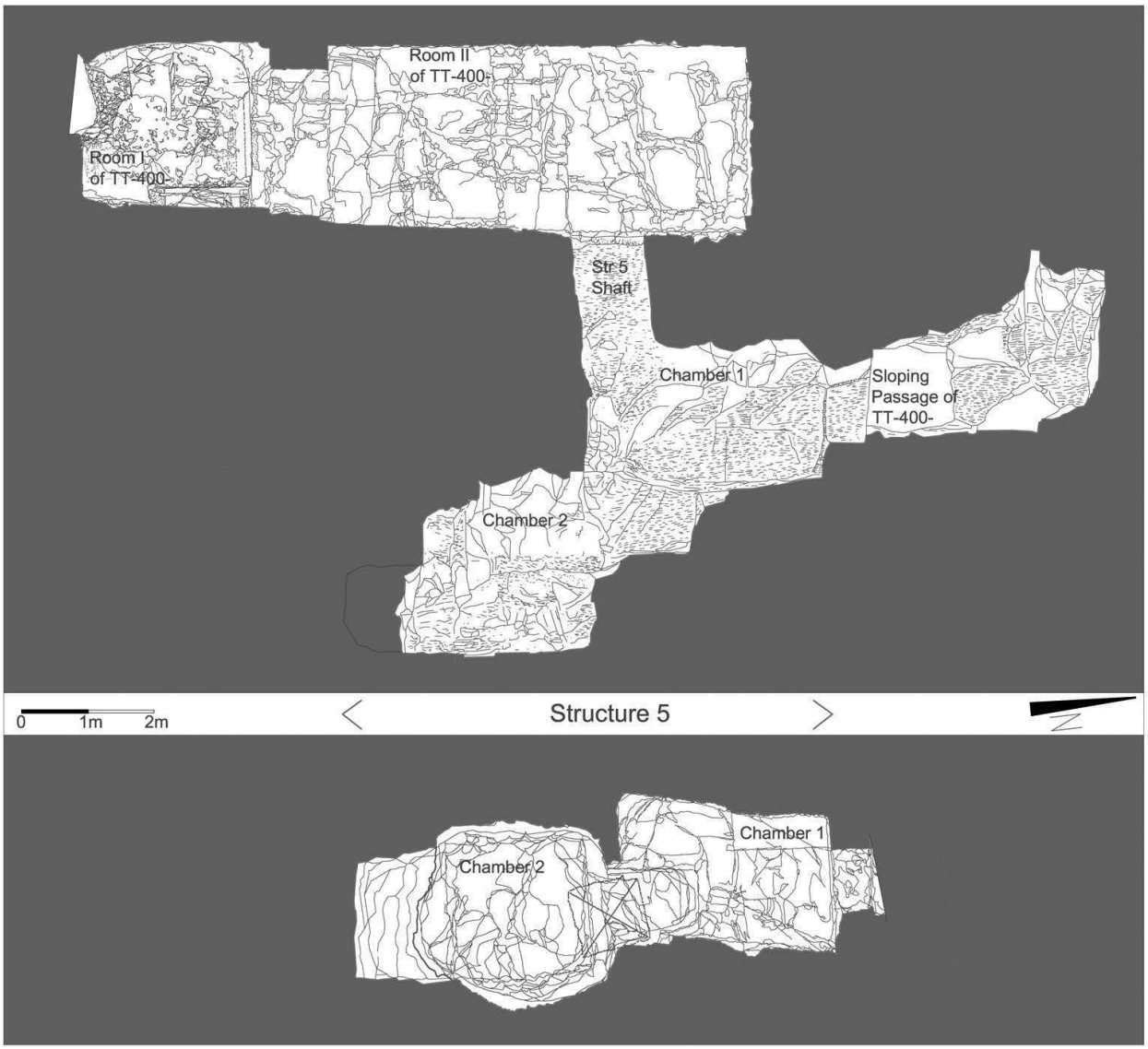


Fig. 2: Section and plan of Structure 5 (Survey and drawing: Zsolt Vasáros)

[13] *Cf.* TAYLOR, in STRUDWICK, TAYLOR (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis*, 113.
[14] On the design, see TAYLOR, in STRUDWICK, TAYLOR (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis* 108, 116 (Design 1).
[15] TAYLOR, in BACKES *et al.* (eds.), *Totenbuch-Forschungen*.
[16] *Cf.* LEAHY, *SAK* 7 (1979).

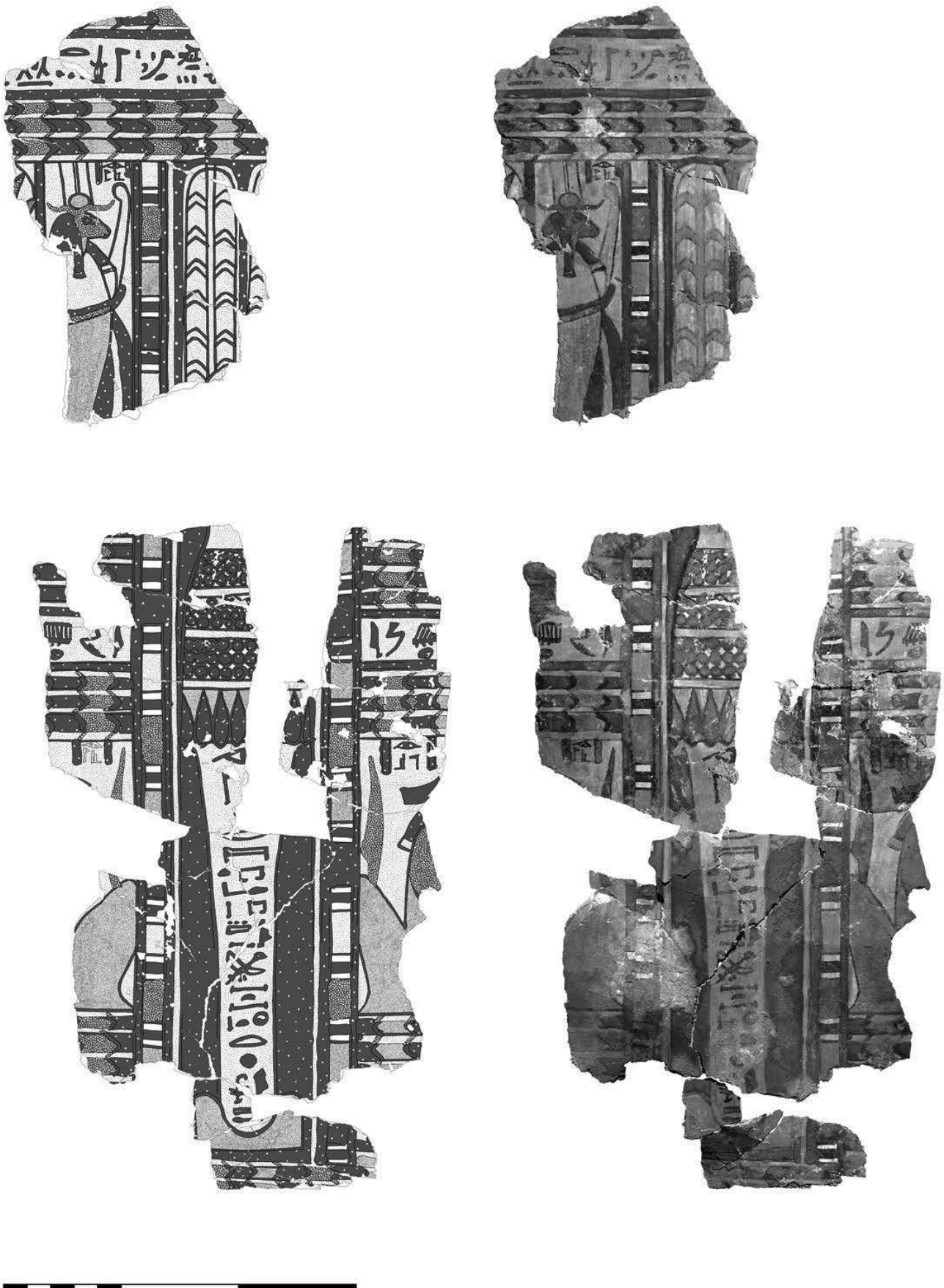


Fig. 3: Fragment of a Kushite cartonnage case from Chamber 1 of Structure 5 (Drawing and photo: Krisztián Vértes)

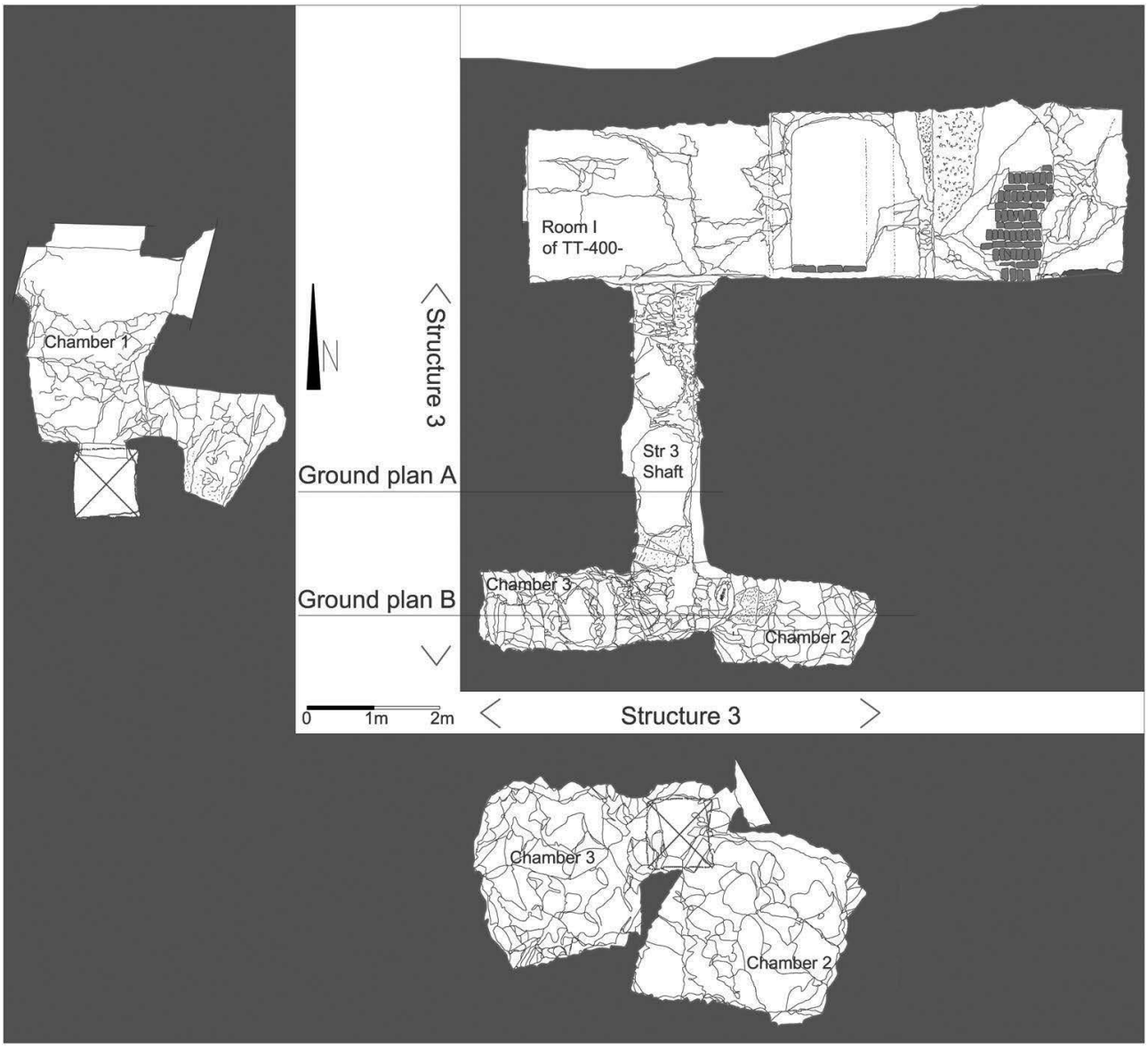


Fig. 4: Section and plans of Structure 3 (Survey and drawing: Zsolt Vasáros)

Although the Kushite assemblages are poorly preserved in both burial apartments of TT -400-, the co-presence of two burial shafts used concurrently for at least a couple of decades raises the question of who actually owned TT -400- in the Kushite Period. The answer remains of course a matter of conjecture because despite the growing number of published Egyptian legal documents, evidence is still scarce to shed light on the issues concerning tomb ownership. As far as the New Kingdom burial system is concerned, group burials in private tombs are usually conceived as family burials in which the offspring and relatives of the *pater familias* used the original burial place.[17] While this pattern is certainly the dominant one throughout Egyptian history, factors other than consanguinity might also have been at play in selecting a private burial ground, especially in periods of economic downturn. The aforementioned late Ramesside burial group from Structure 5 of TT -400- may serve as an example to illustrate this. Here, we encounter individuals of different social standing (two chief workmen, a treasury-scribe, and a chief guardian of the treasury) and their spouses. Since the filiation, typically for this period, is not given in the inscriptions, there is no way of knowing whether they were family or not. However, we can absolutely be sure that they represent a professional cluster in that

[17] *Cf.* e.g. COONEY, *JARCE* 47 (2011), 15; SCHREIBER, in BECHTOLD *et al.* (eds.), *From Illanhun to Djeme*, 257.

all the males held non-priestly posts in the Treasury in the northern part of Karnak. Since the purchase and maintenance of a tomb meant considerable expenses, sharing a funerary apartment with a group of colleagues and/or relatives might have represented significant savings and thus an alternative option to obtain an otherworldly life amidst conditions hallmarked by economic crisis and restricted access to resources.[18]

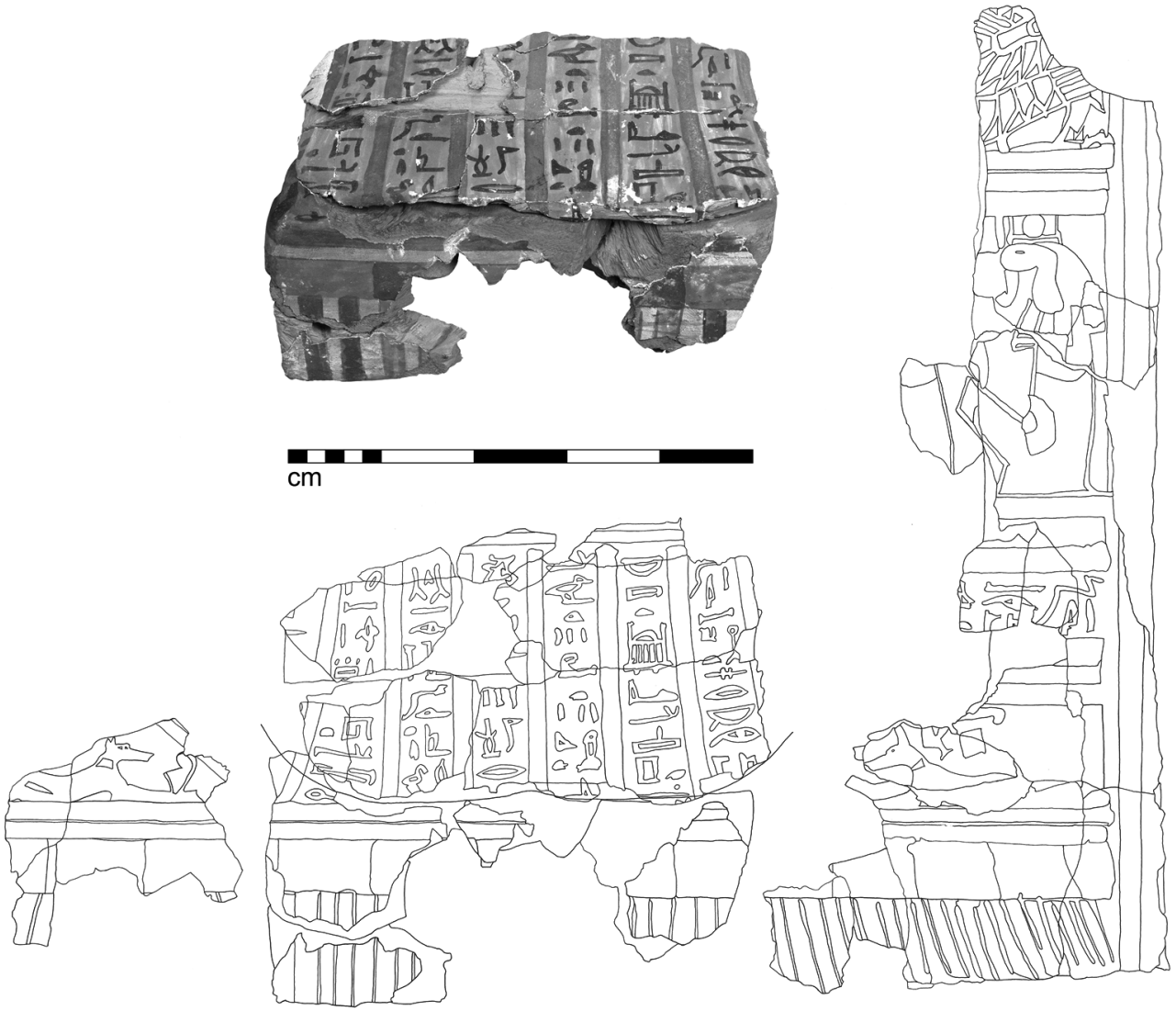


Fig. 5: Fragment of a Kushite inner coffin from Chamber 3 of Structure 3 (Photo: László Mátyus. Drawing: Nóra Seres)

Another aspect of tomb reuse may be glimpsed in the much later written documents pertaining to the activity of the choachytes. These funerary ritualists and entrepreneurs, who in later times formed a professional association in the Theban necropolis, are first referenced in New Kingdom sources.[19] As the earliest surviving choachytes archive, collected in the reign of Amasis, already informs us, the choachytes served many collective tombs at one time, could be sharing-partners in servicing a tomb, and could lease and sell the right to service a tomb.[20] Fortunately, these texts as well as the later choachytes archives dating to the Persian and Ptolemaic Periods offer a wealth of information also on the clientele of these ritualists. A bilingual (demotic

[18] *Cf.* SCHREIBER, *Amenhotep*, 32–3. For other related issues and the transformation of the Theban burial system during the late New Kingdom and the early Third Intermediate Period, see, in general, COONEY, *JARCE* 47 (2011).
[19] DONKER VAN HEEL, in DEMARRÉE, EGBERTS (eds.), *Village Voices*, 19–28. The evidence for choachytes during the Third Intermediate Period is being studied by Cynthia Sheikholeslami.
[20] DONKER VAN HEEL, *Eisenlohr Lot*, esp. 21, 93–9, 160, 197–8.

and Greek) sale of choachyte rights drawn up in 136 BC is particularly instructive for it contains a long list of tombs in the service of which the contracting parties held a stake.[21] When group burials are mentioned, the particular tombs are usually identified with the name of the *pater familias*; however, in at least two instances we may suspect that the tombs listed were those of professional associations rather than family tombs.[22] Other pieces of textual and archaeological evidence that have come down to us from the Ptolemaic Period also make it clear that by this time some of the large New Kingdom and Saite tombs were turned into collective burial places, each accommodating a number of group burials that were served by their own ritualists.[23] It is very difficult to determine to what extent these phenomena can be projected back to the Kushite Period but the archaeological evidence from TT -400- and other private New Kingdom tombs in the vicinity is unequivocal in that the usurped rock-cut tombs might have had more than one funerary apartment in concurrent use.[24] In the case of TT -400- the form of ownership is not possible to determine. It is fairly logical to suppose, however, that if one family had owned the tomb, then this family would have used one burial apartment at one time and would have hewn out another shaft of the bedrock only when necessary. Thus, one is left with the suggestion that during this period two families or associations shared this property, both having the right of way to use the causeway, the forecourt and the broad hall of the tomb.

The history of the tomb during the ensuing Saite Period is not less interesting and challenging. While the Kushite chamber in Structure 5 ceased to be used as a burial apartment sometime in the reign of Taharqo, Structure 3 received a second burial chamber (Chamber 2) at this time or somewhat later. This chamber, opening at the bottom of the shaft to the northwest, is large enough to house only three coffined burials in some style; however, it might have accommodated more if the coffins were deposited one above the other. That this was the case here is shown by the fact that Chamber 2 yielded fragments from five anthropoid coffins. The best preserved of these are two coffins, identical in style and almost identical also in design, prepared for two women, Takhat and Tahereret, the style of which speaks for a dating in the second half of the seventh century BC, most probably the reign of Psamtik I (figs. 6–7). The coffin lids, which represent Taylor's Design 3 of contemporary inner coffins, feature rather nonsense repetitions of the offering formula in the central text columns.[25] The said dating may be borne out by the appearance of two antithetically rendered rams below the figure of Nut and by the internal subdivision of the wings of Nut on Takhat's lid into four sections—two iconographic elements unattested before the mid-seventh century BC.[26] Of the three other coffins, only small fragments survive. One of them, owned by one Minirdis, closely follows the style of Takhat's and Tahereret's coffins, the second, which gives the impression of being later than these, is inscribed with texts painted in black over alternating background colours only, while the third—to which I shall come back to later—is plain. Pottery vessels found in association with these burials were few in number but all seem to have been made between the mid-seventh and the mid-sixth centuries BC. Besides some generic types, the assemblage includes a locally-made gourd, a Phoenician torpedo jar of Sagona's Type 7, a

[21] MAIRS, MARTIN, *Enchoria* 31 (2008–9). The transaction was recorded in three documents: a demotic document-of-sale and its translation in Greek and a demotic document-of-no-rights.

[22] The list of tombs embedded in all three relevant documents mentions 'the tomb of the land-measurers' and the 'tomb of the people of Philae'. The latter term may have had an occupational meaning: MAIRS, MARTIN, *Enchoria* 31 (2008–9), 35, n. 35, with further references.

[23] For a discussion, see VLEEMING, in VLEEMING (ed.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes*, 250–1. *Cf.* BATAILLE, *Les Memnonia*, 181–92.

[24] *Cf.* e.g. TT 32, where an intrusive shaft tomb was dug in the axial hall during the eighth century BC. In the same period the large hypogeum-type tomb termed Tomb B in the zone of the middle (second) forecourt of TT 32 was also in use: SCHREIBER, *Djehutymes* II, 51, 64–77.

[25] TAYLOR, in STRUDWICK, TAYLOR (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis*, 114–5.

[26] TAYLOR, in STRUDWICK, TAYLOR (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis*, 115, 118–9.

Clazomenian amphora, and a bottle made out of K5 fabric imported from the Memphite area.[27] Another object worthy of note here is a piece of linen inscribed with the name of one Bes or Basa and dated to year 28 of an unnamed king (fig. 8). Considering the popularity of this name in Saite Thebes and accepting that Basa was also buried in Structure 3, we have two possible candidates for being the king whose regnal year is mentioned in the inscription, namely Psamtik I and Amasis, the only kings of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty who ruled for more than 27 years.[28] In the first case, the year date would imply 636 BC, in the second 542 BC. While the former would easily match the style-critical dating of the coffins and therefore would seem more appealing, a convincing resolution cannot be proposed here, given that the pottery chronology extends into the sixth century BC, with a few vessels that may be as late as the middle of the century. Be that as it may, this is exactly the point where we embark at one of the mysteries of Theban West Bank archaeology, namely the identification and whereabouts of Saito-Persian burials.

The demotic archives of the Theban choachytes dating to the late Saite and early Persian Periods graphically demonstrate that life and death went on as ever before in the necropolis also after the mid-sixth century BC. However, if so, why do we not have as much archaeological evidence as we do coming down to us from the Saite Period? The problem has already been addressed by Aston[29] and others;[30] however, lacking a series of well-dated tomb groups, these inquiries could only yield some starting points to better understand the characteristics of Persian Period Theban archaeology. As far as TT -400- is concerned, some sort of occupation during the Saito-Persian Period may be taken for granted, and pottery evidence to support such a claim not only comes from the shaft of Structure 3 but also from the post-New Kingdom fill of the forecourt and the cult chapel. The pottery from these areas, assigned to the period between 550 and 400 BC, includes imports such as archaic Greek transport amphorae and two Cypriote basket-handle amphorae (fig. 9),[31] as well as a keg imported from the Western Desert and numerous local types, such as carinated jars and goldfish bowls. As is often the case in the Theban necropolis, ceramic objects are faithful indicators of a Persian Period date. However, despite having this assemblage, it is still impossible to point at a single *decorated* and/or *inscribed* object from TT -400- that may unequivocally be dated to the same period. This of course is not the place to look deeply into the problems of Persian Period archaeology and, frankly speaking, TT -400- has little to offer to resolve these enigmas, yet two minor points are probably worthy of consideration. First, the presence of small-size Nile silt ushabtis proved to be symptomatic in contexts yielding Saito-Persian pottery not only in TT -400- but also in TT -61-, another tomb in the vicinity with an arguably Persian phase.[32] These figurines, workmen and overseers, hark back to a Libyan Period tradition but sometimes show differences in articulation and are usually smaller than those. Second, the two aforementioned tombs yielded some undecorated, plain coffins that might be ascribed to the same archaeological horizon. In Chamber 2 of Structure 3, fragments of a plain anthropoid coffin painted overall yellow were found, while the lower layers of the same shaft yielded fragments belonging to two further plain coffins, one coloured black, the other a

[27] For Type 7 Phoenician amphorae, see SAGONA, *Op. Ath.* 14 (1982), 83–5. For a discussion of this type of amphora in Egyptian contexts, see ASTON, *Egyptian Pottery*, 85–6. For the archaic Greek amphorae discovered at Thebes, see MARANGOU, *BCE* 23 (2012). For the archaic Greek amphorae found in the el-Khokha Cemetery, see SCHREIBER, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 245–6. For vessels of K5 fabric discovered on el-Khokha, see SCHREIBER, *Amenhotep*, 52.

[28] The possibility that Basa lived in the early Persian Period and that the year date referenced here is that of Darius I (reigned 521–486 BC) cannot be ruled out either. See *infra.*

[29] ASTON, in LEAHY, TAIT (eds.), *Studies on Ancient Egypt*; ASTON, in STRUDWICK, TAYLOR (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis*, 155–62.

[30] BUDKA, *Bestattungsbrauchtum*, 356–8; SCHREIBER, in HAWASS *et al.* (eds.), *Theban Archaeology*, 106–7, 117–8.

[31] Sagona's Type 13b, *cf.* SAGONA, *Op. Ath.* 14 (1982), 88–90. These large biconical amphorae have recently been identified in the Persian occupation levels at Kelendris, Cilicia: ZOROĞLU, in LAWALL, LUND (eds.), *Trade of Cyprus*, 41–2. For an overview of the examples found in Egypt, see MARANGOU, MARCHAND, in MICHAELÏDES *et al.* (eds.), *Egypt and Cyprus*, 242–4. For comparanda from Thebes, see MASSON, *CCE* 9 (2011), 284, figs. 96–7.

[32] *Cf.* SCHREIBER, *Amenhotep*, 57–8, pl. 64.

tan hue.[33] In addition to this, a shaft tomb in nearby TT -61-, dated to between 550 and 450 BC, yielded a bottom-end quality rectangular coffin, coloured tan to buff, with vaulted end boards.[34] These finds, discovered under controlled archaeological circumstances, can serve as an illustration of what one may expect when dealing with a Persian context in the Theban cemetery. From other parts of the country contemporary 'pictorial' and 'inscription' style coffins have also been reported[35] but these types, let alone any kind of figure or textual decoration, are to date unknown in the contemporary Theban material. The technique of carpentry is acceptable and so is the finish of the coffins, yet no figure scenes were attempted. The owners of these coffins were, to be sure, mid- to low-ranking local citizens, similarly to those who occupied TT -400- in the previous centuries. As the finds from the el-Khokha cemetery amply illustrate, this echelon of the Theban society could still afford a painted coffin in the Saite Period, but this was no longer the case under Persian rule when Thebes lost its elite, and because of its political past, the town fell into disfavour with the new masters of the country.



Fig. 6: Reconstruction of the Saite coffin lid of Takhat, from Chamber 2 of Structure 3 (Photo: László Mátyus)

[33] These coffins may equally come from the, as yet, unexcavated tomb to the east of TT -400-, one of the side chambers of which, opening from the tomb's sloping passage, is connected to the shaft of Structure 3 through a large crack in the bedrock.
[34] SCHREIBER, *Amenhotep*, 47, pls. 47, 49 (nr. 3.1.1).
[35] SCHREIBER, in HAWASS *et al.* (eds.), *Theban Archaeology*, 117–8.

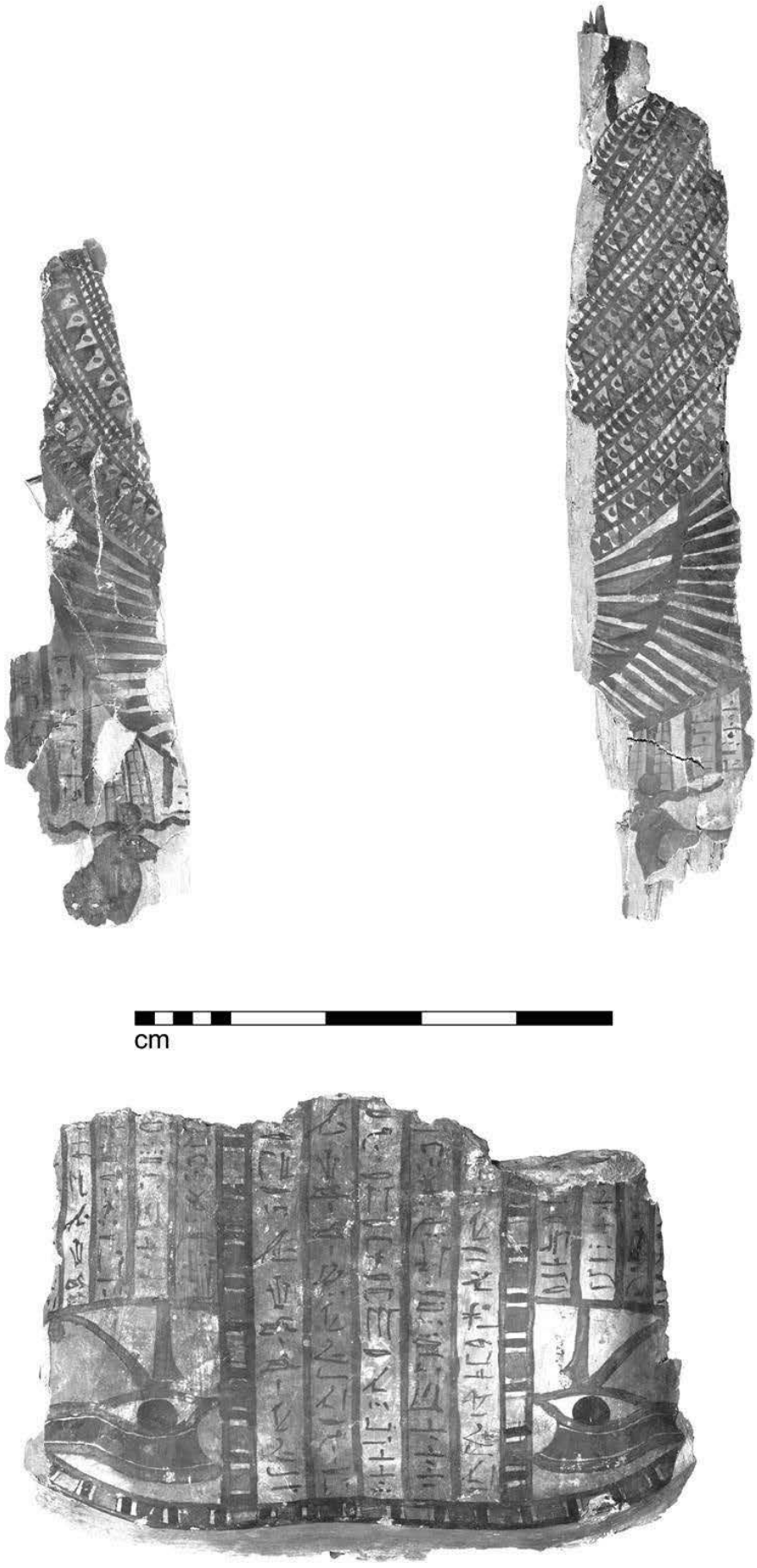


Fig. 7: Fragments of the Saite coffin lid of Tahereret, from Chamber 2 of Structure 3 (Photo: László Mátyus)

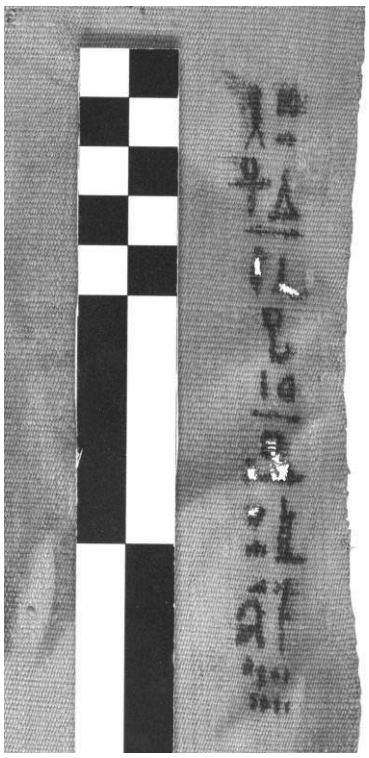


Fig. 8: Linen strip inscribed for Bes, from Chamber 2 of Structure 3 (Photo: László Mátyus)

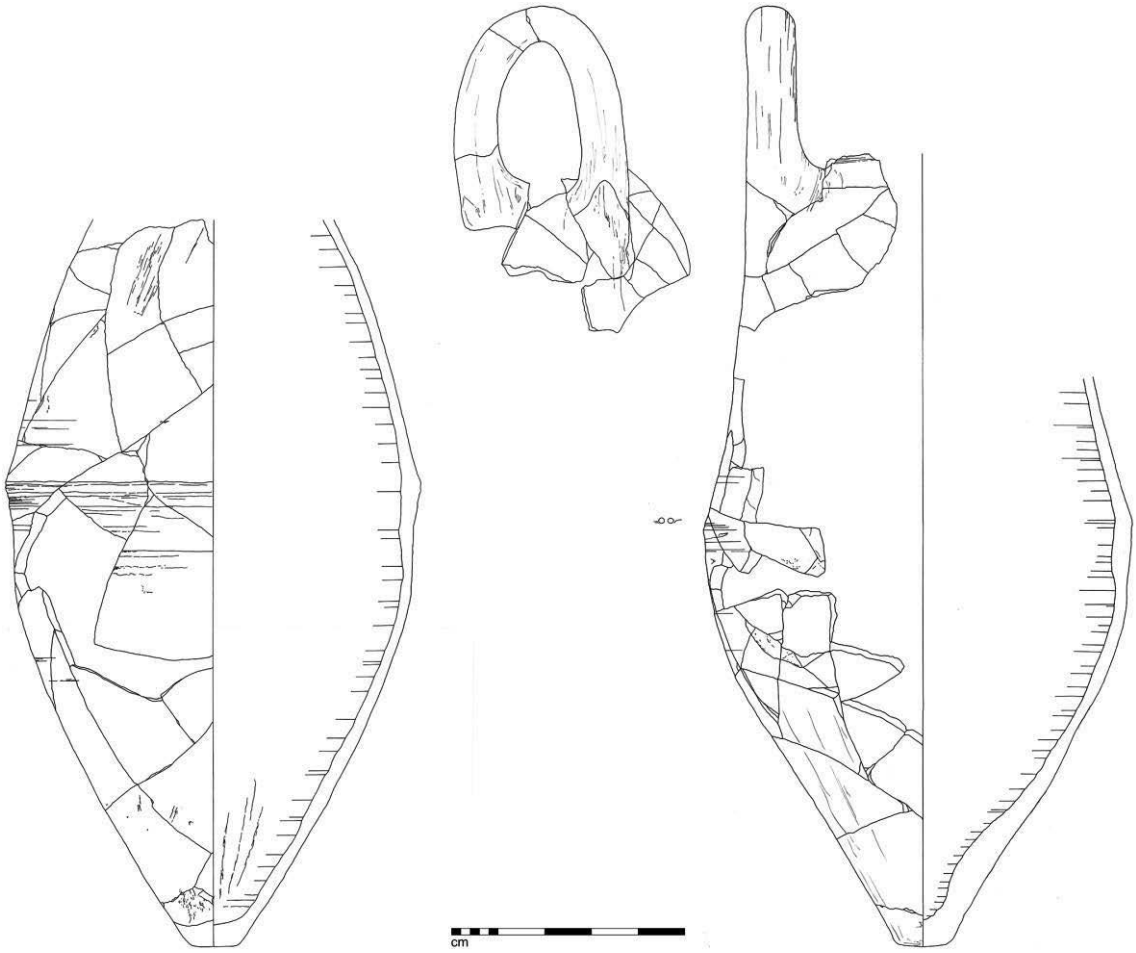


Fig. 9: Cypriote basket-handle amphorae from TT -400- (Drawing: Balázs Tihanyi)

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PART D:

LUXOR AND KARNAK



Fig D-1: Chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau, Karnak (photo: K. Griffin)

Luxor Temple: The Conservation and Restoration of the Standing Colossus of Ramesses II in Front of the First Pylon of Luxor Temple

Mostafa Waziry, Ahmed Araby, Abdelrazk Mohamed Ali[1]

Abstract

Publication of the conservation and reconstruction of a standing colossus statue of Ramesses II in front of the First Pylon at Luxor Temple.

Introduction

The First Pylon of Luxor Temple, which was built by Ramesses II, was originally fronted by six colossal statues of the king, two seated and four standing (fig. 1).[2] Two seated statues and one standing have survived in their original location while the remaining ones had collapsed.[3] This paper discusses the reconstruction of one of the standing statues, which was completed in 2017.[4]

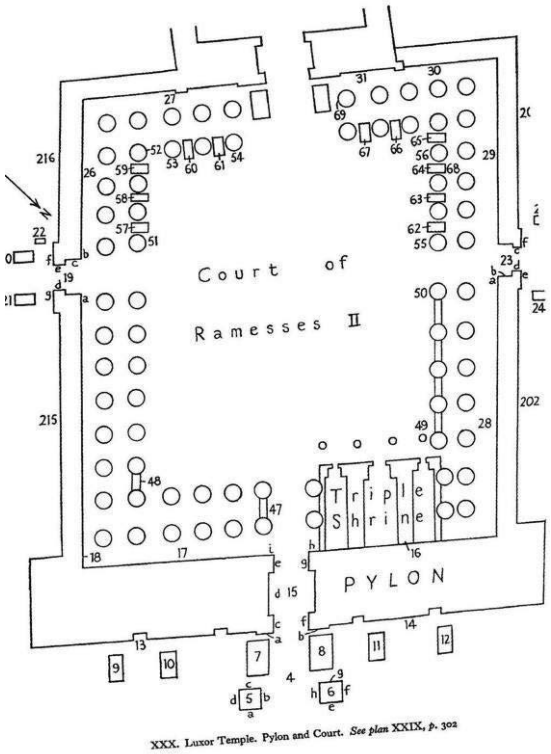


Fig. 1: Plan of Luxor Temple (after PM II[2], plan xxx)

[1] We would like to express our gratitude to the Ministry of Antiquities, H.E. Dr. Khaled El Enany, and Dr. Mohamed Badr, Governor of Luxor, for their support of this project. The team of the project consisted of: Dr. Mustafa Waziry, Secretary General of the SCA; Dr. Ayman Hamed, Consultant, Suez Canal University; Ahmed Araby, General Director of Luxor Temple; Mohamed Hussein, Director of Restoration of Luxor Temple; Tarek Milad, General Director of the Engineering Department of Upper Egypt; Abu El-Hassan Ahmed, Engineer; Hanim Sadayek, Head of the Scientific Research Department of Luxor Temple; Ahmed Badr El Din, Director of Luxor Temple; the conservators Abdelrazk Mohamed Ali, Ali Hassan Ibrahim, Mohamed Abu Hakim, Mohammed Ahmed Hussein Shebib; Mahmoud Farouk, Reis of the stone transportation workmen; Hajaj Al-Madawi, engineering technician.

[2] PM II[2], 304 (7–12).

[3] PM II[2], 304, seated statues (7–8), standing statue (12).

[4] PM II[2], 304 (11).



Fig. 2: Representation of the façade of the First Pylon on the southern wall of the Peristyle Court (photo: Abdelrazk Mohamed Ali)

Previous Research and Restoration

The Ministry of Antiquities (MoA) team of archaeologists and conservators, directed by Dr. Mostafa Waziry, set a goal to reconstruct a ruined colossus (nr. 11) originally located between two preserved statues on the north side of the entrance. Excavation work in this area was conducted by Dr. Mohammed Abdul-Qader between 1959–1960.[5] When Dr. Abdul-Qader cleared the debris in front of the First Pylon, he discovered the black granite base of statue nr. 11 in situ. In total, 144 fragments of the statue were found during the excavation of the area in front of the First Pylon. The fragments vary in size and belong to different parts of the statue, from the base to the crown. Intentional destruction of the statue was evident on the head and the arms. The first restoration work was carried out on the base of the statue by the Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA) around 1982–1985, after the excavations carried out by Dr. Abdul-Qader (Luxor Antiquities). Dr. Abdul-Qader later collected all of the fragments and moved them onto a mastaba on the west side of the pylon. Unfortunately, they were mixed with fragments of other statues made from different materials, such as red granite, black granite, and sandstone. This mixture of stones led to some errors when Dr. Abdul-Qader attempted the first reconstruction of the statue on the ground. For example, the right arm was placed on the left side.

[5] ABDUL-QADER, *ASAE* 60 (1968), 227–79.

Current Reconstruction

The first stage of the current restoration project was to record and photograph all the fragments. Before reconstructing the statue, we referenced a scene in sunk relief located on the western half of the southern wall of the Peristyle Court of Luxor temple, which depicts the front of the First Pylon with six statues, two sitting and four standing (fig. 2).[6] From this depiction of the First Pylon, we were able to see what the original statue looked like. We examined the statues of Ramesses II in the Peristyle Court and consulted with Dr. Ray Johnson, Director of the Chicago House in Luxor, and Mr. Ahmed Araby, Director of Luxor temple.[7] The decision was made to use one of the standing headless statues of Ramesses, with his daughter in relief by his left leg, from the court as a reference for the reconstruction of the statue.[8] It was decided to use this statue because it was very similar our statue. Additionally, it was made from the same material and carved in the same style, although it was slightly smaller. We started collecting fragments from the statue, which had previously been placed onto the mastaba on the west side of the temple (fig. 3). Around fifty-seven fragments from the base to the crown were documented and then placed in a sand pit in preparation for reconstruction. Preliminary reconstruction was done in this sand box. Before starting the reconstruction in situ, we examined the base of the statue. In order to reinforce the foundation, we dug a trench around the base and discovered a sandstone foundation in good condition.

After we reinforced the sandstone foundation, we began to repair the granite base, which was composed of two horizontal sections. The front side of the bottom part of the base was decorated with a scene of two kneeling figures of the god Hapi holding offering tables and performing libations. They flank the double cartouches with the names of Ramesses II. No inscriptions were found on the western and eastern sides. The top part of the base, which was connected to the feet of the statue, was inscribed with royal names on the north, west, and eastern sides.

No repair work was needed on the bottom section of the base. The top section of the base was originally carved in one piece with the rest of the statue. The upper section of the base and the lower part of the statue were preserved in eight large pieces, including parts of the left foot, the lower legs and feet of the queen, and remains of inscriptions around the base. The missing sections of the top part of the base had been reconstructed by the SCA in the 1980s with sandstone and mortar. We began removing the old restoration material and the stones that were attached to it from the second layer of the base. Before refitting the fragments to the base, we confirmed that they were in the correct position by comparing their inscriptions with those of statue nr. 12.[9] This confirmed that the previous restoration work was correct. We cleaned the stones and refit them in the appropriate position using araldite 1306 and stainless-steel bars.

Since large amounts of stone were missing from the centre of the base, the engineer decided to use this space to erect a 6 m high steel frame that would ultimately support the rest of the statue. First a square steel frame was attached and secured to the base. In order to secure the frame, stainless steel rods were inserted into the base of the statue, which were secured with araldite 1306. The exposed portion of the stainless-steel bars were welded together with the steel frame. Two vertical steel rods measuring 6 m high and 0.24 m wide were attached to the horizontal steel base at the back of the statue in order to support its back pillar. These rods were secured to the steel base with screws and then welded. Next, an 8 m long steel rod was attached to the top part of the steel frame on the west side. This rod extended diagonally and terminated near the left foot

[6] BELL, in SHAFER (ed.), *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, fig. 62 (drawing).

[7] This discussion took place in December 2016.

[8] PM II^2, 312 (64).

[9] PM II^2, plan 30.

where it was attached to the steel frame. Another steel rod measuring 2.7 m was placed vertically under the right knee and welded to the steel frame on the base.



Fig. 3: Fragments of the statue located to the west of the temple (photo: Abdelrazk Mohamed Ali)

The first section to be reconstructed was the statue of Nefertari, the wife of Ramesses II, which was about 2 m high and was located by the left leg of the king. This consisted of an upper fragment (nr. 101) and a lower part (nr. 100-D), including the feet and inscriptions at the base (fig. 4).[10] These two pieces were connected together with araldite 1306. After the remains of the queen were restored, she was joined together with nr. 100-C, part of the base with inscriptions, nr. 102, the piece between the feet of the king and the queen, and nrs. 103–4, parts of the back pillar to which the queen was joined. All of these pieces were joined together with araldite 2015 and steel rods. The steel rods protruding from the queen's statue were welded to a large steel frame on her right side.

[10] The numbers used in the description of the reconstruction are the registration numbers assigned to the fragments of the statue.

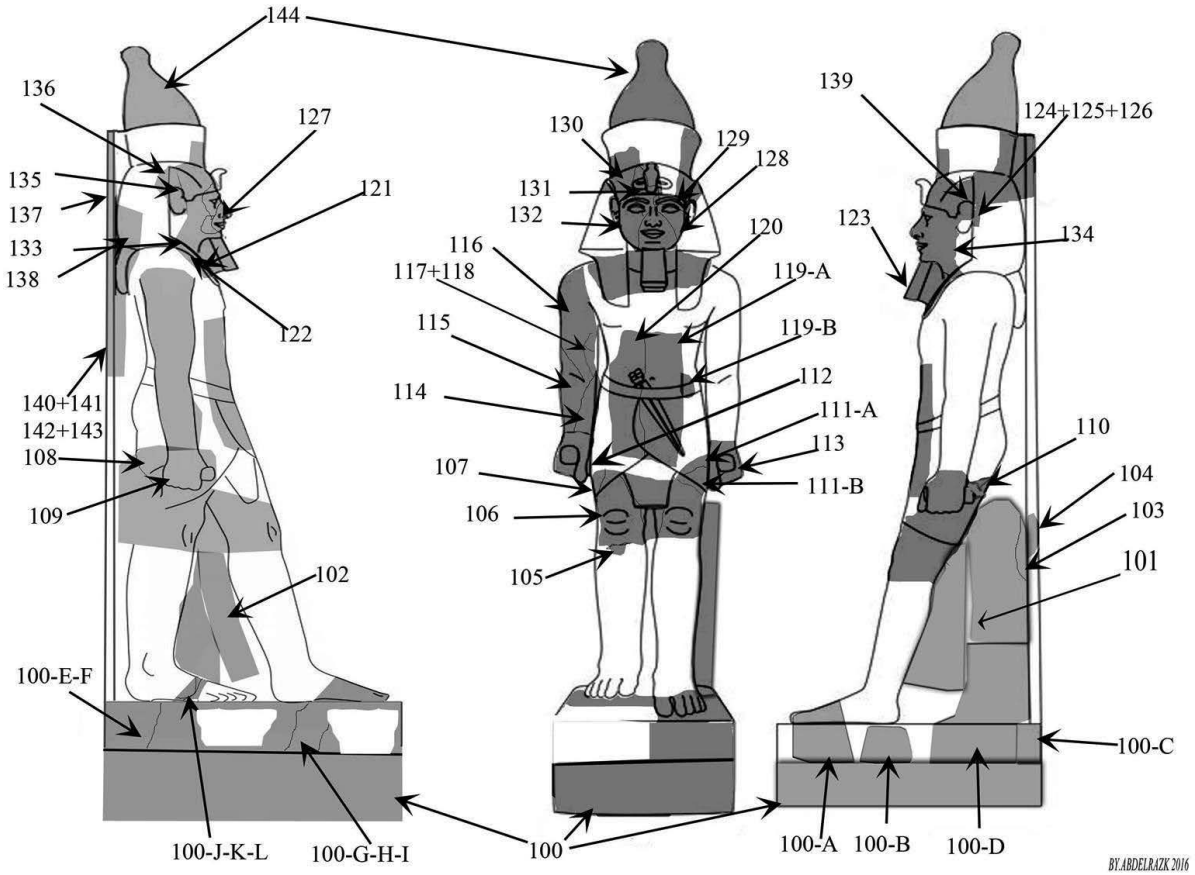


Fig. 4: Reconstruction of the statue (drawing: Abdelrazk Mohamed Ali)

Following this, fragments nrs. 105–13, which consisted of parts of the knees, kilt, hands, and back pillar, were joined with araldite 2015 and secured with steel rods at the workshop on the west side of the pylon. Once completed, the entire section was moved to the statue and placed onto a horizontal steel frame. The rods protruding from the stone were welded to the steel frame. Next, steel rods were welded together to form a grid. that stretched from the feet to the knees. After the grid was secured, it was filled with mortar in order to plug the missing area.

The next section of the statue to be reconstructed was the right arm. Fragment nrs. 114–8 were joined together with araldite 2015 and secured with steel rods. The arm was placed into position and welded together with the steel frame. Following this, nrs. 119-A, 119-B, and 120, which included the abdomen, belt, and kilt of the king were joined and secured away from the statue. This section was moved into place and welded to the vertical steel frame at the back of the statue. Next, a steel grid was built from the hands to the shoulders and filled with mortar.

The head was reconstructed from fragment nrs. 121–39, which included parts of the *nms*-headdress, beard, neck, face, crown, and back pillar. These pieces were joined with araldite 2015 and secured with steel rods at the workshop. A steel grid was constructed in the empty part of the head and filled with mortar to complete the missing sections. The head was lifted onto the statue and connected to the steel frame with screws (fig. 5). Next, nrs. 140–3, parts of the back pillar, were joined, secured, and connected to the statue. Finally, nr. 144, the top part of the crown, was joined to the head. Afterwards, the remaining empty spaces of the statue were filled with mortar. Finally, we tinted the exposed mortar to match the original granite. The completed statue was cleaned with water, alcohol, and tools in preparation for its unveiling to the public on the 18 April 2017 by the Ministry of Antiquities and the Governor of Luxor (fig. 6). The completed statue is 11.70 m high and about 75 tonnes (fig. 7).



Fig. 5: Head of the statue being lifted into place (photo: Abdelrazk Mohamed Ali)



Fig. 6: Team photo of the Restoration of the Colossus of Ramesses II Project (photo: Abdelrazk Mohamed Ali)

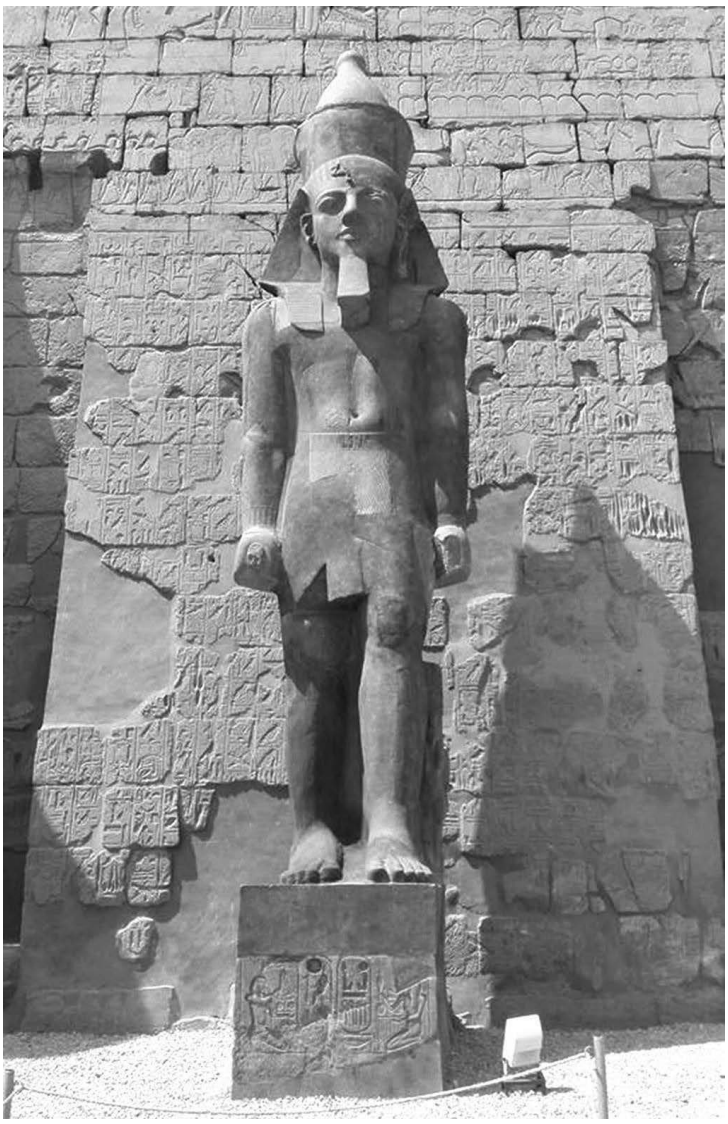


Fig. 7: Final reconstructed statue (photo: Abdelrazk Mohamed Ali)

Inscriptions

The cartouche on the belt of the statue:



Wsr-mꜣᶜt-Rᶜ stp-n-Rᶜ mry-ỉmn, Usermaatre Setepenre, Beloved of Amun.

Inscription on the sides of the base:



Left: *kꜣ-nḫt mry-mꜣᶜt nws-bity Wsr-mꜣᶜt-Rᶜ* [*stp-n-rᶜ sꜣ-Rᶜ*] *Rᶜ*-[*ms-s*] *mry-ỉmn di ᶜnḫ*
The strong bull, beloved of Maat. King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermaatre [Setepenre. Son of Re]: Ra[messes], beloved of Amun. Given life.



Right: *kꜣ*-[*nḫt*] *mry-mꜣᶜt* [*nws-bity*] *Wsr-mꜣᶜt-Rᶜ stp-n*-[*rᶜ*] *sꜣ*-[*Rᶜ*] *Rᶜ-ms-s mry-ỉmn di ᶜnḫ*
The [strong] bull, beloved of Maat. [King of Upper and Lower Egypt]: Usermaatre Setepen[re]. Son of Re: Ramesses, beloved of Amun. Given life.

The two cartouches of Ramesses, atop *nbw*-signs, on the front of the base of the statue:



Left: *Wsr-mꜣᶜt-Rᶜ stp-*[*n*]*-Rᶜ*, Usermaatre Setepenre.
Right: *Rᶜ-ms-s mry-ʾImn*, Ramesses, Beloved [of] Amun.

Double Inscription on the back pillar of the statue, of which only the right side is well preserved:[11]



(Left) [*ḥr kꜣ-nḫt*] *mry-mꜣᶜt nsw-bity Wsr-mꜣᶜt-Rᶜ stp-n-Rᶜ sꜣ sms<w>* [*n nswt-nṯrw*] *s*[*ḫᶜᶜ.f ḥr nst.f*] [The Horus: Strong Bull], beloved of Maat. King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermaatre Setepenre. Senior Son [of the King of the Gods, whom he has caused to appear upon his throne].

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[11] Reconstruction based on K*RI* II, 352. 13–4; 603. 5.

The Kushite Kiosks of Karnak and Luxor: A Cross-over Study

Jérémy Hourdin

Abstract

The sandstone kiosk built in the open court of the great temple of Amun at Karnak is one of the characteristic monuments of the architectural program of Taharqo. It is composed of two rows of five columns, which are connected by low intercolumnar screen walls and four doors. The names of Taharqo were usurped by Psamtik II, while some parts of the kiosk decoration and structure were modified during the reign of Ptolemy IV Philopator.

The construction of the kiosk of Taharqo follows on from the works of Shabaqo in the main Theban temples. In the early 1950s, the discovery of column drums at Luxor Temple were attributed to a 'colonnade' of Shabaqo, although it would later be identified as a kiosk by van Siclen III and Loeben. Its decoration can be determined thanks to a number of blocks reused in the gates of the Roman Fortress at Luxor Temple.

Both of these kiosks have many similarities with regard to their decorative programme, particularly the friezes of prisoners on the main doors. With the cross-over study of these monuments, we can analyse an aspect of the construction programmes of Kushite kings in the Theban region. The kiosks fall within the development of the Theban processions and the display of a Kushite imperialist discourse inspired by models of the New Kingdom.

Introduction

The kiosk built in the first court of Karnak Temple is an emblematic construction of the Kushite Period in Thebes. If the decoration of this monument had been executed during the reign of Taharqo, it was clearly modified on numerous occasions: Firstly, with the usurpation of the Kushite constructions by the Saite pharaoh Psamtik II and, secondly, during the reign of Ptolemy IV Philopator.[1]

The kiosk of Karnak[2] is one of the many columned monuments built in the Theban area during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.[3] However, a distinction has to be made between this kiosk and the buildings named by Leclant 'colonnades propylées' in Karnak (Eastern Temple and Khonsu Temple), Karnak-North (Montu Temple), and also in the precinct of the Mut Temple.[4] The structure and functions of these monuments are different. The kiosk is notably composed of only two rows of five columns, as opposed to four rows of five (or six) columns for the 'colonnades propylées'. Moreover, the kiosk is not directly attached to the temple entrance: it is a separate and a semi-independent construction whereas the 'colonnades propylées' are extensions of the temples.

The study of the Taharqo kiosk should not be isolated from that of the older monument of Shabaqo in front of Luxor Temple. Indeed, the discovery of several blocks in different Roman structures at Luxor Tem-

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[1] This study is part of the project dealing with the publication of the Taharqo kiosk led by R. Preys (UNamur-KU Leuven) and M. Broze (ULB). This paper presents one aspect of my PhD, which was defended in January 2016: *Des Pharaons kouchites aux Pharaons saïtes: identités, enjeux et pouvoir dans l'Égypte du VII^e siècle av. J.-C.*, under the supervision of Prof. D. Devauchelle (University Lille 3).

[2] The Kiosk of Taharqo (KIU 2577) will be published online as part of the Karnak Project: CNRS, USR 3172 – CFEETK/UMR 5140 – Équipe *ENiM* – Programme 'Investissement d'Avenir' ANR-11-LABX-0032-01 LabEx Archimede. References to the monuments of Karnak are given with their **KIU** numbers (**K**arnak **I**dentifiant **U**nique), which allows to access the full entries (hieroglyphic texts, photographs, bibliographical references, etc.) from the Karnak P, available at: http://sith.huma-num.fr/karnak.

[3] For the Kushite columned monuments inside the enclosure of Karnak, see LAROCHE-TRAUNECKER, *CahKarnak* 16 (2017).

[4] The colonnade of the Eastern Temple in Karnak (KIU 1131): LECLANT, *BIFAO* 53 (1953), 113–72. The colonnade of Khonsu Temple: LAROCHE-TRAUNECKER, *CahKarnak* 7 (1982), 318–25. The colonnade of Karnak-North: BARGUET, LECLANT, *Karnak-Nord* IV, 68–105. The colonnade of Mut Temple: FAZZINI, in FAZZINI, VAN DIJK (eds.), *The First Pylon of the Mut Temple*, 7–8. For the 'colonnades propylées', see LECLANT, *Recherches*, 200–16; LECLANT, *CTA* 10 (1957), 27–45.

ple allowed for the identification of a colonnade decorated in the name of this pharaoh, which was probably also a kiosk. In this paper, I would like to underline the architectural and decorative problems concerning the two Kushite kiosks in Thebes.

The Kiosk of Taharqo in Karnak

The kiosk of Karnak has a simple rectangular plan measuring 29 x 20.5 m with two rows of five open papyrus columns.[5] It is oriented along the main axis of the Karnak temple—from west to east—and had two main entrances. The first western Kushite gateway is still partially preserved whereas the second, the eastern, was rebuilt in the Ptolemaic Period and is now dismantled.[6] At the north and south, two 'secondary' doors are fitted between the second and third columns of each row. The remaining spaces between the columns are filled with intercolumnar screen walls, which are only well preserved for the northern part.

This kiosk also differs from other buildings of Taharqo by the monumental scale of its columns. In the Great Court, the last preserved column peaks at 19.75 m,[7] almost as high as the central columns of the Great Hypostyle Hall in Karnak. In comparison, the Taharqo columns of the Eastern Temple peak at 9.65 m.[8] This difference can be explained by the respective nature of these buildings and probably by the size of the structures around the kiosk: the huge size of the Second Pylon of Karnak (14.5 x 99.88 m),[9] the columns of the Great Hypostyle Hall, and scale of the Bubastite forecourt.

The Phases of Work on the Kiosk of Karnak

After the reign of Taharqo, two different phases of work on the kiosk are clearly identifiable. Firstly, as with many Kushite monuments in Egypt, the royal names of Taharqo were almost all erased and usurped by Psamtik II during the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.[10]

The kiosk was also heavily marked by the work of Ptolemy IV Philopator, whose names were inscribed on restored parts of the kiosk or on strategic locations. Unlike Psamtik II, the substitution of the older name by the ones of Ptolemy is not a systematic (or almost) usurpation. On the lower frieze of names, on the south-western preserved column, his names are only located on the northern side, which is the side of the eastern gate rebuilt during his reign. The other Saite names on the columns were not usurped even if they were accessible. Ptolemy's names were also engraved on the abacus of the same column, on a part visible from a distance but hardly accessible.[11]

The decoration of the northern and southern intercolumnar screen walls dates from the reign of Ptolemy IV Philopator. Those in the northern part are the best preserved. Inside the kiosk, a geographical procession with the first seven nomes of Lower Egypt is led by the king in front of the goddess Waset.[12] However, it should be noted that some of the outer faces of the walls are also decorated; it seems that it is

[5] See, in particular, the study of LAUFFRAY, *Kêmi* 20 (1970), 111–64.
[6] THIERS, *CahKarnak* 14 (2013), 472–6.
[7] Several other columns of the kiosk lay on the ground until 1860. See AZIM, in GABOLDE (ed.), *Hommages*, 43–4.
[8] LAROCHE-TRAUNECKER, *CahKarnak* 16 (2017); 'la hauteur totale est légèrement supérieure à 9 m. 50' in LECLANT, *BIFAO* 53 (1953), 159.
[9] CARLOTTI, *CahKarnak* 10 (1995), 84.
[10] The hypothesis of a *damnatio memoria* of the Kushite kings under Psamtik II (widely accepted since YOYOTTE, *RdE* 8 (1951), 215–39) has recently been discussed controversially by KOCH, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 396–413, and JANSEN-WINKELN, in LIPPERT, SCHENTULEIT, STADLER (eds.), *Sapientia Felicitas*, 279–80.
[11] There is no evidence concerning previous Kushite or Saite names on the abaci of the kiosk. At Karnak-North, some abaci of Taharqo's colonnade were inscribed (BARGUET, LECLANT, *Karnak-Nord* IV, 105) whereas there is no inscription on the two preserved abaci of the eastern colonnade at Karnak. LECLANT, *BIFAO* 53 (1953), 164.
[12] Above the geographical procession, Ptolemaic scenes were also carved, although they are almost entirely lost. For traces of writing of an annals scene, see PREYS, in ZIVIE-COCHE (ed.), *Offrandes, rites et rituels*, 155, 181, fig. 7.

also a Ptolemaic representation of Egyptian regions.[13] Due to the state of preservation, it is not possible to know if these screen walls had already been decorated during the reign of Taharqo, as was the case for the different 'colonnades propylées' of this king.[14]

The Western Gate of the Kiosk

The different phases of intervention in the western gateway are more difficult to establish. This part of the monument is preserved to a maximum height of 1.67 m in its northern part. The decoration of the external façade dates to the reign of Taharqo. However, the inside part has been modified on several occasions. Originally, the entrance was not composed of two massive structures, but by walls that formed two niches inside the kiosk that had subsequently been closed. This is clearly visible on the south side where we can still partially see the Kushite decoration with a procession of gods inside the structure (fig. 1).



Fig. 1: Previous Kushite decoration of the western gateway's south inside part (author's photo)

The two newly formed walls received decoration that can still be seen on the northern part (fig. 2). These new reliefs, with three fecundity figures, must be distinguished from those of the left. The first two figures may date from the reign of Taharqo according to the style of the carving. However, the three new figures—Hetepu, Djefau, and Shepesu—have a different style and nature.

The decoration of this new part of the kiosk is problematic. In the inscriptions of these three fecundity figures, we can read only one royal name very partially preserved: [*Ptwl*]*mys*[-ʿ*nḫ*-*ḏt*]-*mr*(*y*)-*ỉst*, which is the name of Ptolemy IV Philopator. However, the style of the writing and of the carving of the deities clearly differs from the decoration of the intercolumnar screen walls of this king. Moreover, the nature of the group of fecundity figures differs from the northern geographical procession led by the pharaoh.[15] It is possible that these three other divinities of the western door do not date from this reign but precede it. The names of Ptolemy IV could only have been added over a previous inscription.

[13] KIU 6478-6483. Some loose blocks published by Thiers probably come from the southern intercolumnar south walls decorated by Ptolemy IV Philopator. See blocks 84CL317 and 94CL1241 published in THIERS, *CahKarnak* 14 (2013), 472.

[14] For Lauffray, the intercolumnar screen walls have not been worked by Taharqo. See LAUFFRAY, *Kêmi* 20 (1970), 148–9. For the Shabaqo kiosk at Luxor, two blocks could come from screen walls (blocks 14 and 15 of Gate II) but we cannot establish a parallel with the Taharqo kiosk through only these elements. See EL-SAGHIR *et al.*, *Le camp romain*, 45, 54.

[15] These three gods can follow the Nile god Hapi, like in the chapel of Osiris Neb-ankh/pa-wesheb-iad (KIU 1572, 425-427; COULON, in RICKERT, VENTKER (eds.), *Altägyptische Enzyklopädien*, 979, 981, 984, pl. 12b).



Fig. 2: Decoration of the western gateway's north inside part (author's photo)

Two names of Taharqo were not erased on the first northern column—one on the lower frieze and the second one on the south scene in which the king's double *uraeus* is also intact (fig. 3)[16]—while they have been erased and carved again on the rest of this column. If we imagine the structure of the northern massif of the gate, it can be noticed that these Kushite names and double *uraeus* in question would have been hidden. The fact that they were not defaced suggests that they were already inaccessible during the reign of Psamtik II.[17] Therefore, the architectural modification of the interior part of the western gateway should be dated between the end of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty and the usurpation of the monument under Psamtik II. It was then decorated at an unknown moment. The names of Ptolemy may have been carved during a third phase,[18] perhaps at the same time as the new decoration of the intercolumnar screen walls and the kiosk.[19]

Blocks from the Kiosk of Taharqo

Many blocks from the kiosk were discovered by the Centre franco-égyptien d'étude des temples de Karnak (CFEETK) around the monument during the excavations for the Sound and Light at Karnak. Unlike the northern gate, the now destroyed south one had been rebuilt, probably during the Ptolemaic Period. Inside its sandstone foundation, reused Kushite blocks of the original gate were also discovered. Through them, and with the parallel of the Taharqo's north gate partially preserved, it is possible to have an idea of the Kushite decoration of this part of the kiosk. A first presentation of this decoration has been proposed, but no photography of the reused blocks has been published thus far.[20] With the archives of the CFEETK, it will be possible to refine this reconstruction in a later publication.

[16] KIU 6033, 6029. For the north scene of Taharqo usurped by Psamtik II, see KIU 6030.
[17] Koch noticed that, on the southern preserved column, 'the names of Taharqo and Psamtek II [are] side by side'. KOCH, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 403. However, there is only one name of Taharqo not erased (against four names of Psamtik II, see KIU 6076), which is the one less easily accessible. The other Kushite names in the two scenes and in the lower frieze of titulary are all usurped.
[18] The western gateway was also restored maybe during Ptolemaic times. It is especially visible on the northern side of the passage that is partially reconstructed with blocks without decoration whereas it has been decorated during the Kushite Period (we can still read *pḥw* above the offering platter of the god Hapi: KIU 6072).
[19] The inner side of the north-western column had probably been restored in antiquity (it is clearly visible on the photo CFEETK nr. 96396). The damaged part (perhaps because of a fire) was repaired with small blocks. This restoration is later because it does not concern the part of the column hidden by the filling of the western gateway's north niche.
[20] LAUFFRAY, *CahKarnak* 3 (1970), 145; SAAD, TRAUNECKER, *Kêmi* 20 (1970), 180–2.



Fig. 3: First northern column, localisation of Taharqo's intact names and *uraeus* (author's photo)

Among the loose blocks, three, easily identifiable, have a similar decoration to the lists of prisoners engraved on the western façade of the kiosk (fig. 4). Concerning the northern part of this façade, the reliefs of the lower section are relatively well preserved. The right side, representing the left doorjamb of the gate, is decorated with two figures of Hapi moving towards the interior of the kiosk. The most important part of the façade is decorated with two lines of prisoners. Leclant and Lauffray dated it to the Ptolemaic and the Saite Periods,[21] but these reliefs were more probably engraved under the reign of Taharqo. The identification of the prisoner lists in Luxor, dating from the reign of Shabaqo, supports this Kushite dating. If the southern part of the western gateway is badly preserved, the visible elements of the prisoner lists allow us to see that the north was dedicated to Asia and the South to Africa, a classic organisation in Egyptian temples. Each part was decorated with two sets of sixteen prisoners, differently oriented: the first three in the opposite direction to the central gate and the other thirteen in the other direction. This organisation reflects in fact the scenes that have been engraved above these prisoner lists: the first ones follow the direction of Amun and the second ones the direction of the pharaoh smiting his foes in front of the god.[22]

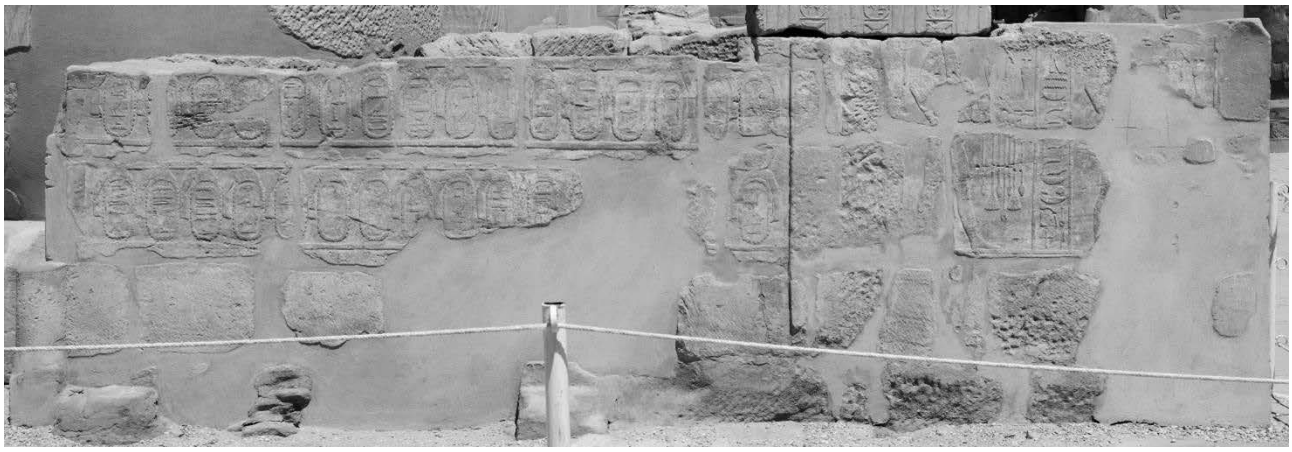
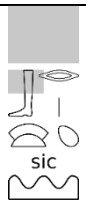
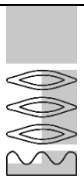


Fig. 4: Western façade of the kiosk of Taharqo, north part (© CFEETK/CNRS, E. Saubestre)

The three loose blocks belong to the African lists of Taharqo. On the first one (fig. 5), names of the southern peoples are partly preserved and written to the left. Like all the prisoners on the kiosk of Taharqo, this sequence corresponds to the African lists of Thutmose III, which are engraved on the Sixth and Seventh pylons[23] of Karnak, here the peoples 9 and 10.[24]

Taharqo (←)		
	[*Br*]*brt*	[*Ṯk*]*rw*
Thutmose III	Nr. 9	Nr. 10

Block 1: African List

[21] LAUFFRAY, *Kêmi* 20 (1970), 151; LECLANT, *Recherches*, 14 (§4.B).
[22] KITCHEN, in BRAND, COOPER (eds.), *Causing His Name to Live*, 128–9.
[23] Sixth Pylon of Karnak Temple: KIU 3437; Seventh Pylon: KIU 2026. The decoration of the Seventh Pylon in Karnak is currently being studied by C. Labarta (CNRS-CFEETK, LabEx Archimede).
[24] *Urk*. IV, 796, 11–3.



Fig. 5: Block 1 (© CFEETK/CNRS, E. Saubestre)

The second block (fig. 6) gives us the prisoners 55 to 59[25] facing right.

Taharqo (→)					
	Ḥm[*r*]*ṯ*[*t*]	*Mb*[*ṯ*]	*Mmṯ*	*Jʿḏ*[*m*]	ʕ[*ḥr*]
Thutmose III	Nr. 59	Nr. 58	Nr. 57	Nr. 56	Nr. 55

Block 2: African List



Fig. 6: Block 2 (© CFEETK/CNRS, E. Saubestre)

[25] *Urk*. IV, 798, 4–11; parallel of Shabaqo list: FAKHRY, *ASAE* 37 (1937), 53–4 (figs. 12–3).

The third block (fig. 7) gives us the prisoners 73 to 75, mirroring those on the southern list of Thutmose III.[26]

Taharqo (→)			
	M3[*t*]	*J*[*ft*]	*J*[*33*]
Thutmose III	Nr. 75	Nr. 74	Nr. 73

Block 3: African List



Fig. 7: Block 3 (© CFEETK/CNRS, E. Saubestre)

Blocks 2 and 3 are of particular interest because of the orientation of the prisoners. They both face right whereas, on the south part of the western gateway, most of the African people face left, except the first three. On block 2, five prisoners are facing right, so this one cannot belong to the western gateway. On the southern list of this gateway, only four people of the second line are partially preserved, they correspond to the prisoners 76 to 78 and 11 of Thutmose III.[27] If, on the block 3, we have the prisoners 73 to 75, the two sequences cannot be adjoining because, for the prisoners of the western entrance, the arms of the previous one—certainly that of number 75—are still preserved. It is quite unlikely that the same name was used twice in the same list. Therefore, block 3 also comes from another list of Taharqo. If these elements belonged to another part of the kiosk,[28] they probably come from the eastern Kushite gateway dismantled after the work of Ptolemy IV Philopator.

[26] *Urk*. IV, 799, 13–7; parallel of Shabaqo list: FAKHRY, *ASAE* 37 (1937), 55 (fig. 16).
[27] KIU 3707.
[28] Block 1 possibly comes from the same second African list of Taharqo because of the orientation of the prisoners. Indeed, in the parallel southern list of Shabaqo at Luxor, studied by FAKHRY, *ASAE* 51 (1937), 51–7, we can only replace prisoners 9 and 10 in the left part of the upper line (that is the side of the divinity). For the people names of Shabaqo, see n. 40 below.

The Asian and African lists of Taharqo are partial copies of those of Thutmose III at Karnak. However, it is not the first copy by the Kushite kings. Indeed, a direct parallel can be found at Luxor with the kiosk of Shabaqo. One example illustrates the similarity of the African lists. The same sequence of prisoners 73 to 78 immediately followed by prisoner 11 can be found at both Karnak and at Luxor.[29] For the Asian lists,[30] prisoners 50 to 51 are directly followed by prisoners 76 to 79 in both cases. The same selection from the lists of Thutmose III can therefore be found in both lists. Taharqo's lists of prisoners are in fact shorter versions of Shabaqo's.

The Kiosk of Shabaqo in Luxor

The kiosk of Karnak is not the first monument of this type built by a Kushite king in Thebes. The so-called colonnade built by Shabaqo at Luxor Temple was probably also a kiosk, most likely located in the forecourt, directly in front of the Ramesside pylon.[31]

Many sandstone column drums were discovered in the Roman pavement of Room V at Luxor Temple, the Imperial Cult Chamber.[32] The decoration of these blocks has a typology quite close to the columns of Taharqo at Karnak, while the names of Shabaqo can still be read in a few erased cartouches (figs. 8–9). Granite blocks have also been reused with these column drums; they can still be seen in the Roman pavement. Leclant associated them with the same colonnade because of the comparison with the granite pavements of Taharqo's colonnades.[33]



Fig. 8: Column drum of Shabaqo, Luxor Temple (author's photo, courtesy of the Epigraphic Survey/Chicago House, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago)

[29] FAKHRY, *ASAE* 37 (1937), 55–6, fig. 16.
[30] FAKHRY, *ASAE* 37 (1937), 47–9, fig. 6; SIMONS, *Handbook*, 127–8 (with Ptolemaic date).
[31] VAN SICLEN III, *VA* 6: 3 (1990); 'Einer Kolonnade oder eines Kioskes' in JW*IS* III, 12 (46.26).
[32] PM II², 302, 321; HEIDEL, JOHNSON, in JONES, MACFADDEN (eds.), *Art of Empire*, 41; LECLANT, *Orientalia* 20 (1951), 456–7, pl. 48–9, figs. 6–7.
[33] LECLANT, *Recherches*, 139.



Fig. 9: Column drum of Shabaqo, Luxor Temple (author's photo, courtesy of the Epigraphic Survey/Chicago House, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago)

A second set of blocks comes from the sandstone gates of the Roman Fortress, more precisely, gates II and IV (and few from the Gate I), which are located around the forecourt of Luxor temple. These blocks were published in 1986 in *Le camp romain de Louqsor* and have been divided into three groups by the publishers.[34] The first one was dated to the reign of Shabaqo by his names, with 'the passage of the pylon', which was decorated by this Kushite king,[35] proposed as its provenance. A second group, already partially published by Fakhry,[36] corresponds to a 'monument aux frises de Nils et de prisonniers', which had a 'late datation' or 'probablement de la XXV^{e} dynastie'.[37] A last group of blocks perhaps comes from another late monument. In my opinion, all these elements could come from a single monument: a kiosk of Shabaqo.[38]

The Identification of the Kiosk by van Siclen III

Following the publication of the blocks of the Roman Fortress, and based on the theory of a colonnade of Shabaqo by Leclant, van Siclen III proposed a partial reconstruction of this monument. He has been able to reconstruct a right doorjamb belonging to a gate of Shabaqo, which was composed of two representations of the king with Amun and Mut. He associated these door blocks with the lists of prisoners reused in the Roman gates in order to reconstruct the façade of a colonnade.[39] Additionally, he made two successive proposals of the architectural reconstruction of the monument. After a first proposal, based on the 'colonnades propylées'

[34] EL-SAGHIR *et al.*, *Le camp romain*.
[35] JW*IS* III, 14–7 (46.27).
[36] FAKHRY, *ASAE* 37 (1937), 39–57.
[37] EL-SAGHIR, *HistArch* 101 (1986), 79; with a proposition of location to the north-east of the temple, near Gate IV of the Roman Fortress.
[38] The hypothesis of a kiosk of Shabaqo is also accepted by HEIDEL, JOHNSON, in JONES, MACFADDEN (eds.), *Art of Empire*, 50–2.
[39] VAN SICLEN III, *VA* 3:2 (1987), 161–4.

of Taharqo in Thebes, in 1990 he identified this monument as a kiosk that has been built in the open court in front of the Luxor Temple.

Indeed, the blocks of the Roman Fortress allow for a reconstruction of two lists of prisoners—one from Asia and one from Africa—oriented face to face. These blocks were first studied by Fakhry.[40] Another element with the same type of decoration was also reused during the Roman Period inset into the western part of the pylon of Luxor.[41] The two lines of prisoners belong to a list of African people (but with Asiatic heads). However, the sequences of names do not fit with the previous southern list.[42] Based on this observation, van Siclen III proposed that this block would come from a different façade with a similar decoration. Therefore, the colonnade of Shabaqo would not have one main entrance, but probably two. This possibility has been previously observed with the kiosk of Karnak in this paper: the prisoners of the loose blocks probably come from a second gateway with a similar decoration.

This conclusion by van Siclen III is reinforced by the granite pavement discovered during the excavations in the centre of the forecourt of Luxor during the late 1950s.[43] The granite blocks reused inside the temple, in the Roman Chapel (with the column drums of Shabaqo) could come from this incomplete pavement. The length of the Luxor pavement can be compared with the one of Taharqo's kiosk in Karnak, measuring about 29 m in length and composed mainly of granite blocks.[44] These similarities in the two forecourts of the temples of Karnak and Luxor cannot be a simple coincidence. Leclant already underlined the parallel between these pavements in Luxor and Karnak.[45]

The hypothesis concerning a kiosk of Shabaqo at Luxor by van Siclen III, therefore, seems likely. Nevertheless, it remains to be seen if Shabaqo's kiosk had a plan similar to the monument of Taharqo in Karnak. It is also important to take into account the chronology of these monuments. The Kushite architectural programme of the Theban kiosks began under the reign of Shabaqo, probably in accordance with the Theban religious processions.

The Identification of a Smiting Scene of Shabaqo

Some blocks reused inside the doors of the Roman Fortress can improve our knowledge of the decoration of the kiosk of Shabaqo, as well as the one of Taharqo. Actually, the prisoner lists of the Karnak and Luxor kiosks are a strong indication to reconstruct the scene engraved above the lists of prisoners.

The inscription of Shabaqo's Asian prisoners is a characteristic legend commonly found in the temples of Thebes.[46] It describes the act of the king bringing his defeated enemies and their tributes to his father Amun-Re.[47] Generally, those lists and the legend are surmounted by a scene showing a king smiting his foes in front of Amun-Re. At Luxor, several blocks reused in the Roman gates confirm this hypothesis.

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[40] Nine blocks with southerners, studied by Fakhry, fit together and allow to reconstruct two lines of prisoners: the first one with African names (51 to 67, facing left) and Asian heads, and the second (nrs. 14–16, facing right, and 71, 73–78, 11–12, 81–85, 88, 90–94) with Nubian head. Fakhry, *ASAE* 37 (1937), 51–7. The same difference of heads can probably be recognised in the African lists of Karnak.

[41] VAN SICLEN III, *VA* 6: 3 (1990), 177–9, fig. 2.

[42] On the block inside the pylon, we appear to have the southern peoples 63 to 69 in the first line, and in the second line, perhaps the peoples 86 to 88 (?). The superposition of the two lines is similar to the previous African list that already contains these people names.

[43] Pavement is described in LECLANT, *Orientalia* 20 (1951), 455; VAN SICLEN III, *VA* 6: 3 (1990), 179.

[44] According to Lauffray, the granite pavement of the Taharqo kiosk would be a late renovation. LAUFFRAY, *CahKarnak* 3 (1970), 141. This does not affect the comparison between the monuments. Moreover, the Kushite pavement at Karnak was perhaps already composed of granite blocks and completed during the Ptolemaic renovation of the Eastern Gateway. See LAROCHE-TRAUNECKER, *CahKarnak* 7 (1982), 324.

[45] See above n. 33.

[46] JW*IS* III, 12; VAN SICLEN III, *VA* 3:2 (1987), 163, fig. 5.

[47] For examples of New Kingdom, see *Urk.* IV, 780, 795–6.

The first one is the block 27 from Gate II.[48] The inscription contains two words, initially read as [...] *šṯ3 Stt* [...]. However, it likely mentions two regions: one 'inaccessible' (*šṯ3*) and the second being 'Asia' (*Stt*), belonged to an inscription written on several columns (fig. 10).

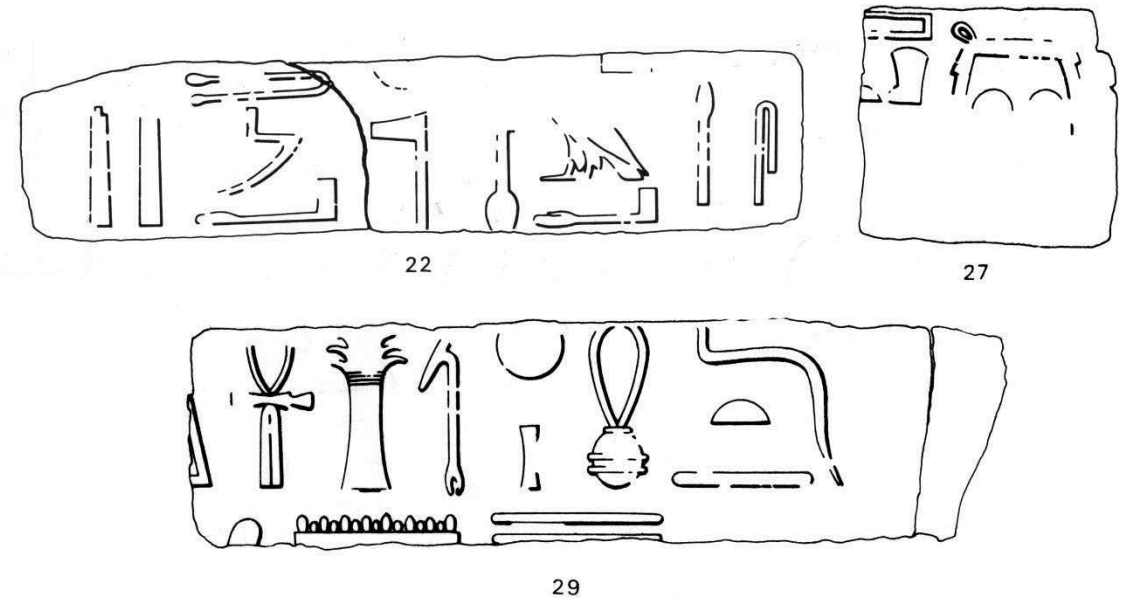


Fig. 10: Blocks 22, 27, and 29 from Gate II, Luxor Temple (EL-SAGHIR *et al.*, *Le camp romain*, 55–6 © IFAO)

Block 22 from Gate II has been dated to the reign of Nectanebo I because of the presence of the word *ṯm3-ʿ*, which can be the Horus name of this king.[49] However, more generally, and probably here too, it is a recurrent epithet of the pharaohs especially associated with a smiting scene.[50] In the first column, given the context, it seems that the two *jwn* pillars can be read *Jwnty*[*w*], the "Nomads".

Block 29, from Gate II, provides the best evidence for the identification of a smiting scene of Shabaqo.[51] Because of the style, the publishers of the blocks from the Roman Fortress had clearly dated it to the reign of the Kushite king Shabaqo, although they did not identify the exact nature of the inscription. On the upper part, a classic formula *dj ʿnḫ ḏd w3s mj Rʿ ḏt* can be read. Below, it is not a second line, but the top of three columns of text: the hieroglyph *mn* and two signs *t3* are clearly readable. The inscription of the smiting scene of Taharqo at Medinet Habu provides a direct parallel.[52] The upper part of the second and third columns begin with the word *Mntyw* (for *Jwntyw-Mntyw*) and *t3w* (for *t3w nbw*) (fig. 11). Without doubt, we have at Luxor the same words and the same organisation of the scene. The hieroglyph fragment of the first column was in fact the hieroglyph *sḳr*, 'to strike'. Therefore, the inscriptions refer to two distinct elements: above, the gift of life probably from a protective winged goddess over the king's representation, and, below, the beginning of three columns of text with a similar organisation and content as in Medinet Habu. Block 27 from Gate II, with the words *šṯ3* and *Stt*, corresponds to the lower part of an inscription from a similar, or maybe the same, smiting scene.

These blocks prove the existence of smiting scenes of Shabaqo, which were probably carved onto the façade of the kiosk at Luxor Temple, above the lists of Asian and African prisoners.

[48] EL-SAGHIR *et al.*, *Le camp romain*, 48, 56 (27). Gate II is to the west of the pylon, near the forecourt of the temple.
[49] EL-SAGHIR *et al.*, *Le camp romain*, 47, 55 (22).
[50] See especially the examples of the New Kingdom: HALL, *Pharaoh Smites his Enemies*, figs. 28–72.
[51] EL-SAGHIR *et al.*, *Le camp romain*, 49, 56 (29).
[52] PM II², 465 (35); JW*IS* III, 117.



Fig. 11: Inscription of the Kushite smiting scene at Medinet Habu (photo: T. Fignon)

Smiting Scenes of Taharqo at Karnak

Concerning the kiosk of Taharqo in Karnak, we have seen that the bottom of the western façade is also engraved with two lines of prisoners, which are shorter versions of the lists of Shabaqo. Based on the parallels of the New Kingdom and also of the Kushite dynasty at Luxor, it is very likely that two smiting scenes decorated the façade of the Karnak kiosk on each side of the central gateway.[53] The approximate size of the western scenes of Taharqo can be restored thanks to the traces of the walls on the first northern column studied by Lauffray (fig. 12).

Conclusion

After this preliminary study concerning the Kushite kiosks at Karnak and Luxor, a systematic review of the blocks will be necessary to improve our knowledge of these two buildings, their architecture, decoration, and function(s). However, this first examination allows us to compare the constructions of Shabaqo and Taharqo.

The architectural work of Taharqo is in line with that of Shabaqo. This continuity was already visible at Medinet Habu where the king claimed to be completing the work of his predecessor.[54] We can even question

[53] According to Lauffray and the marks on the two eastern columns, the height of the eastern gate was lower. LAUFFRAY, *Kêmi* 20 (1970), 150–1. Thus, it was possibly not decorated by smiting scenes, unless these ones were smaller.

[54] For decoration and inscriptions of the Kushite pylon in Medinet Habu (with bibliography), see JW*IS* III, 17–8 (46.28), 115–8 (48.50). The works of the reign of Taharqo took place during the very first years; two stelae celebrating the construction of the enclosure wall are dated to year 3. DALLIBOR, *Taharqo*, 46–9. The continuity of the works under the reigns of Shabaqo and Taharqo is an element in favour of the hypothesis of a direct succession between these two

the origin of the large kiosk of Karnak: if the first step of the decoration clearly dates from the reign of Taharqo, the possibility that he was not the initiator of this construction cannot be fully excluded.

The decorative programme chosen for these two monuments of Karnak and Luxor is also of particular interest.[55] Very probably, the façades were decorated by representations of the triumphant king smiting his foes, as on the Kushite pylon at Medinet Habu.[56] This classic representation of the triumphant pharaoh could have a link with military actions of the Kushite kings in Asia. However, we have to be very cautious about the historical value of these reliefs based on New Kingdom models, especially of Thutmose III. Moreover, the main gateway of the Kushite kiosks formed new façades for these temples whose entrances have already been decorated with historical battle or also semi-symbolic Ramesside smiting scenes.[57]

Finally, the links between Medinet Habu and the kiosks are significant since the Small Temple of Djeme, which was extended during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty,[58] is directly associated with the temples of the East Bank, especially during the Theban processions.

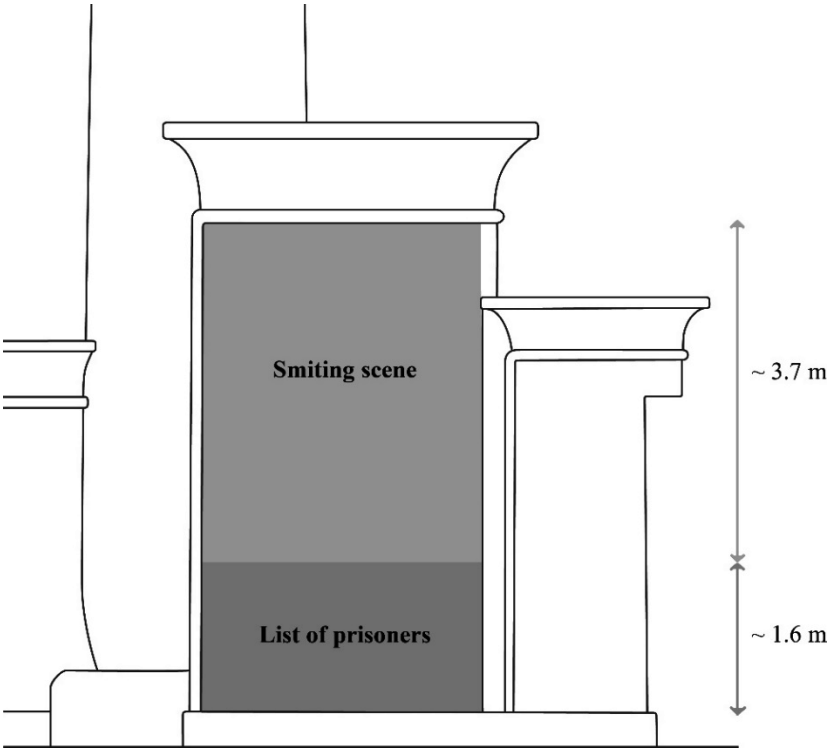


Fig. 1: Taharqo kiosk, reconstruction of the western façade (after LAUFFRAY, *Kêmi* 20 (1970), 157, fig. 33).

Kushite kings. PAYRAUDEAU, *Nehet* 1 (2014), 125, n. 68. See now JURMAN (2017).

[55] For the reign of Taharqo, in Nubia, we can also mention the symmetrical smiting scenes in Sanam and Kawa, opposite to the famous and archaic representations of Taharqo as a griffin trampling his foes, which is engraved in the court in order to 'protect' the inside areas of the temples. GRIFFITH, *LAAA* 9 (1922), 105, pl. 41; MACADAM, *Kawa* II, pls. 9, 11. In Karnak, the smiting scene on the Kushite pylon of the Opet Temple (KIU 4131) could be dated to this reign, even if the representation of the king has possibly been carved again during the Ptolemaic Period (like the northern scene of the pylon's outer face, KIU 4130). AZIM, *CahKarnak* 8 (1987), 67, n. 107.

[56] In Medinet Habu, the Kushite smiting scenes were copied by Nectanebo I on the façade of his porch built in front of the pylon. HÖLSCHER, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu* II, 28, pl. 31. The decoration of the façade of this porch is probably similar to that of the Karnak and Luxor kiosks. The decoration of the intercolumnar screen walls of Nectanebo's porch is also directly inspired by the decorative program of Taharqo's colonnades in Karnak and Karnak-North (ongoing study by the author).

[57] For the smiting scene of Ramesses II and Ramesses VI on the second pylon at Karnak, see KIU 6731-6733; KITCHEN, *ZÄS* 96 (1969), 23–8, pl. 7. See also the smiting scenes on the pylon of the temple of Ramesses III next the kiosk of Taharqo: KIU 4325, 4328; THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY, *Ramses III's Temple within the Great Inclosure of Amon, Part I*, pls. 2, 4–5.

[58] JACQUET, *CdE* 81 (2006), 17–24.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank R. Preys (UNamur-KULeuven), W.R. Johnson, J. Heidel (The Epigraphic Survey/Chicago House, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago), C. Thiers, S. Biston-Moulin (CNRS-CFEETK), and C. Labarta (LabEx Archimede/CNRS-CFEETK) for their help and advice.

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The Osirian Chapels at Karnak: An Historical and Art Historical Overview Based on Recent Fieldwork and Studies

Laurent Coulon, Aleksandra Hallmann, Frédéric Payraudeau

Abstract

The mission 'Osirian Sanctuaries at Karnak' (IFAO, CFEETK, EPHE, HiSoMA, Orient & Mediterranée, INRAP) aims at a systematic recording of epigraphic material from the monuments dedicated to Osiris at Karnak and an in-depth study of the development of his cult in this area. Over the past few years, besides excavations carried out in the northern part of Karnak, an epigraphic survey has been undertaken in seven chapels (Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau, Osiris 'Neb-neheh', Osiris Neb-ankh/pa-wesheb-iad, Osiris of Coptos, Osiris Hery-ib-pa-ished, Osiris wep-ished, and Osiris-Ptah Neb-ankh), the first six currently being prepared for publication in a series of monographs. In addition to the recording of scenes in situ, a long process of reconstruction of the decoration is required for each of these monuments, by using archival photographs, drawings, and the collection of data on blocks from these chapels now kept in the storerooms of the site, in museums, or elsewhere.

This paper will give an update on the work achieved in the last few years, focusing on several aspects of the study led by our team. The historical study of some of these Osirian chapels has led to a better understanding of their development during different reigns and highlighted the information they provide concerning the intricate chronology of the Third Intermediate and Late Periods. As for the art historical study, it has focused on a comparative analysis of the decorative programme of the Osirian chapels in Karnak. It studies ideological and propagandistic functions of their decoration, investigates their style being a combination of innovation and archaism, and aims to analyse the artistic techniques.

Introduction

The aim of the mission 'Osirian Sanctuaries at Karnak'[1] is to understand the growth of the cult of Osiris at Karnak during the First Millennium BC by studying individual monuments—mostly chapels of the god distributed throughout the periphery of Karnak, but also statues of priests and rituals on papyri—and by connecting these elements to a general interpretation of the Osirian landscape and its evolution. Among the various aspects of our research programme,[2] this paper will mainly focus on the epigraphic evidence in an attempt to provide a chronological overview of the evolution of the Osirian chapels from the Libyan to the Saite Period. This specific approach implies a twofold analysis of the data collected. Firstly, it aims at distinguishing the different historical phases during which the chapels were built and their historical background; the decoration of the chapels is likely to provide historical evidence allowing this contextualisation. Secondly, we have to evaluate how the historical evolution has affected their conception and iconographical programme. One aspect of these transformations is, from an art historical point of view, the modification in the representation of human figures, which will be dealt with in the second part of this contribution.

[1] This programme is conducted under the auspices of the Ministry of Antiquity of Egypt, with the support of the IFAO, the Franco-Egyptian Center at Karnak, the research teams EA 4519-EPHE, PSL, Orient et Méditerranée (Paris-Sorbonne) and HiSoMA (Lyon) and the National Institute for Preventive Archaeological Research (INRAP). Archaeological excavations have been carried out in the north-eastern and northern area of Karnak, including a full archaeological survey of the chapel of Osiris of Coptos and the chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau under the supervision of François Leclère and Cyril Giorgi. Hallmann's research is partially funded by National Science Centre of Poland in the capacity of Grant Harmonia 8 (016/22/M/HS3/00354).

[2] Annual reports are published in the 'Rapports d'activité' of the Institut français d'archéologie orientale, http://www.ifao.egnet.net/ifao/recherche/rapports-activites/. See, most recently, COULON, GIORGI, *Suppl. BIFAO* 116, 95–104; for a recent overview, see COULON, *BSFE* 195–6 (2016), 16–35. See also the article of BOULET in this volume.

The Osirian Chapels of Karnak: A Chronological Survey

A discussion on the designation 'Osirian chapel' would lead us beyond the scope of this article;[3] hence, we will adopt a provisional definition of these constructions as 'small buildings' dedicated to specific forms of the god—whose name or epiclesis frequently occurs within a cartouche—which were built in the periphery of the temples of Karnak (fig. 1). The following sections are an attempt to provide a general description of the Osirian chapels at Karnak in a chronological frame, limited to the Libyan, Kushite, and Saite periods.[4]

The Libyan and Kushite Chapels (Frédéric Payraudeau)

Aside from the small chapel of the Twenty-first Dynasty whose cultic purpose is not secured,[5] three chapels were built for the cult of Osiris during the Twenty-second Dynasty. The first one seems to be the chapel of Osiris wep-ished, which is located in the eastern area of Karnak.[6] The names of Osorkon II are engraved on the walls, in addition to the representation of the High Priest of Amun Takelot, son of the High Priest Nimlot and grandson of the king. This prince seems to have been in office during the later years of the long reign of Osorkon II, but not at the extreme end of the reign, as he was replaced as High Priest by Harsiese B.[7] In between, Takelot very probably became the pharaoh Takelot II, four years before the end of the reign of Osorkon II.[8] The presence of the God's Wife Karomama G on the façade, as advocated by some scholars,[9] cannot be secured, as the figure displays the traditional sheath dress for goddesses and not the typical long dress worn by the god's wives during the Libyan Period. It has been shown that the decoration of the chapels enhanced the position of the High Priest as a royal heir by establishing a parallel between the two deities to whom the chapel is dedicated (Osiris and his crowned heir Horus-son-of-Isis) and the two High Priests, the deceased Nimlot and his own heir Takelot (fig. 2).[10] It seems very probable that the chapel was built and decorated a few years before the accession of Takelot to kingship, so around 840–835 BC.[11]

The second chapel, that of Osiris Khenty-Imentet and Osiris Khenem-Maat in North Karnak, seems to be placed a little later, as it displayed representations of both Osorkon II and a queen (?) Karomama (room 1) and Takelot II with the God's Wife Karomama G (room 2).[12] However, this chapel is now completely destroyed and the discussion can only be based on Mariette's report.[13] It seems possible that the chapel was built in two different phases; one during the reign of Osorkon II alone, with a representation of the God's Wife Karomama G, probably his own daughter,[14] and a second phase during the reign of Takelot II with the same votaress. Nevertheless, it is also feasible with one phase of construction, during the join reigns of Osorkon II and Takelot II between 835–830 BC.

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[3] See COULON, *BSFE* 195–6 (2016), 18–21; JURMAN, in GYÖRY (ed), *Aegyptus et Pannonia*, 108–13; LECLANT, *Recherches*, 216–9.

[4] Ptolemaic (re)constructions (such as the chapel of Osiris of Coptos) and other kinds of buildings (temple of Opet, Osirian necropolis) will not be taken into account here. Furthermore, only the chapels still in situ and the most significant reused blocks or remains in museums or storerooms will be discussed.

[5] See map, fig. 1, nr. 15; PM II^2, 203; see JURMAN, in GYÖRY (ed.), *Aegyptus et Pannonia*, 112, n. 16.

[6] See map, fig. 1, nr. 16; PM II^2, 203–4; JW*IS* III, 119–20; PERDU, in COULON (ed.), *Le culte d'Osiris*, 101–21.

[7] PAYRAUDEAU, *Administration*, 58.

[8] PAYRAUDEAU, *Administration*, 63–6. Others proposed that Takelot II was an Herakleopolitan king, son of King Harsiese, but none of these kings are attested north to Abydos. See ASTON, in BROEKMAN, DEMARÉE, KAPER (eds.), *The Libyan Period in Egypt*, 17–8.

[9] JURMAN, in BECKER, BLÖBAUM, LOHWASSER (eds.), *"Prayer and Power"*, 80–1.

[10] PERDU, in COULON (ed.), *Le culte d'Osiris*, 101–21.

[11] For the chronology, see PAYRAUDEAU, *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil*, chapter 4.

[12] See map, fig. 1, nr. 9; PM II^2, 15 (56); JW*IS* II, 160 [nr. 2]; JURMAN, in BECKER, BLÖBAUM, LOHWASSER (eds.), *"Prayer and Power"*, 68–71.

[13] MARIETTE, *Karnak*, 10.

[14] See PAYRAUDEAU, *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil*, chapter 4, and for a different suggestion (daughter of Takelot II): JURMAN, in BECKER, BLÖBAUM, LOHWASSER (eds.), *"Prayer and Power"*, 71–8.

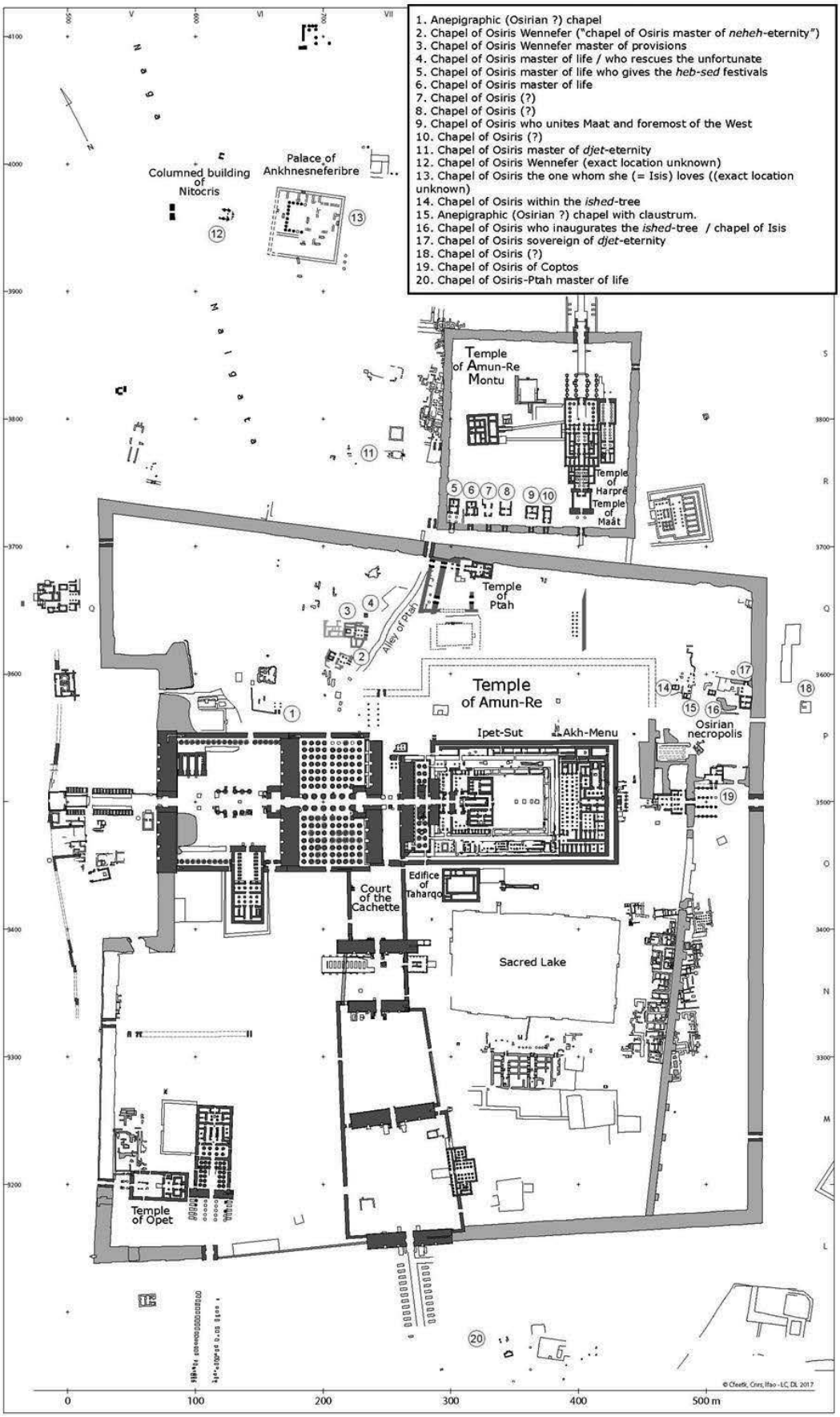


Fig. 1: General map of Karnak and North Karnak with indication of the chapels of Osiris (Mission Osirian sanctuaries at Karnak)



Fig. 2: Chapel of Osiris Wep-ished, left doorjamb of the western door. The High Priest Takelot son of the High Priest Nimlot purifying offerings (drawing: A. Guillou, H. Zacharias, F. Payraudeau)

The third chapel of the Libyan Period still in situ is the temple of Osiris Heqa-djet in East Karnak.[15] The two inner rooms can be dated to the coregency of Osorkon III and his son Takelot III, which also displays representations of the God's Wife Shepenwepet I, their daughter and sister.[16] Here there are no doubts about the coregency, as both kings are shown sitting together on symmetrical *heb-sed* thrones and receiving their names on the *ished*-tree from Amun and Atum. This coregency is well dated by a nilometric inscription at Karnak (nr. 13) that reads:

> 'Flood of year 28 of King Usermaatra-setepenamun, son of Re Osorkon (III), son of Isis, beloved of Amun, divine ruler of Thebes, which is year 5 of his son King [Usermaatra-setepenamun], son of Re Takelot (III), son of Isis, beloved of Amun, divine ruler of Thebes'.[17]

Hence, the chapel of Osiris Heqa-djet can be firmly dated to around 768–764 BC, the years of the coregency of Osorkon III and Takelot III. Some painted cartouches of Rudamun, the successor of Takelot III, had been added during his short reign c. 755 BC.[18]

The chronology of the chapels of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty is a complicated question. The presence of the Divine Votaress of Amun is of course a strong help, but not always, because in each case one has to check if the votaress was alive or dead at the time of the decoration of the monument. The current chronological order seems to be the most workable for the moment.

The first chapel of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty is most probably that of Osiris Heqa-djet in East Karnak.[19] As stated above, the two inner rooms date from the coregency of Osorkon III and Takelot III, during the office of Shepenwepet I. It represents the last monument from the Libyan Period in Thebes. The enlargement of the chapel by the addition of a new room is firmly dated in the reign of Shebitqo, whose reign has been recently placed at the beginning of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.[20] The somewhat rounded epigraphy is more reminiscent of the Libyan Period but the style of reliefs and royal iconography clearly display the Kushite style. One can note the presence of the God's Wife Shepenwepet I, daughter of Osorkon III and last Libyan votaress in the Kushite rooms. This led to an unsolved question: was she alive or dead? As she is shown acting in rituals, it seems improbable that she was dead at this moment. As the only two scenes with her figure are on the upper register of the eastern wall, it seems possible that she died during the decoration of the Kushite room and that Amenirdis, already adopted as heiress under Kashta, immediately succeeded her in the office. Most of the representations relate to Amenirdis I. The adoption of Amenirdis, being the main step of the Kushite arrival in Thebes, probably occurred around 750 BC.[21] Nevertheless, the representation of Shebitqo in the Kushite room of the chapel shows that the passing of office between Shepenwepet I and Amenirdis I occurred under this king, c. 712–705 BC, which is also the date for this part of the Osiris Heqa-djet chapel.

Two chapels were built and decorated under the patronage of the God's Wife Amenirdis I during the reign of Shabaqo. The North Karnak chapel dedicated to Osiris Neb-ankh[22] only has the name of this votaress and the broken cartouches of a king that seems to be Shabaqo as opposed to Shebitqo, who is now considered as his predecessor.[23] The chapel should thus date from this reign, 705–690 BC. The first phase, now

[15] See map, fig. 1, nr. 17; PM II^2, 204–6; JW*IS* II, 313–9.
[16] REDFORD, *JEA* 59 (1973), 16–30.
[17] PAYRAUDEAU, *Administration*, 83–4, 308–9.
[18] JW*IS* II, 330 [nr. 3]; JURMAN, *GM* 210 (2006), 74–8.
[19] See map, fig. 1, nr. 17; PM II^2, 204–6; LECLANT, *Recherches*, 47–54, JW*IS* III, 40–6.
[20] On the Shebitqo-Shabaqo succession, see BÁNYAI, *JEH* 6 (2013), 46–129; *JEH* 8 (2015) 115–80; BROEKMAN, *GM* 245 (2015), 17–32; PAYRAUDEAU, *Nehet* 1 (2014), 115–27. See now JURMAN, *JEH* 10: 2 (2017), 124–51.
[21] PAYRAUDEAU, *CRAIBL* 158 (2014), 1597–630.
[22] See map, fig. 1, nr. 6; PM II^2, 14–5; JW*IS* III, 10–2 [nr. 24].
[23] PAYRAUDEAU, *Nehet* 1 (2014), 117–8.

dismantled, of the chapel of Osiris of Coptos (fig. 3) in the eastern area of Karnak seems to be dated around the same period, as indicated by at least one fragment.[24]



Fig. 3: Reused block inscribed with the name of Amenirdis from the chapel of Osiris of Coptos (KOC 169.134.2-1: Mission Osirian sanctuaries at Karnak/CFEETK).

The following chapels date from the time of the God's Wife Shepenwepet II, during the reign of her brother Taharqo. The reliefs coming from the chapel of Osiris Neb-djet/Padedankh in North Karnak show Shepenwepet II and Taharqo alive, whereas on the lintel, Amenirdis I, standing behind the gods, is clearly labelled as deceased.[25] The same features are present in the chapel of Osiris Neb-ankh/pa-wesheb-iad, located along the alley of Ptah.[26] Here, besides her presence as deceased on the front lintel, Amenirdis is also shown performing rituals in the underworld on the walls of the second room. Thus, she was clearly deceased when the chapel was decorated. The reign of Taharqo covers the years 690–664 BC, but we do not know the exact date of the death of Amenirdis and the beginning of the 'reign' of Shepenwepet II. Amenirdis is never shown alive in a chapel with King Taharqo, although this is not a conclusive fact since this can be a result of the poor preservation of a chapel built during the beginning of Taharqo's reign. Recently, it has been suggested that two inscriptions in the Wadi Gasus could be understood as 'year 12 (of Taharqo), God's Wife Amenirdis (I)' and 'year 19 (of Taharqo), God's Votaress Shepenwepet II'.[27] The inscriptions were engraved some years apart, and Shabaqo is also possible for the year 12 text, although one could suppose that in view of their parallelism, the name of the king would have been written in detail if it had not been the same sovereign in both inscriptions. Hence, it is probable that Amenirdis I survived at least up to year 12 of Taharqo (679 BC), dying soon after.[28] The chapels of Osiris Neb-djet and Osiris Neb-ankh/pa-wesheb-iad could thus both date from the period 678–670 BC, after the death of Amenirdis I.

Several other chapels were built in Karnak during Taharqo's reign, but they are very poorly documented. The name of the king has been seen on the remnants of the eastern chapel along the row of North Karnak Osirian structures.[29] Taharqo's royal protocol is also to be found on some blocks, traces of dismantled monuments from the Karnak area. One is a lintel of an Osiris-wa ('Osiris the Unique One') with King Taharqo being introduced to the god by Thoth and Montu, which is probably from Karnak.[30] A foundation stela for a chapel of Osiris Pa-shed-hemef-en-Duat ('Osiris who saves his servant in the Underworld') dates to year 21

[24] See map, fig. 1, nr. 19; PM II^2, 207; JW*IS* III, 260–2, 569; PAYRAUDEAU, *Nehet* 1 (2014), 118.
[25] See map, fig. 1, nr. 11; PM II^2, 17–9; JW*IS* III, 77–80, with new fragments by PAYRAUDEAU, *CahKarn* 15 (2015), 215–35.
[26] See map, fig. 1, nr. 4; PM II^2, 194–5; JW*IS* III, 87–92; COULON, *EAO* 67 (2012), 49–58; LECLANT, *Recherches*, 23–36.
[27] KOCH, *Die den Amun mit ihrer Stimme zufriedenstellen*, 42–3, correcting JURMAN, *GM* 210 (2006), 89.
[28] She could, in theory, have survived up to year 19 (671 BC), just before the second graffito in Wadi Gasus was engraved, but this would leave a very short time after this date for all the chapels of Taharqo with Shepenwepet II to be built (Taharqo dying in 664 BC) and a strange gap between 690 and 671 BC in the development of Osiris Chapels in Karnak.
[29] PM II^2, 15 (chapel f).
[30] Lintel Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University of Atlanta, see COULON, *BSFE* 195–6 (2016), 20–1.

of Taharqo's reign, hence this chapel was built in Karnak in 670/669 BC.[31] The God's Wife Shepenwepet II, who was probably a co-builder of the monument, is shown facing Osiris in the upper part of the stela in symmetry with Taharqo. The date of 670–669 BC is significant because it falls between two Assyrians invasions of Egypt and shows that the building activities of the Osiris cults was not stopped, underlining its importance of the local and royal authorities.

The next sequence of chapels displays figures of Shepenwepet II without any king. The chapel of Osiris Hery-ib-pa-ished in the north-eastern area of the Amun complex has representation or names of Shepenwepet II alive, Amenirdis I deceased, but no king's name.[32] The same pattern is found in the jubilar chapel of Osiris Padedankh in North Karnak.[33] It has recently been shown that Amenirdis II, the daughter of Taharqo who was adopted by Shepenwepet, never became the God's Wife with full regalia and, therefore, is certainly not the Amenirdis shown on the wall of this chapel as previously assumed.[34] The date of the building was often placed at the end of the Kushite Period for this reason. The decoration more likely represents the deceased Amenirdis I, as in the chapel of Osiris Hery-ib-pa-ished. Yet another feature seems to indicate a late date for these two chapels: the absence of the king, shown in all other chapels, may point to a period when the Kushite royal power was weakened, during the Assyrian invasions between 670–660 BC. It is also possible that the God's Wife Shepenwepet was reluctant to be shown alongside King Tantamani, who was not one of her closest relatives (only a cousin). This may be linked with another feature of both chapels: they are the first where other persons than the king or the God's Wife appeared. These are the Chief Steward Akhamenru in the Osiris Padedankh chapel and a Singer of the Interior of Amun, Diesehebsed, the sister of the Governor Montuemhat, in the chapel of Osiris Hery-ib-pa-ished.[35] It is possible that Diesehebsed replaced Akhamenru, thus dating the chapel of Osiris Hery-ib-pa-ished slightly later than the Osiris Padedankh chapel. Another example, dating precisely to this much-troubled period, is to be found on a lintel, the only remnants of a chapel perhaps dedicated to Osiris (of) Hat-Bit, which shows the same God's Wife Shepenwepet II followed by a Singer of the Interior of Amun, Meresamun, the daughter of the Saite King Necho I.[36] The parallel link between the Chief Steward accompanying the votaress and the royal-*ka* following the king has been shown long ago, especially for the Saite Period.[37] However, it seems possible that this pattern has its origins in the retreat of the Kushite kings to Sudan during the Assyrian invasions and the necessity for the votaress to be accompanied by someone on these monuments.

This leads to the question of the date of the chapel of Osiris-Ptah Neb-ankh, perhaps the last Kushite chapel built in Karnak.[38] Contrary to the other buildings, the God's Wife is not present here. This may be related to the position of the chapel, far south of the God's Wife domain in North Karnak, or due to political reasons. Indeed, the king who decorated the chapel is Tantamani, who is absent from the North Karnak area.[39] Luckily, the date of the chapel can be precisely assigned to some months. Two kings are shown on the walls: Taharqo and Tantamani. The old idea that it shows a coregency must be rejected since other historical

[31] GRAEFE, WASSEF, *MDAIK* 35 (1979), 103–18.
[32] See map, fig. 1, nr. 14; PM II^2, 202–3; JW*IS* III, 309–13; Leclant, *Recherches*, 41–7.
[33] PM II^2, 5–7; JW*IS* III, 305–9; LECLANT, *Recherches*, 91–3. Not to be confused with the chapel of Osiris Neb-djet/Padedankh, see PAYRAUDEAU, *CahKarn* 15 (2015), 231–3.
[34] See KOCH, *Die den Amun mit ihrer Stimme zufriedenstellen*, 46–9 for the date of the chapel. For the status of Amenirdis 'II': COULON in COULON (ed.), *La Cachette de Karnak*, 526–7.
[35] CORSI in BOMBARDIERI, D'AGOSTINO, GUARDUCCI (eds.), *SOMA 2012*, 537–43; KOCH, *Die den Amun mit ihrer Stimme zufriedenstellen*, 39.
[36] COULON, PAYRAUDEAU, *RdE* 66 (2015), 21–32.
[37] BARGUET, *BSFE* 20 (1956), 7–9.
[38] See map, fig. 1, nr. 20; PM II^2, 278; JW*IS* III, 229–34; BREYER, *Tantamani*, 373–404; LECLANT, *Recherches*, 110–3.
[39] A stela with his name has been found reused in the pavement of Opet's sanctuary in the southwestern corner of the Amun enclosure: LAROZE, in COULON (ed.), *Le culte d'Osiris*, 224, 232, fig. 3.

data shows that Tantamani only became king after the death of Taharqo.[40] We can also dismiss the idea that the decoration was undertaken during the reign of Taharqo and finished after the accession of Tantamani, especially since the scenes with the kings often entangled in a manner that indicates that the wall-reliefs and paintings were produced by a single hand, during the reign of Tantamani. As shown by the schematic layout of the decoration, Tantamani is depicted in the prominent position in front of both Amun and Osiris, the main gods of the chapels. It seems certain that Tantamani ordered the decoration, while Taharqo may have been the founder of the chapel just before his return to the far south around 667 BC. Tantamani himself was recognised in Thebes during two short periods.[41] Firstly, between the summer of 664 BC and the spring of 663 BC (i.e. between his coronation and the new Assyrian invasion of 663 BC). Secondly, after the Assyrian retreat from the south and before Psamtik I take over of Thebes, Tantamani was recognised anew around 661–656 BC. There is no compelling reason for which Tantamani would have needed to enhance a link with Taharqo in the second period. Instead, the recent succession—by a collateral line and in a very troubled time—could have led the royal power to insist on continuity in the royal office between Taharqo and his cousin and nephew Tantamani at the beginning of the latter's reign around the summer of 664 BC. Hence, the building and decoration of the chapel of Osiris-Ptah can be dated between the summer of 664 BC and the spring of 663 BC.

The Saite Chapels (Laurent Coulon)

After the emergence of the Saite power and the installation of Nitocris as God's Wife in Thebes, there seems to be no real discontinuity in the development of the Osirian chapels at Karnak. This is probably as a result of the smooth political transition enabled through the adoption of Nitocris as the heiress of Shepenwepet II. As previously mentioned, the association between the Kushite and Saite princesses in the cult of Osiris is exemplified by a fragment of lintel showing Shepenwepet II followed by the Singer of the Interior of Amun, Meresamun, daughter of the Saite King Necho I in front of a Saite form of Osiris, Osiris (of) Hat-bit.[42] The Saite god's wives perceive themselves as belonging to the same dynasty as their Libyan and Kushite predecessors in the office, whose representations and cartouches are found on the reliefs of Nitocris and Ankhnesneferibre.[43] In a similar way that the Medinet Habu funerary chapels of the god's wives were built in a row, the Saite Osirian chapels became part of the religious landscape of Karnak by being added to existing 'streets' of chapels, which is particularly visible at North Karnak and along the alley to the temple of Ptah; in the sector of the north-eastern Osirian cemetery and in Naga Malgata, only some reused blocks were found, but monuments such as Ibi's stelophorous statue provide textual evidence for Osiris constructions built under Nitocris in these areas.[44] Additional blocks inscribed with the name of Nitocris were found in the Temple of Mut,[45] but the connection of the building to which they originally belong has not been determined.

Nitocris and Ankhnesneferibre, the only two god's wives of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, both had a very long period of activity. To list in chronological order their constructions, one has to not only use the royal cartouches of the kings, who had a shorter reign, but also the identity of the successive chief stewards (*imy-r pr wr*) who would now almost always be depicted following the God's Wife in the reliefs. This office was

[40] BREYER, *Tanutamani*, 12–3; see also MURNANE, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*, 193–6.
[41] On the historical context, see BREYER, *Tanutamani*, 305–16, 327–33; PAYRAUDEAU, *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil*, chapter 5.
[42] See above n. 36.
[43] See COULON, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 582.
[44] COULON, LAISNEY, *CahKarn* 15 (2015), 162–3; a lintel that could be ascribed stylistically to the beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty was discovered by Chevrier near the tomb of Osiris and photographed by Varille. Its current location is unknown. See COULON, *BSFE* 195–6 (2016), 20–1, fig. 3.
[45] FAZZINI, in DE MEULENAERE, LIMME (eds.), *Artibus Aegypti*, 51–62 (= JW*IS* IV, 613–4); SAUNERON, *La porte ptolémaïque*, pl. 5, B; for a possible location of the chapel(s), see FAZZINI, *ASAE* 79 (2005), 86–7.

left unoccupied between the date of the death of Akhamenru, during the reign of Tantamani, and year 26 of the reign of Psamtik I (639 BC), when Ibi was appointed as Chief Steward.[46] This date roughly coincided with the date of Nesptah, son of Montuemhat, who inherited most of his offices,[47] and the loss of influence of the 'clan' of the Fourth Prophet of Amun. From this time until the end of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, the Chief Steward of the Divine Adoratrice appears to be the most powerful person at Thebes, after the God's Wife herself. Using the chronological inventory of the owners of this office,[48] it is possible to be more precise on the date of construction of the chapels where one of them is depicted, namely Ibi, Pabasa, Padihorresnet, Sheshonq A, or Sheshonq B. For the chief stewards, these chapels were the counterpart of their tombs in the Asasif and, as in the Asasif, there should have been a kind of emulation, each Chief Steward trying to magnify his image inside 'his' Osirian chapel. Moreover, their personal involvement in the cult of Osiris is well attested. In the case of Ibi for instance, it is exemplified by the dedication of a statue of the god at Karnak[49] and by the choice of the name of one of his children, Padipanefereniretef, referring to a specific aspect of Osiris 'whose eye is benevolent'.[50]

This Ibi, the first Chief Steward of Nitocris (639–625 BC?) and owner of TT 36, has left many monuments and statues at Karnak.[51] According to the inscriptions of his statue Cairo JE 36158,[52] he was instrumental in building Nitocris' residential building in the quarter of Naga Malgata to the north of Karnak, but also a chapel of Osiris Wennefer located to the south of it: 'I built a temple beside it (i.e. the house of the God's Wife) for her lord Osiris Wennefer in excellent construction, with her lord in it [...] like Re in his mountain'.[53] However, nothing is known of this chapel. Blocks from a chapel built by Ibi are also visible as part of a wall built in the Bubastite Portal, in the first court of Karnak.[54]

During the period Pabasa was Chief Steward of Nitocris (between 625–610 BC?), a chapel dedicated to Osiris Neb-ankh di-heb-sed was built at the south-western corner of the precinct wall of the Amun-Re-Montu precinct in North Karnak.[55] The reliefs on the outer surface of the stone wall of the chapel show representations of Psamtik I, Nitocris and Pabasa;[56] however, the fragmentary state of the decoration does not allow for its content to be clearly identified.[57] Pabasa was also the donor of a naos containing a statue of Taweret as a month-goddess and bearing the cartouche of Osiris Padedankh, which was found by the *sebbakhin* at North Karnak.[58] This has led to establish a connection between this naos and the chapel of Osiris Neb-djet/Padedankh, which was built during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty and then possibly enlarged under Nitocris.[59] As an hypothesis, it may be assumed that Pabasa was responsible for this enlargement.

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[46] DE MEULENAERE, in VAN DIJK (ed.), *Essays on Ancient Egypt*, 243–4; GRAEFE, *Gottesgemalhin* II, 31–2, n. 70.
[47] See DE MEULENAERE, *CdE* 83 (2008), 107.
[48] BROEKMAN, *SAK* 41 (2012), 113–35; GRAEFE, *Gottesgemalhin* II, 82–7; *CdE* 87 (2012), 24–39; *CdE* 88 (2013), 35–7; see also KOCH, *Die den Amun mit ihrer Stimme zufriedenstellen*, 12–5. Recent discoveries in the South Asasif Necropolis led to the addition to the list of a Padibastet, grand-son of Pabasa and successor to Padihorresnet. See GRAEFE, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 241–9.
[49] This fragmentary statuette of Osiris inscribed with the name of Ibi was discovered at North Karnak (inv. T15; *cf.* JW*IS* IV, 597).
[50] COULON, in ZIVIE-COCHE, GOURDON (eds.), *L'individu*, 48–9.
[51] See JW*IS* IV, 631–4; GRAEFE, *CdE* 87 (2012), 29–30; *Gottesgemahlin*, 21–5.
[52] GRAEFE, *MDAIK* 50 (1994), 85–99, pls. 10–4; for additional bibliography, see COULON, LAISNEY, *CahKarn* 15 (2015), 161, n. 198.
[53] COULON, LAISNEY, *CahKarn* 15 (2015), 162–3; for an approximate location, see map, fig. 1, nr. 17.
[54] PM II^2, 36; CHRISTOPHE, *Karnak-Nord* III, 117–8 (22), 133.
[55] See map, fig. 1, nr. 5; PM II^2, 13–4.
[56] In 2015, our mission cleaned the area and restored some parts of the building in order to be able to complete a photographic survey of the chapel, as the publication of Christophe contains no drawings or photographs of the scenes.
[57] JW*IS* IV, 606–9; CHRISTOPHE, *Karnak-Nord* III, 97–112, pl. 45.
[58] Cairo CG 70027 (naos) + CG 39145; JW*IS* IV, 658–9.
[59] See PAYRAUDEAU, *CahKarn* 15 (2015), 227, 230, fig. 14, 232–3.

As for the Chief Steward Padihorresnet (around 610–595 BC?), who was active during the reign of Necho II and perhaps slightly earlier, he is depicted on two lintels (Cairo T.R. 28.5.25.4[60] and Cairo JE 29251bis[61]), which undoubtedly came from Osirian chapels, but without clear provenance.[62] He possibly played a role in the building of a chapel inscribed with the name of Necho II, some blocks of which were found in the area of the Kushite and Saite chapels located along the alley of Ptah.[63] On one of these blocks, a fragmentary lintel found reused in the Kushite chapel of Osiris pa-wesheb-iad (during a later restoration), Necho is labelled as '[beloved] of Osiris, master of life' (fig. 4). A doorjamb found reused in the pavement in front of the chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau (see below) shows the king as 'beloved of Osiris Wennefer who unites with Montu, master of Thebes'.[64] This chapel likely originally stood somewhere in the neighbourhood of the temple of Montu at North Karnak.[65] During the same reign, the tomb of Osiris was enlarged,[66] but no addition is visible in any of the neighbouring chapels. The preserved remains may not reflect the intensity of the architectural activity at Thebes under of Necho II, as the inscription of the stelophorous statue of Bentehhor (Louvre A83) mentions the decision of the king to 'beautify Thebes' by building it anew.[67] However, the name of the god Osiris is not mentioned in the preserved part of the text.

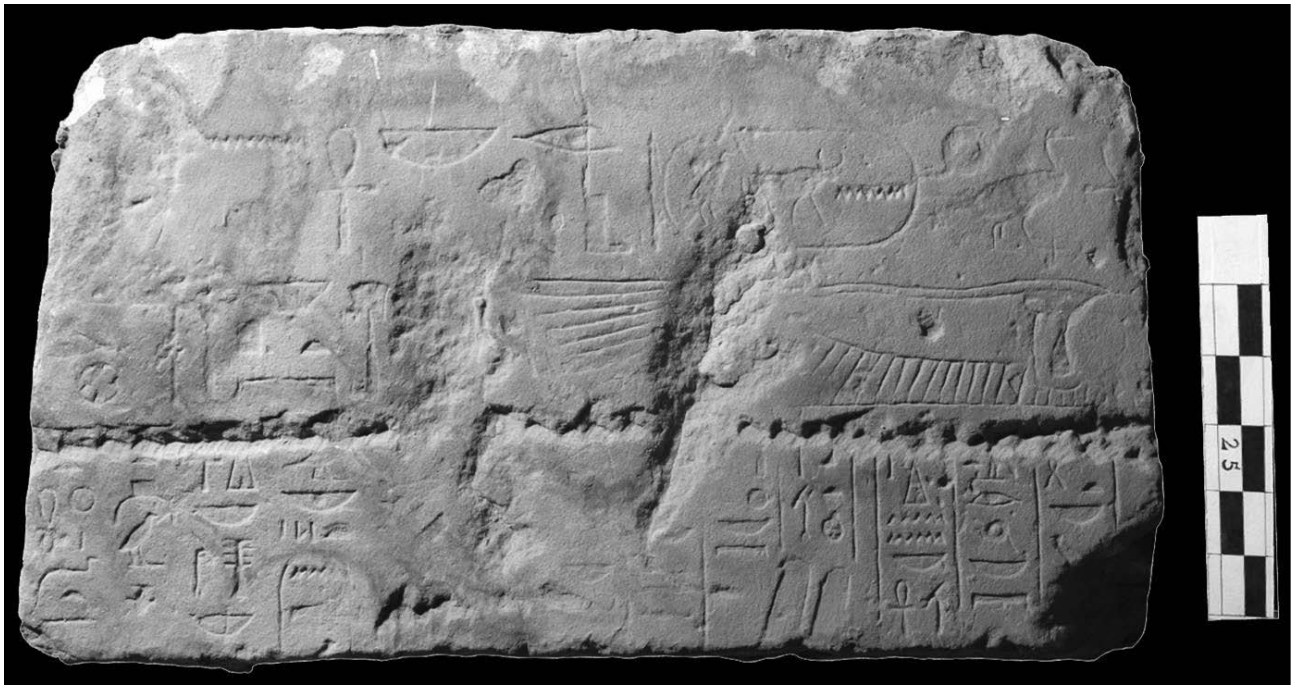


Fig. 4: Fragmentary lintel with the name of Necho '[beloved] of Osiris master of life', found reused in the chapel of Osiris master of life/who rescues the unfortunate (photo: Mission Osirian sanctuaries at Karnak/CFEETK)

[60] PM VIII, 804-070-080; JW*IS* IV, 610–1; its attribution to an Osiris chapel is discussed by JURMAN, in GYÖRY (ed.), *Aegyptus et Pannonia*, 112.
[61] JW*IS* IV, 604–605.
[62] On the provenance of lintel JE 29251bis, see recently PAYRAUDEAU, *CahKarn* 15 (2015), 226–7.
[63] COULON, *BIFAO* 107 (2007), 294–5. These blocks are now kept in the Evergete storeroom at Karnak.
[64] JW*IS* IV, 279; COULON, *BIFAO* 107 (2007), 294, fig. 23; *BiOr* 73 (2016), 679.
[65] A sandstone block showing Necho in front of Montu was found near the gate of Ptah during Robichon's excavations. See CHRISTOPHE, *Karnak-Nord* III, 63.
[66] See LECLÈRE, in COULON, *Le culte d'Osiris*, 240, 251–2, 257–8, figs. 4–6, 265–7, figs. 22–6.
[67] See JW*IS* IV, 291–2; PERDU, *BSFE* 105 (1986), 24–6, fig. 1. We are indebted to O. Perdu for providing us with the manuscript of his forthcoming publication of the statue.

There is no Osirian chapel that can be ascribed either to the short period when Padibastet B and Ankhhor were successively Chief Steward of Nitocris (595–586 BC?),[68] or to the reign of Psamtik II, who nevertheless had his cartouche carved on some Kushite Osirian monuments, or to the reign of Apries, during which Nitocris is succeeded by Ankhnesneferibre. The next datable monument is the chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau, located along the alley to the temple of Ptah.[69] On its reliefs, three historical figures are depicted: the King Amasis, the God's Wife Ankhnesneferibre, and the Chief Steward Sheshonq A, the latter being the son of Harsiese and the owner of TT 27. Sheshonq is first attested on the installation stela of Ankhnesneferibre in year 4 of King Apries (586 BC). Following this, his activity is well attested under the reign of Amasis (570–527 BC), especially through the decoration of the aforementioned chapel. The date by which Padineith A succeeded him as Chief Steward is not known,[70] but we may reasonably assume that Sheshonq held this office for at least twenty and thirty years, perhaps more. Therefore, one may suggest that the chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau was built between 570 and 550 BC, without excluding a slightly later date. The role of the Chief Steward in the construction and decoration of the chapel cannot be underrated. His self-presentation is similar to that of Senenmut in Hatshepsut's buildings:[71] Sheshonq is depicted or mentioned everywhere in the chapel, especially in the doorways and on the secondary gates. He also left his mark on the chapel by conceiving a very elaborate decoration for this 'reposoir' of the Osiris 'fetish', which reflects his erudition and his deep acquaintance with Osirian rituals from Abydos.[72] It is most probable that another chapel, dedicated to Osiris Khenty-Imentet, has been erected at the same time with a very similar decoration, somewhere at another point of the processional way of the 'fetish'. Its (very partial) reconstruction was made possible through the discovery of several blocks reused in the temple of Medamud by Bisson de la Roque and the parallel of the Karnak chapel.[73]

Immediately to the south of the chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau, a second chapel was built along the alley of Ptah (fig. 5), the so-called 'chapel of Osiris Neb-neheh'.[74] This chapel was inscribed with the names of Amasis, Ankhnesneferibre, Sheshonq B, who was the son of Padineith, and, on the first gate, Psamtik III. This building is obviously of later date than the previous one, and the end of the construction can be dated very precisely as the reign of Psamtik III was very short (527–526 BC).[75] The name 'chapel of Osiris Neb-neheh', which was given to this building by Traunecker in his publication of the inscriptions of this chapel in 2010 is doubtful.[76] The epithet 'Neb-neheh' occurs in the hymn to Osiris that is inscribed on the façade of the naos. However, this hymn to Osiris is not specific to this chapel and has many parallels on several monuments in Egypt and Sudan.[77] Secondly, in the purification scene of the second gate, the discourse of Thoth is addressed to 'Osiris Wennefer', whereas the parallel scenes in the neighbouring chapel

[68] See GRAEFE, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 242–4.
[69] See map, fig. 1, nr. 3; PM II^2, 193–4.
[70] This Padineith, owner of TT 197, held the office of Chief Steward of Ankhnesneferibre between the two Sheshonqs (550–540 BC?), but his name has not been found so far on an Osirian monument at Karnak. The dates proposed by BROEKMAN, *SAK* 41 (2012), 122, 132, for the period of activity of Sheshonq A and Padineith are to be revised on account of the evidence provided by the chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau.
[71] BEAUX *et al.*, *La chapelle d'Hathor* I, 187–93; HAYES, *MDAIK* 15 (1957), 80–4.
[72] COULON, in DEVAUCHELLE (ed.), *La XXVI^e* dynastie, 85–108, part 105–6.
[73] COULON, in FAVRY *et al.* (eds.), *Du Sinaï au Soudan*, 63–73.
[74] See map, fig. 1, nr. 2; PM II^2, 192–3. The decoration of this chapel has been recorded by our team during the previous seasons. We have also cleaned the central part of the building to remove some badly weathered blocks. However, most of the work. as far as archaeology and conservation are concerned, remains to be done. This is planned for our next campaigns after the completion of the work and the publication of the excavations at Neb-djefau.
[75] See QUACK, *JEH* 4 (2011), 228–46.
[76] TRAUNECKER, in COULON (ed.), *Le culte d'Osiris*, 155–94. For a more cautious position, see JURMAN, in *Aegyptus et Pannonia*, 109, n. 7, who uses this name as a 'purely provisional designation'.
[77] JW*IS* IV, 722–3; TRAUNECKER, in COULON (ed.), *Le culte d'Osiris*, 164–72; see also PRIESE, *JSSEA* 32 (2005), 139–52.

mention 'Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau', which is the name of the form of Osiris specific to the building. Thirdly, the name of the specific form of Osiris in a chapel is usually to be found inserted in a cartouche in the central part of the lintels of the monument. The current state of our chapel prevents us from finding this information. The lintel of the second gate Cairo JE 26887 is unfortunately broken at the place of the cartouche. As for the lintel of the naos, the cartouche is also broken and a hitherto unpublished drawing by Prisse d'Avennes (around 1840) does not provide the solution.[78]



Fig. 5: General view of the chapels of Osiris Wennefer master of provisions (on the right) and the chapel of Osiris Wennefer (so-called 'chapel of Osiris master of eternity-*neheh*') (photo: Mission Osirian sanctuaries at Karnak/L. Coulon)

Finally, a gate belonging to a chapel of Osiris Pameres and Osiris Wennefer and showing Psamtik III, Ankhnesneferibre, and Sheshonq B was discovered during illegal excavations at the beginning of the twentieth century, probably in the area of Naga Malgata.[79] According to the dimensions of the gate, this building was much smaller than the two Saite chapels inside the temenos of Amun-Re. The inner passage of the gate is inscribed with invocations for two members of the administration of the God's Wife, Duat-netjer-em-awy-Khonsu and his son Djedhor.[80]

[78] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, NAF 20396, F° 87R. Cf. COULON, *BiOr* 73 (2016), 680.
[79] See map, fig. 1, nr. 13 (hypothetic location); COULON, LAISNEY, *CahKarn* 15 (2015), 131–2; MOSS, *ZÄS* 99 (1973), 128–9, pl. 7.
[80] GRAEFE, *Gottesgemahlin* I, 221–2; II, pl. 9*, 18.

Chapels	Location (see map)	God's Wife	Kings	Other personnages	Date BC
TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY					
Osiris Wep-Ished	East Karnak (16)		Osorkon II	High Priest Takelot F/G	c. 850-835
Osiris Khenty-Imentet/Khenem-Maat	North Karnak (9)	Karomama G	Osorkon II/Takelot II		c. 835-800
Osiris Heqa-Djet (first part)	East Karnak (17)	Shepenwepet I	Osorkon III-Takelot III		c. 768-764
TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTY					
Osiris Heqa-Djet (second part)	East Karnak (17)	Amenirdis I	Shabataqo		c. 712-705
Osiris Neb ankh	North Karnak (6)	Amenirdis I	Shabaqo		c. 705-690
Osiris of Coptos (reused blocks)	East Karnak (19)	Amenirdis I	Shabaqo		c. 705-690
Osiris wa	Karnak (?)		Taharqo		c. 690-664
Osiris Neb ankh/Pa-wesheb-iad	Karnak-alley of Ptah (4)	Shepenwepet II	Taharqo		c. 678-670
Osiris Neb djet/Pa-ded-ankh	North Karnak (11)	Shepenwepet II	Taharqo		c. 678-670
Osiris Pa-shed-hem.ef-en-duat (described in a stela sold in Luxor)		Shepenwepet II	Taharqo		670-669
Osiris Pa-ded-ankh (reused blocks)	North Karnak	Shepenwepet II		High Steward Akhimenru	c. 670-655
Osiris Wennefer Hery-ib-pa-ished	East Karnak (14)	Shepenwepet II		Singer Diesehebsed	c. 670-655
Osiris-Ptah Neb ankh	South Karnak (20)		Taharqo/Tantamani		664/663
TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY					
Osiris Wennefer (mentioned on Ibi's statue)	North Karnak (12)	Nitocris	Psamtek I	High Steward Ibi	c. 639-625
Osiris Neb djet/Pa-ded-ankh (enlargment ?)	North Karnak (11)	Nitocris	Psamtek I		c. 625-610 (?)
Osiris Neb ankh-di-heb-sed	North Karnak (5)	Nitocris	Psamtek I	High Steward Pabasa	c. 625-610
Osiris Neb ankh / Wennefer who unites with Montu master of Thebes (reused blocks)	Karnak-alley of Ptah / North Karnak	Nitocris	Necho II		c. 610-595
Osiris Wennefer Neb djefau	Karnak-alley of Ptah (3)	Ankhnesneferibre	Amasis	High Steward Sheshonq A	c. 570-550
Osiris Wennefer ("Neb neheh")	Karnak-alley of Ptah (2)	Ankhnesneferibre	Amasis/Psamtek III	High Steward Sheshonq B	c. 530-526
Osiris Pameres	North Karnak (13)	Ankhnesneferibre	Psamtek III	High Steward Sheshonq B	527/526

Fig. 6: Chronological table of the main Osiris chapels from the Twenty-second Dynasty until the end of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (table: F. Payraudeau/L. Coulon)

Some Remarks Concerning the Stylistic and Iconographic Development of the Costume of the God's Wives and High Stewards in the Osirian Chapels at Karnak (Aleksandra Hallmann)

The systematic work on epigraphy and reconstruction of the decoration of the chapels allows for undertaking art historical studies in various Osirian chapels. The cluster of chapels in Karnak provides a unique opportunity to analyse their style and iconographic programme in a close context, to inquire whether the same location had an impact on their decoration, and to what extent the older chapels were a source of inspiration for themselves. On the other hand, the well-preserved chapels in Medinet Habu offer a unique comparanda for god's wives portrayals from Karnak. Finally, especially regarding the portrayals of chief stewards, their surviving tombs on the West Bank are important sources for comparative study of their representations in the

Osirian chapels in Karnak. Despite the different purpose of the monuments on the East and West banks, the surviving decoration allows us to inquire about the similarities and differences in style between portrayals of the same people depicted in one region but on two sides of the Nile. The stylistic and iconographic changes are, for example, well represented through an analysis of costume worn by various god's wives and chief stewards, as well as the crowns of the god's wives.

Stylistic and Iconographic Development of the God's Wives' Costume

The god's wives represented in various Osirian chapels wear two kinds of costume: either a traditional wraparound dress (fig. 7a, c) or a tunic (fig. 7b).[81] A tunic can be loosely worn or be tied by a long sash (with two double or two single ends). It can be also supplemented by a shawl that either has rounded or pointed edges. These various outfits seem to be favoured by different god's wives, pinpointing some stylistic feature characteristic for each woman's reign or a particular part of it. It is especially well seen when juxtaposing portrayals of Amenirdis that are depicted in the chapel erected by herself versus those from the chapel built by her successor Shepenwepet II.

In the Kushite part of the chapel of Osiris Heqa-djet, Amenirdis sometimes wears the traditional wraparound dress, although most frequently she wears a tunic that is tied by a sash.[82] The outfit of Amenirdis is similar in style to the one in which Shepenwepet I is represented in the Libyan part of the same chapel.[83] However, when Amenirdis is depicted on any building built by Shepenwepet II, including her own mortuary chapel in Medinet Habu, she wears a wraparound dress.[84] It is well illustrated by depictions of both women in the chapel of Osiris Hery-ib-pa-ished built by Shepenwepet II, where they are both clad in the wraparound dress (fig. 8). This is precisely the same dress that Shepenwepet II wears on each of her representations in various places in Karnak[85] and Medinet Habu.[86] The preliminary research reveals that Shepenwepet II favoured one particular outfit; she was consistently depicted in a wraparound dress and wearing a particular kind of crown, namely, the two feathers crown without a disc (a *šwty*-crown) (fig. 9a). This seems to be the outfit that reflected her individual identity and was associated with her even after her death, especially since her successor, Nitocris, represented Shepenwepet II in the same costume.[87]

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[81] The wraparound dress is characteristic for the portrayals of the god's wives from the Eighteenth Dynasty, but during the Late Period it should be considered as indicative of contemporary trends in women's costume. See HALLMANN, in BECKER, BLÖBAUM, LOHWASSER (eds.), *"Prayer and Power"*, 211. *Cf.* DAVINO, in LEKOV *et al*. (eds.), *Cult and Belief*, 196; ROBINS, *JARCE* 36 (1999), 68.

[82] See for example, PM II^2, 205, 5 (I.2), 6 (II). For photos, see AYAD, *God's Wife*, figs. 2.5, 2.6.

[83] There are subtle differences in the rendering of both women's costume that are seen in depictions of their waist sash. Shepenwepet I wears a sash with two double ends whereas Amenirdis wears a sash with two single ends. *Cf.* Shepenwepet on the doorjambs of the façade of the Libyan part of the chapel of Osiris Heqa-djet and Amenirdis represented on the eastern wall of the Kushite part of the chapel. For photos, see AYAD, *God's Wife*, figs. 3.4, 3.6, 3.7.

[84] See, for example, representations of Shepenwepet II and Amenirdis on the eastern and western doorjambs of the chapel of Osiris Hery-ib-pa-ished. For photos, see LECLANT, *Recherches*, pl. 18. For photos of Amenirdis in Medinet Habu, see, for example, HÖLSCHER, *Medinet Habu* V, pl. 17A.

[85] She is consistently dressed the same in all her chapels in Karnak, namely, in the chapel of Osiris Neb-djet and the chapel of Osiris Padedankh in North Karnak, in the chapel of Osiris Neb-ankh/pa-wesheb-iad located on the way to temple of Ptah, and in the chapel of Osiris Hery-ib-pa-ished located in the north-eastern area of the Amun's enclosure. For recent publications concerning the chapels in North Karnak, see HOURDIN, *CahKarn* 14 (2013), 401–23; PAYRAUDEAU, *CahKarn* 15 (2015), 215–35. For photos of her representation in other chapels, see, for example, LECLANT, *Recherches*, pls. 8–11, 17–20.

[86] She is depicted in the same manner in the mortuary chapel of Amenirdis I, built by herself, but also in her mortuary chapel, which was built by her successor, Nitocris. For photos, see, for example, HÖLSCHER, *Medinet Habu* V, pls. 17B, 18A.

[87] See previous note.



a b c

Fig. 7: (a) Shepenwepet II clad in a wraparound dress. Chapel of Osiris Wennefer hery-ib-pa-ished (drawing: Mission Osirian sanctuaries at Karnak/Anna Guillou); (b) Ankhnesneferibre clad in the tunic. Chapel of Osiris 'Neb-neheh' (drawing: Tytus Mikolajczak); (c) Ankhnesneferibre clad in the wraparound dress. Chapel of Osiris 'Neb-neheh' (drawing: Tytus Mikolajczak)

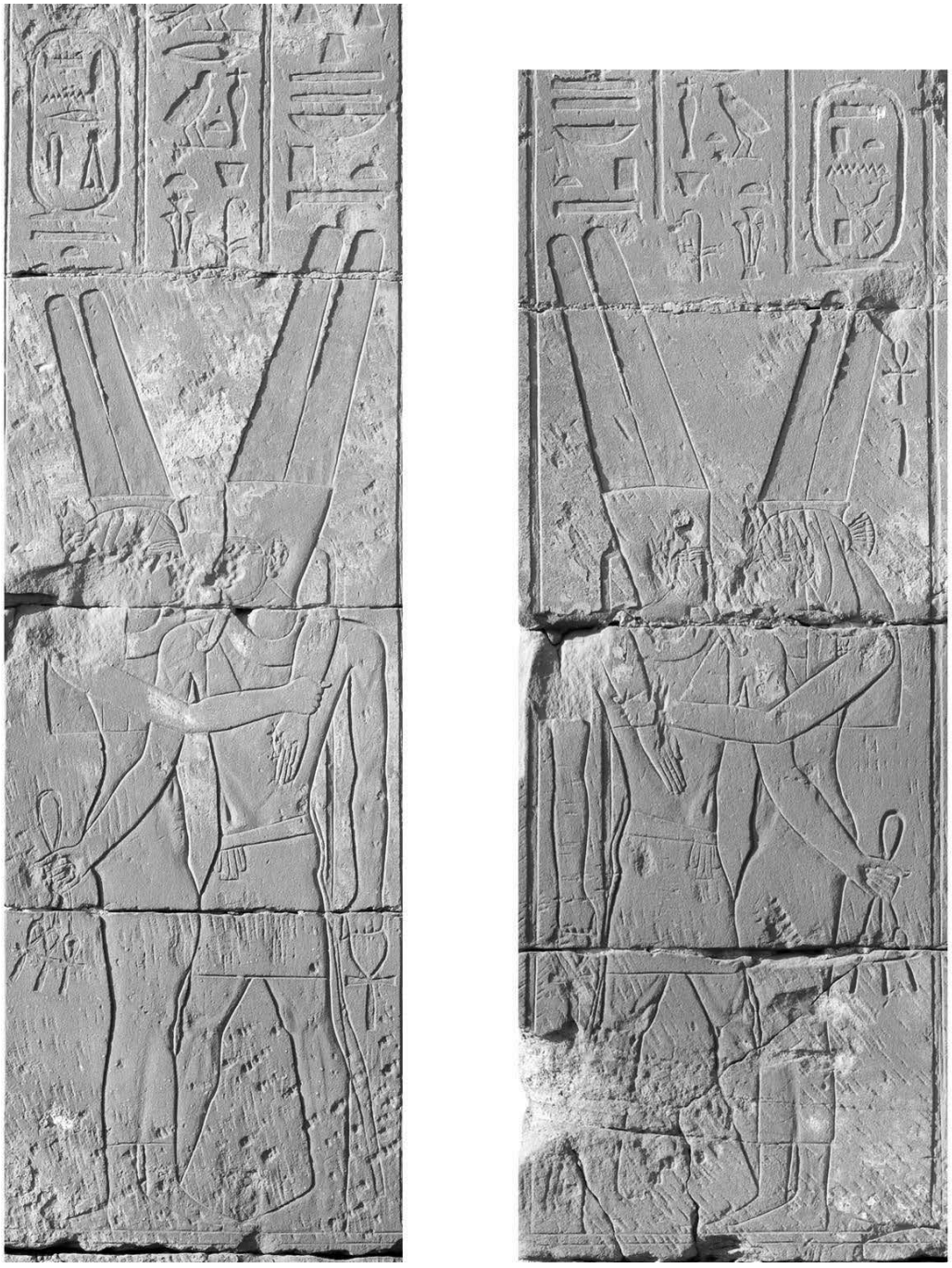
Saite god's wives are represented in both wraparound dresses as well as tunics. Nitocris, for example, consistently wears a wraparound dress in her mortuary chapel in Medinet Habu,[88] as well as in the chapel of Osiris Neb-ankh di-heb-sed,[89] whereas in the tomb of Pabasa, she is represented in a tunic.[90]

Ankhnesneferibre was also depicted in both kinds of dresses (fig. 7b–c). A detailed study of her depictions distributed over her three known chapels from Karnak (chapels of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau, Osiris 'Neb-neheh', and Osiris Pameres), as well as on some blocks that survived from her chapel in Medinet Habu, has helped to trace some patterns in her portrayals that pinpoint some chronological features.[91] A tunic is the only costume she wears in the chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau, whereas the wraparound dress appears only in the chapels of Osiris 'Neb-neheh' and Osiris Pameres, both built later in her reign.

Ankhnesneferibre consistently wears two types of crowns whose iconographical elements are always the same (fig. 9b–c). Her *šwty*-crown always has a sun disk and cow horns (fig. 9b), whereas the vulture-crown always consists of a vulture without headgear and two cobras wearing the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt

[88] See HÖLSCHER, *Medinet Habu* V, pls. 14, 16.
[89] For the chapel, see CHRISTOPHE, *Karnak-Nord* III, 29–48, pls. 37–8.
[90] For a photo, see DODSON, *JEA* 88 (2002), pl. 15.3.
[91] The issue was discussed by HALLMANN, in BECKER, BLÖBAUM, LOHWASSER (eds.), *"Prayer and Power"*, 205–22.

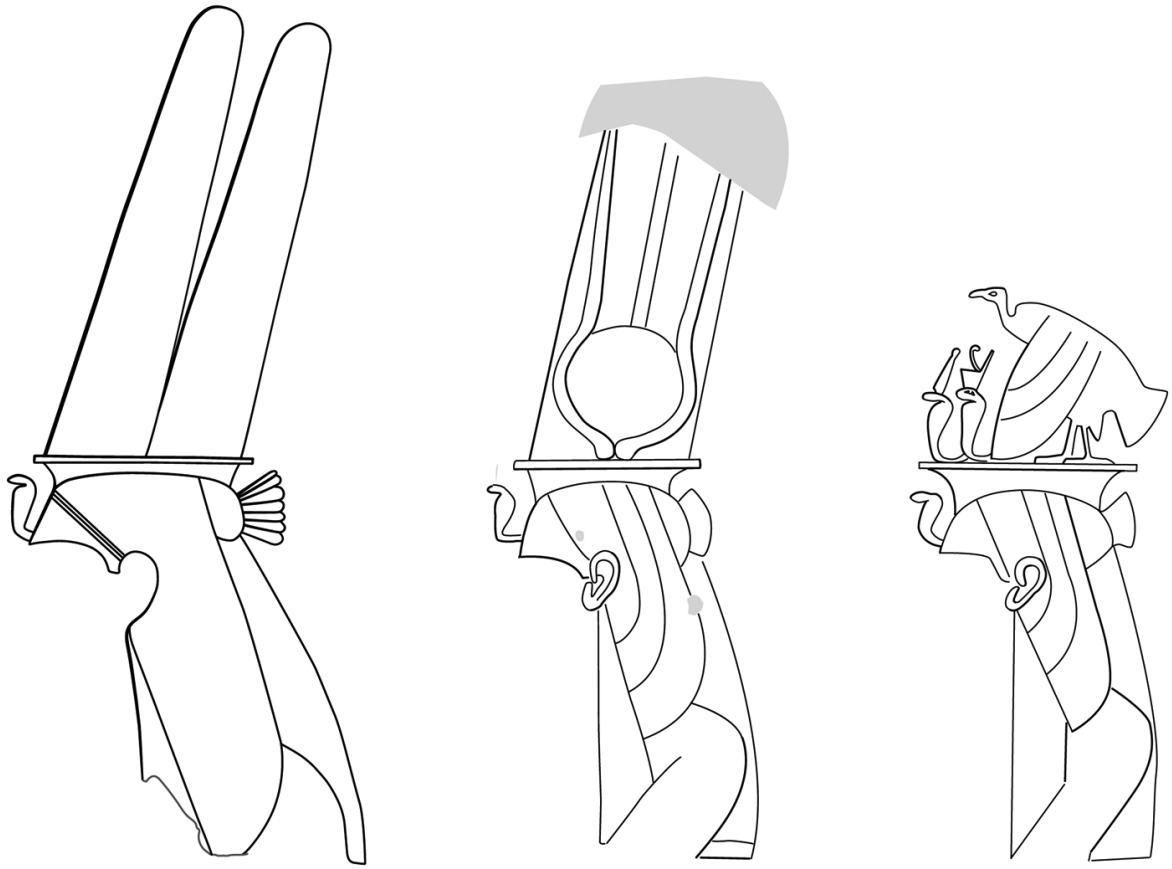
(fig. 9c).[92] Ankhnesneferibre's vulture-crown is seen only in the chapel of Osiris Neb-djefau and not in two other chapels. Thus, it may be tentatively ascribed to the earlier part of her reign when the chapel was erected.



a b

Fig. 8: (a) Amenirdis clad in a wraparound dress being embraced by Amun. Chapel of Osiris Wennefer hery-ib-pa-ished (photo: Mission Osirian sanctuaries at Karnak/CFEETK); (b) Shepenwepet II clad in a wraparound dress being embraced by Amun. Chapel of Osiris Wennefer hery-ib-pa-ished (photo: Mission Osirian sanctuaries at Karnak/CFEETK)

[92] *Cf.* the discussion about Ankhnesneferibre's crowns, including the typology of the vulture crowns by HALLMANN, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 215–7.



a b c

Fig. 9: (a) Shepenwepet II wearing the *šwty*-crown without sun disc (drawing: Tytus Mikolajczak); (b) Ankhnesneferibre wearing the *šwty*-crown with sun disc (drawing: Mission Osirian sanctuaries at Karnak/Anna Guillou; (c) Vulture-crown of Ankhnesneferibre (drawing: Mission Osirian sanctuaries at Karnak/Anna Guillou)

Stylistic and Iconographic Development of the Chief Stewards' Costume (Pabasa and Sheshonq A)

The costume of the chief stewards, who are uniquely represented on the chapels of their mistresses in Karnak, which visualise changes in the decorum of the representations of private individuals in the temple environment,[93] gives some stylistic coherency and helps to pinpoint the specific date of execution of their portrayals. The sash-kilt[94] is most definitely the favoured garment worn by Pabasa, the Chief Steward of the Divine Adoratrice Nitocris. He wears it in many scenes in his tomb (TT 279), [95] in all surviving scenes from

[93] The decorum of temple decoration was discussed in many places by Baines. See, for example: BAINES, in COBEN, INOMATA (eds.), *Theaters of Power*, 23. Cf. EATON, *Ancient Egyptian Temple Ritual*, 5–15. The subject of changes in the decorum of representing private individuals in temples from the Old to New Kingdom was developed by BICKEL, in FROOD, MCDONALD (eds.), *Decorum and Experience*, 205–13. The way the chief stewards were rendered on the walls of chapels during the Twenty-sixth Dynasty clearly reflects further changes in the temple decoration scheme. For some aspects of the subject, see HALLMANN, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 357–77; HALLMANN, in BECKER, BLÖBAUM, LOHWASSER (eds.), *"Prayer and Power"*, 210–1.

[94] The sash-kilt was simply a piece of fabric that was wrapped around the rear body. Its two ends were arranged at the front of the waist in a way that at least one end of fabric went over the waistband or a belt, and decoratively fell down at the front. For the sash-kilt, see VOGELSANG-EASTWOOD, *Pharaonic Egyptian Clothing*, 64–8. The Late Period representations of the sash-kilt were studied by HALLMANN, *The Representation of Private Costume*, 177–82.

[95] E.g. PM I/1^2, 357 (2), 358 (12), 358 (17). For photos, see DODSON, *JEA* 88 (2002), pl. 15, fig. 3; MYŚLIWIEC, *Royal Portraiture*, pl. 52a; ZEILEIS, *Katalog*, 442.

the chapel of Osiris Neb-ankh di-heb-sed,[96] as well as on the naos for Taweret found in North Karnak (e.g. fig. 10).[97] It is noteworthy that the same kilt is worn by other major figures in Pabasa's tomb but it is always worn by an active and never by a passive person.[98] Thus, Pabasa, when represented in his veneration scene, is wearing another costume. For example, an elaborate cloak or a traditional short kilt, but never a sash-kilt.[99] His choice of a sash-kilt in all of his appearances in the chapel of Osiris Neb-ankh di-heb-sed cannot be accidental. It seems that he chose the outfit, fashionable in his days, which was suitable enough to be rendered in the temple as well as in the funerary context. Taking under consideration two and three-dimensional appearances of a sash-kilt, it can be concluded that its peak of popularity was in the transition period between the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties, including the reign of Psamtik I with stronger inclination to its first half.

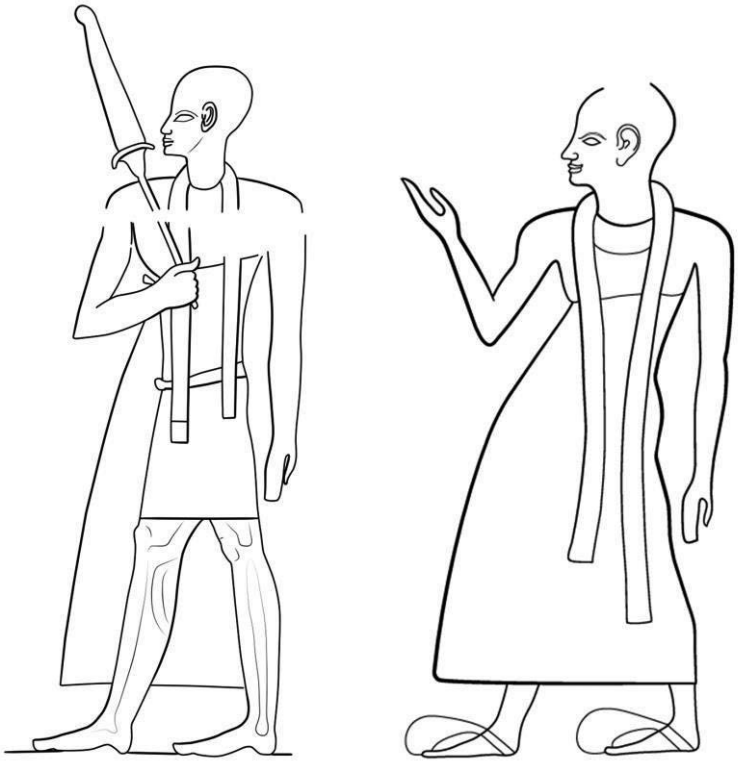


a b

Fig. 10: (a) Pabasa clad in a sash-kilt, a long kilt, and a neck-sash. TT 279 (drawing: Tytus Mikolajczak); (b) Pabasa clad in a sash-kilt, a long kilt, and a neck-sash. Chapel of Osiris Neb-ankh di-heb-sed (drawing: A. Hallmann)

[96] E.g. PM II^2, 14 (48–9); HALLMANN, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 359 [nrs. 4–5].
[97] ROEDER, *Naos*, pl. 37.
[98] See, for example, the male participants (mourners, standard bearers) of the funerary procession of Pabasa, PM I/1^2, 357 (4, 6). For a photo, see LANSING, *BMMA* 15: 12 (1920), 22, fig. 13.
[99] See, for example, LANSING, *BMMA* 15: 12 (1920), 21, fig. 12.

By contrast, the high-waisted kilt[100] is characteristic for the portrayal of Sheshonq A in Karnak. He wears it, either with or without a short kilt, with a neck-sash on every one of his representations in the chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau (fig. 11a).[101] The high-waisted kilt worn by Sheshonq A is an important dating criterion since the Late Period version of the high-waisted kilt started to become popular during the reign of Amasis, especially when represented in three-dimensional form.[102] This change in fashion can be seen with the portrayal of Sheshonq on the Adoption Stela of Ankhnesneferibre where he is clad in a long kilt.[103] The stela had to be carved much earlier (probably 15 years or so) than the chapel's decoration, which has been dated to the first half of the reign of Amasis, between 570 and 550 BC or slightly later.[104] Sheshonq is also wearing the high-waisted kilt when he is represented in front of his father Harsiese on the relief from his father's tomb (fig. 11b), as well as on the wall of the entrance passage to his own tomb (TT 27).[105] As far as can be determined from what is left of the tomb's decoration, this is the only place in his funerary monument where he is wearing the high-waisted kilt. His son, however, is wearing a high-waisted kilt in a scene of Sheshonq's adoration. Similarly, as with Pabasa, when Sheshonq A is represented in a passive role, he is wearing a different kind of costume.



a b

Fig. 11: (a) Sheshonq A clad in a short kilt, a high-waisted kilt, and a neck-sash. Chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau (drawing: Mission Osirian sanctuaries at Karnak/Anna Guillou); (b) Sheshonq A clad in a high-waisted kilt and a neck-sash. Lintel of Harsiese, the father of Sheshonq A (drawing: A. Hallmann)

[100] The high-waisted kilt was made of a fabric that was draped around the body, covering it from the breast to the ankles. The Late Period representations of the high-waisted kilt were studied by HALLMANN, *The Representation of Private Costume*, 144–76.
[101] *Cf.* HALLMANN, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the first Millennium*, nrs. 9–12.
[102] HALLMANN, *The Representation of Private Costume*, 144–76.
[103] For the publication of the stela, see LEAHY, *JEA* 82 (1996), 145–65.
[104] See the commentary of Coulon above.
[105] For photos, see ANONYMOUS, *Werke ägyptischer Kunst*, 55–7 [nr. 102], pl. 27; SIST, *VicOr* 9, pl. 6b; *Cf.* HALLMANN, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 357–77, esp. 369–72.

It may be concluded that the high-waisted kilt was the same for Sheshonq as a sash-kilt for Pabasa, both of which were contemporary costumes that were in vogue. In this way, they stress their self-identity as was proper for an active/living person rendered in funerary and also in temple environments. Despite the fact that research is still ongoing, these preliminary findings indicate that particular types of costuming, as well as their contexts, provide important information for the dating of the tenures and monuments of different god's wives and their officials. Future research will continue to examine the style of chapels in Karnak and Medinet Habu and further refine these dating criteria.

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The Chapel of Osiris-Ptah Neb-ankh: A Report on the Fourth Season of Work

Essam Nagy

Abstract

The Chapel of Osiris-Ptah Neb-ankh, at Karnak is situated south-east of the Tenth Pylon, between the precincts of Amun-Re and Mut. The chapel was built by the pharaohs Taharqo and Tantamani of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. This paper examines the location and function of this chapel, revisiting the data, architectural design, material, and inscriptions in order to understand why it was built in this location. Additionally, it investigates the original plan of the chapel and its relationship with the ram-headed avenue of sphinxes.

Introduction

The Chapel of Osiris-Ptah Neb-ankh ('Lord of Life'), lies to the south of the Tenth Pylon of the Amun-Re precinct and east of the ram-headed avenue of sphinxes that runs from the Tenth Pylon to the Mut precinct (fig. 1).[1] This somewhat isolated monument is one of a series of Osirian chapels built by the Kushite pharaohs Taharqo and Tantamani.[2] Both kings, as is to be expected, were represented in the scenes of the chapel.[3] This chapel was located along the processional way, running between the Tenth Pylon of the Temple of Amun-Re and the Temple of Mut.[4]

Historical Background

When the Chapel of Osiris-Ptah Neb-ankh was discovered by locals in 1875, it was in a poor condition. In 1921–1922, Pillet undertook some cleaning and restoration work, building a wooden ceiling and a door in order to protect it from the rain.[5] Prior to this, the first scientific work conducted on the chapel was by Mariette, who made an epigraphic survey of the walls.[6] Its location was noted and briefly commented upon by Leclant,[7] while the inscriptions were published by Breyer[8] and later Jansen-Winkeln.[9] However, since its discovery, no excavation of the site had been undertaken until recently.[10]

The chapel, which is built of sandstone, contains two almost square rooms: an eastern room (Room I) and a western room (Room II). Additionally, directly in front of the chapel are the remains of four columns (fig. 2). While the outer part of the chapel is not inscribed, it retains reused blocks that can clearly be seen on its rear side. New excavations around the chapel revealed the remains of a mudbrick structure beneath the surface, which may belong to an enclosure wall (fig. 3). The two rooms are decorated with sunken outlined reliefs. The reliefs on the walls are a clear reflection of Kushite art. The Kushite rulers had themselves portrayed in Egyptian style, yet highlighting their own identifying characteristics: rather heavy nose, prominent cheekbones, fleshy lips, and powerful chin.[11]

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[1] BARGUET, *Le Temple d'Amon*-Rê, 10; BLYTH, *Karnak*, 207.
[2] *Cf.* the paper by COULON, HALLMANN, PAYRAUDEAU in this volume.
[3] PM II^2, 278.
[4] JORDAN, BICKEL, CHAPPAZ, *La Porte d'Horemheb*, 204.
[5] PILLET, *ASAE* 22 (1922), 259.
[3] MARIETTE, *Monuments divers*, I, 27; II, pls. 79–87.
[7] LECLANT, *Recherches sur les monuments Thebains*, 110–13.
[8] BREYER, *Tanutamani*, 373–404.
[9] JW*IS* III, 229–34.
[10] ALDRED *et al*., *Ägypten*, 81, fig. 59; LECLANT, in BUGNER (ed.), *The Image of the Black*, 112, figs. 103–5.
[11] LECLANT, in BUGNER (ed.), *The Image of the Black*, 89, 109–16.

The remains of the columns are undecorated except for a single block, which has chisel marks and trace lines. The bases of the columns also reveal that they were originally lotus shaped. The heights of the two columns on the eastern side are 1.27 m and 0.62 m respectively, their diameters are 0.63 m. The heights of the two columns in the western side are 0.84 m and 0.78 m, with a diameter of 0.76 m. It is not certain at this stage if these columns are in their original position (fig. 4). The two rooms of the chapel are almost square.

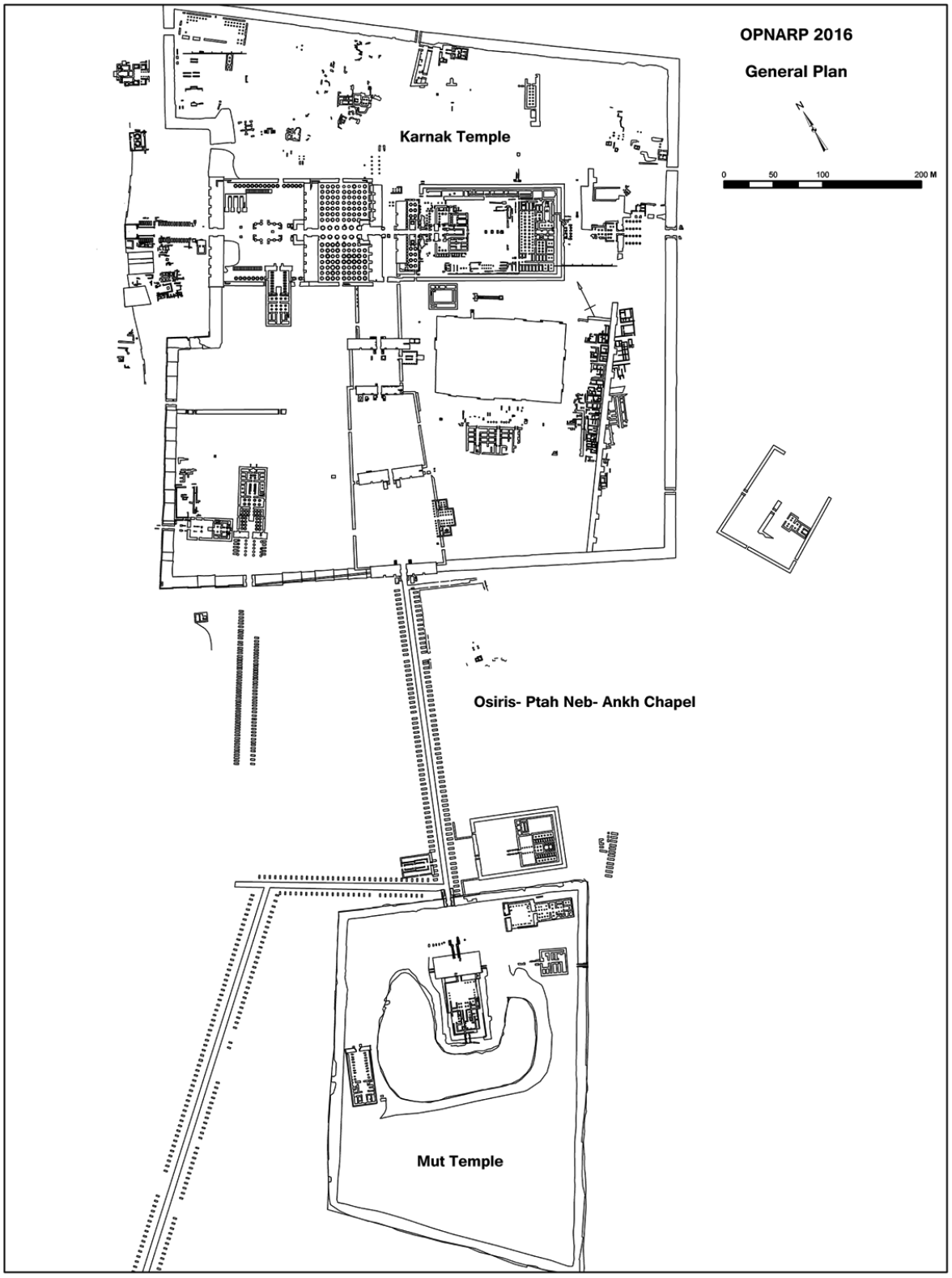


Fig. 1: General plan of Karank with the Chapel of Osiris-Ptah Neb-ankh highlighted (after © CNRS-CFEETK)



Fig. 2: Exterior façade of the Chapel of Osiris-Ptah Neb-ankh

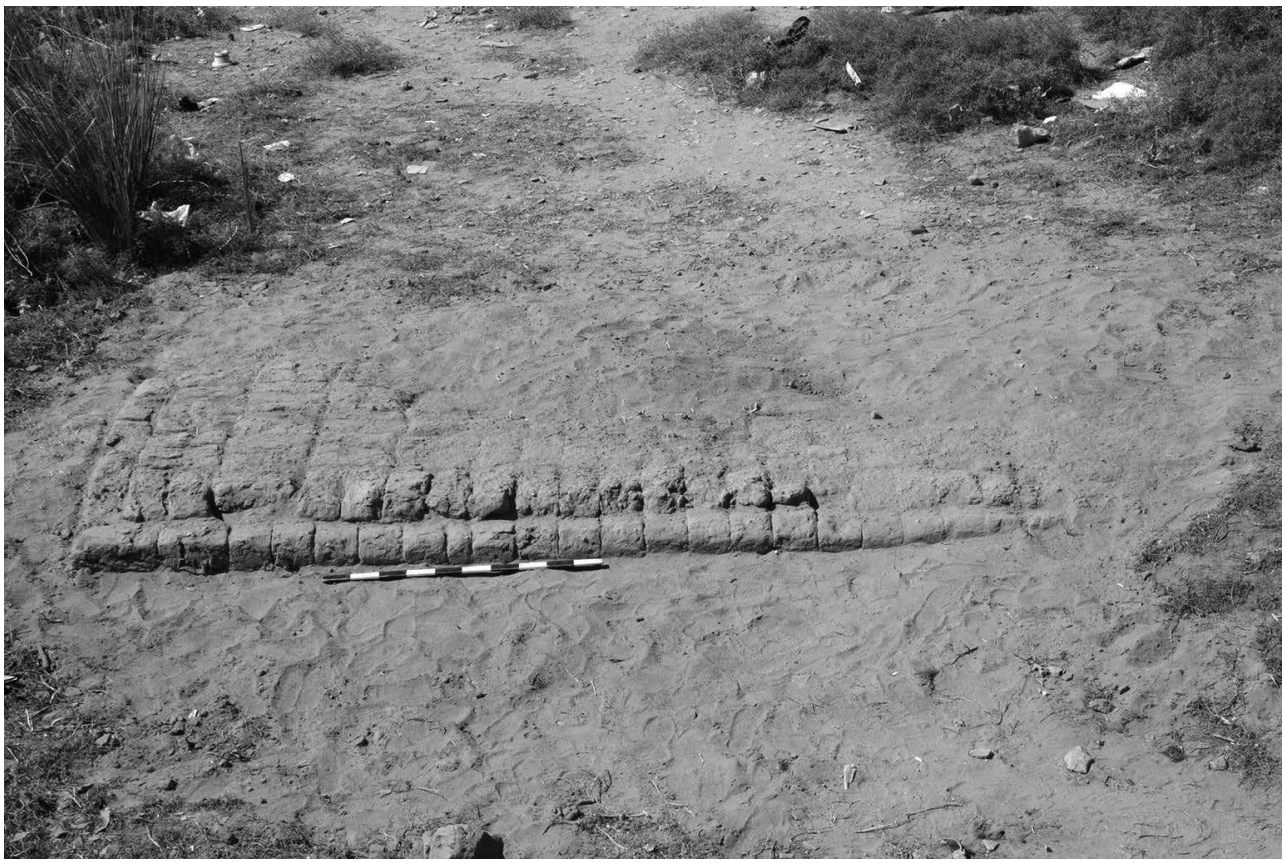


Fig. 3: Newly excavated mudbrick structure, possibly the remains of an enclosure wall



Fig. 4: Remains of the columns in front of the Chapel of Osiris-Ptah Neb-ankh

Room I

Room I (the eastern room), which Mariette referred to as Room A, measures 2.70 m in length (from north to south) and 2.68 m in its width (from east to west). A blocked doorway is located in the eastern wall of this room, which indicates the presence of another room in the original plan.

The northern wall of Room I represents the entrance of the chapel, which measures 1.88 m in its width. The scene on this wall depicts the goddess Isis embracing Taharqo, who wears the *ỉtf*-crown and is holding an *ꜥnḫ*-sign and mace in his right hand and a cane in his left.[12]

The eastern wall consists of two parts. The northern part contains a doorway, which is now blocked, although the doorframe still has its original decoration. Above the blocked doorway there was a scene depicting a large cartouche with the nomen of Taharqo (now demolished). The southern part of the wall depicts a standing Amun-Re embracing Tantamani, who wears the Red Crown of Lower Egypt and holds an *ꜥnḫ*-sign and mace in his right hand and a cane in his left (fig. 5).[13]

The southern wall depicts Tantamani consecrating offerings before Amun-Re and Mut.[14] The pharaoh wears the Kushite cap with double *uraei*, while in his hands he holds a sceptre in his right and a cane in his left. Amun-Re holds a *wȝs*-sceptre in his right hand and an *ꜥnḫ*-sign in his left. The goddess Mut stands behind Amun-Re, with her right hand resting on the shoulder of her husband and her left holding an *ꜥnḫ*-sign.

The west wall, which includes the entrance to Room II, contains a scene on the left of the god Montu embracing Tantamani, who wears the White Crown of Upper Egypt and holds a cane in his right hand and an

[12] MARIETTE, *Monuments divers*, II, pl. 79.
[13] MARIETTE, *Monuments divers*, II, pl. 80.
[14] MARIETTE, *Monuments divers*, II, pl. 81.

ꜥnḫ-sign in his left.[15] On the door jambs, Tantamani is shown entering Room II, wearing the Red Crown of Lower Egypt on the north jamb, and the White Crown of Upper Egypt crown on the south. Additionally, the Nile-god Hapi is represented on the lower part of the jambs carrying offerings. The lintel to this room is now in the Musée d'ethnographie de Neuchâtel (Eg. 446).[16]

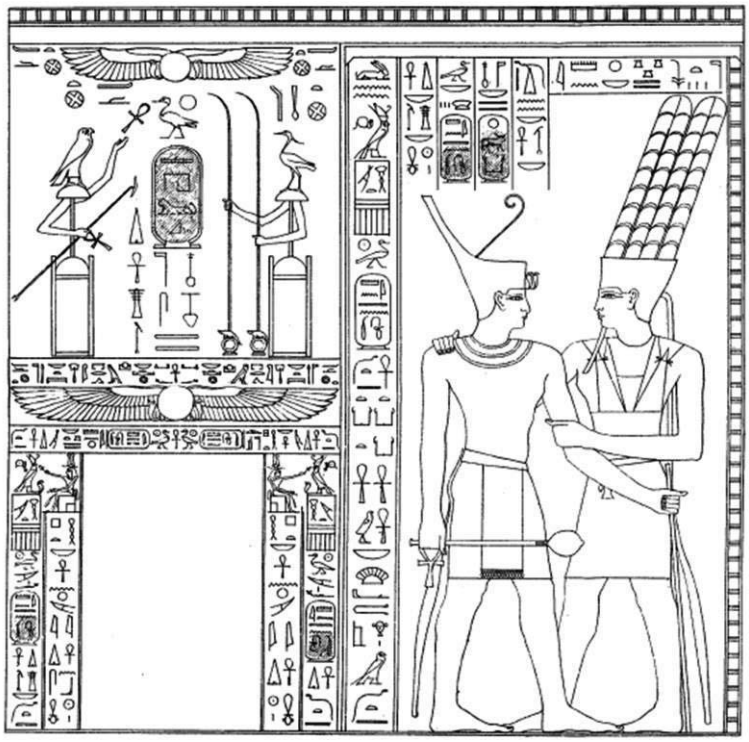


Fig. 5: Eastern wall of Room I (after MARIETTE, *Monuments divers*, II, pl. 80)

Room II

Room II was referred to by Mariette as Room B. The northern wall contains a depiction of Tantamani, who holds an *ꜥnḫ*-sign in his left hand, presenting the great offering to Osiris-Ptah Neb-ankh. The deity is shown mummiform, holding the crook, flail, and *w3s*-sceptre in his hands.[17]

The eastern wall has a doorway leading back to Room I. The scene on the right of this wall depicts Montu presenting the *ꜥnḫ*-sign to Tantamani. The king wears the *3tf*-crown, holds a mace and *ꜥnḫ*-sign in his right hand and a cane in his left.[18]

The southern wall contains a double scene of Tantamani standing before Osiris-Ptah Neb-ankh. The king wears the White Crown of Upper Egypt on the left (eastern side) and the Red Crown of Lower Egypt on the right (western side). The back-to-back mummiform figures of Osiris-Ptah Neb-ankh, hold the crook, flail, and *w3s*-sceptre in their hands (fig. 6).[19]

The western wall contains two images. On the right, a standing Tantamani, wearing the Red Crown of Lower Egypt, offers incense to Osiris-Ptah Neb-ankh. On the left, a standing Taharqo pours a libation before Osiris-Ptah Neb-ankh.[20]

[15] MARIETTE, *Monuments divers*, II, pl. 82.
[16] PM II^2, 278.
[17] MARIETTE, *Monuments divers*, II, pl. 84; NAGY, *The Architectural Activity*, 86.
[18] MARIETTE, *Monuments divers*, II, pl. 85; NAGY, *The Architectural Activity*, 87.
[19] MARIETTE, *Monuments divers*, II, pl. 86.
[20] MARIETTE, *Monuments divers*, I, 27; II, pl. 87.

It is noteworthy that there are no images of the God's Wives, as is often the case for the Osirian chapels. Additionally, the names of the two pharaohs were erased, probably during the reign of Psamtik II.[21]

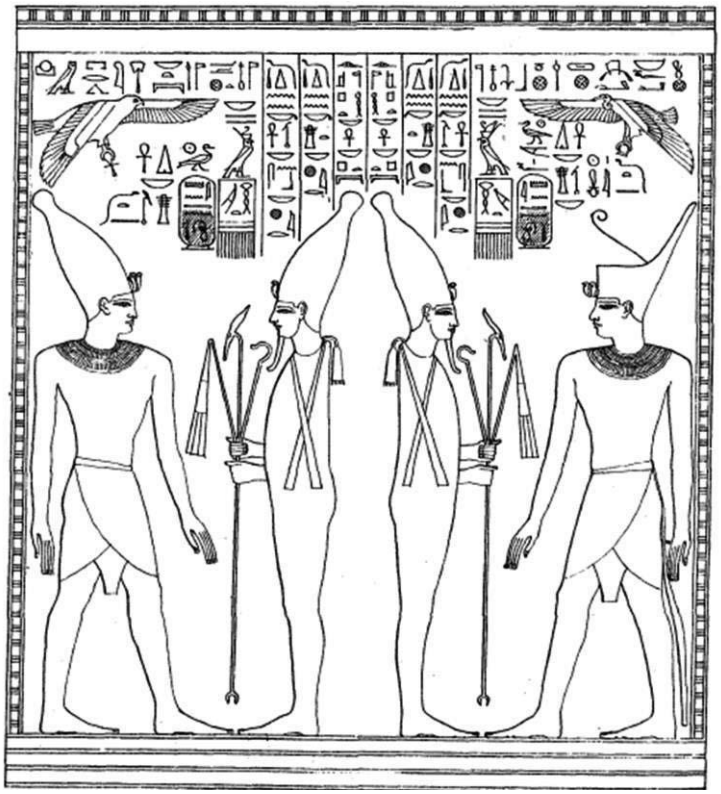


Fig. 6: Southern wall of Room II (after MARIETTE, *Monuments divers*, II, pl. 86)

2016 Season

During the 2016 season of the Osiris-Ptah Neb-ankh Research Project (OPNARP) at Karnak, the primary focus was to create a topographical survey for this chapel and the surrounding area.

Goals and Objectives

It was decided to start the season by creating a new topographical survey for the chapel and the surrounding area in order to ascertain the layout of the chapel during the Kushite Period, particularly its relationship with the ram-headed sphinx avenue and the Tenth Pylon. We succeeded in creating a new plan for this chapel and its contexts during the season. Additionally, we prepared a new survey for the chapel based on the general plan of Karnak, which was created by the Centre franco-égyptien d'étude des temples de Karnak (CFEETK). The work was based on our reports on the chapel, which were prepared in previous years for the Karnak Inspectorate and Luxor Antiquities. This included some light cleaning of the area in 2012, following official permission from Ministry of Antiquities (MoA) to start work on this chapel and the surrounding area, together with two other chapels within the Amun-Re complex (the chapel of Shebitqo, which is located to the south-east of the sacred lake, and the chapel of Osiris Wennefer, located to the north-east of the Amun-Re Temple). The 2016 season focused on creating a new plan for the chapel of Osiris-Ptah Neb-ankh (fig. 7), as well as preparing a topographic map of the area around it (fig. 8).

To the east of the chapel there are the remains of mudbrick walls, which will be investigated in future seasons in order to ascertain their relationship to the chapel. On the western side of the chapel we have the

[21] For the *damnatio memoriae* of the Kushite rulers, see KOCH, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*.

ram-headed sphinx avenue, with the distance between each ram being approximately 3 m. However, the distance between the two sphinxes that run parallel to the four columns in front of the chapel is 7.57 m. This is a result of one ram having been shifted several metres to the south so that it now rests at a distance of 0.50 m from the next one, which indicates that there was an entrance at this point leading to the Kushite chapel (fig. 9).

On the northern side of the chapel, a pavement running east from the Tenth Pylon was cleaned by Ahmed Araby and Amaar Hassan, under the supervision of Dr. Mohamed Al-Saghir. Its length is about 69 m, with the ram-headed avenue enclosure wall expanding towards the east, which leads to an entrance facing south.[22] South of the chapel, a small mound and the remains of stone blocks, which were part of the columns, are currently being studied.

Conclusion

New plans were created for the chapel and the surrounding area from the Tenth Pylon to the Mut complex, which have led to several conclusions. The chapel was built by the Kushite rulers Taharqo and Tantamani, with both kings being represented on the scenes within the chapel. The blocked doorway in Room I indicates that the original plan of the chapel was modified, perhaps showing that it originally consisted of three rooms instead of two. The position of the sphinxes parallel to the four columns in front of the chapel suggests a possible entrance with the avenue leading towards the chapel. Perhaps surprisingly, there are no depictions of the God's Wives on the walls of the chapel. Further investigations of the surrounding area are planned, which may lead to new insights as to the role of this chapel in the sacred landscape of the Karnak. This includes magnetometry, auguring, and excavations in and around the area of the chapel.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Mostafa Waziri (Secretary General of the Supreme Council of Antiquities), Mohamed Abd El Aziz (General Director of Upper Egypt), Amin Amaar (General Director of Luxor East), Khazafi Abdel Raheem (Director of Karnak), Ghada Ibrahim (Director of Foreign Missions Affairs and Permanent Committees at Karnak), Wahed Yousef (Chief Inspector at Karnak), Rehab Sabry, Amira Fawzy (Karnak inspectors), Rais Mahmoud Farouk, and all the colleagues at the Karnak Inspectorate for their support and assistance throughout our work at the site. In particular, I am indebted to the Centre franco-égyptien d'étude des temples de Karnak (CFEETK) directed by Christophe Thiers. Thanks are also due to John Sherman, Director of American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE) in Luxor for his support. Finally, special thanks to the team members Mohamed Abd El Baset (director of survey team) Ahmed Hassan (surveyor and GIS specialist), Azab Ahmed (Surveyor), for their efforts in helping of creating a topographical survey of the site. We are very grateful to all for their generous support for the project.

[22] Personal communication with Ahmed Araby.

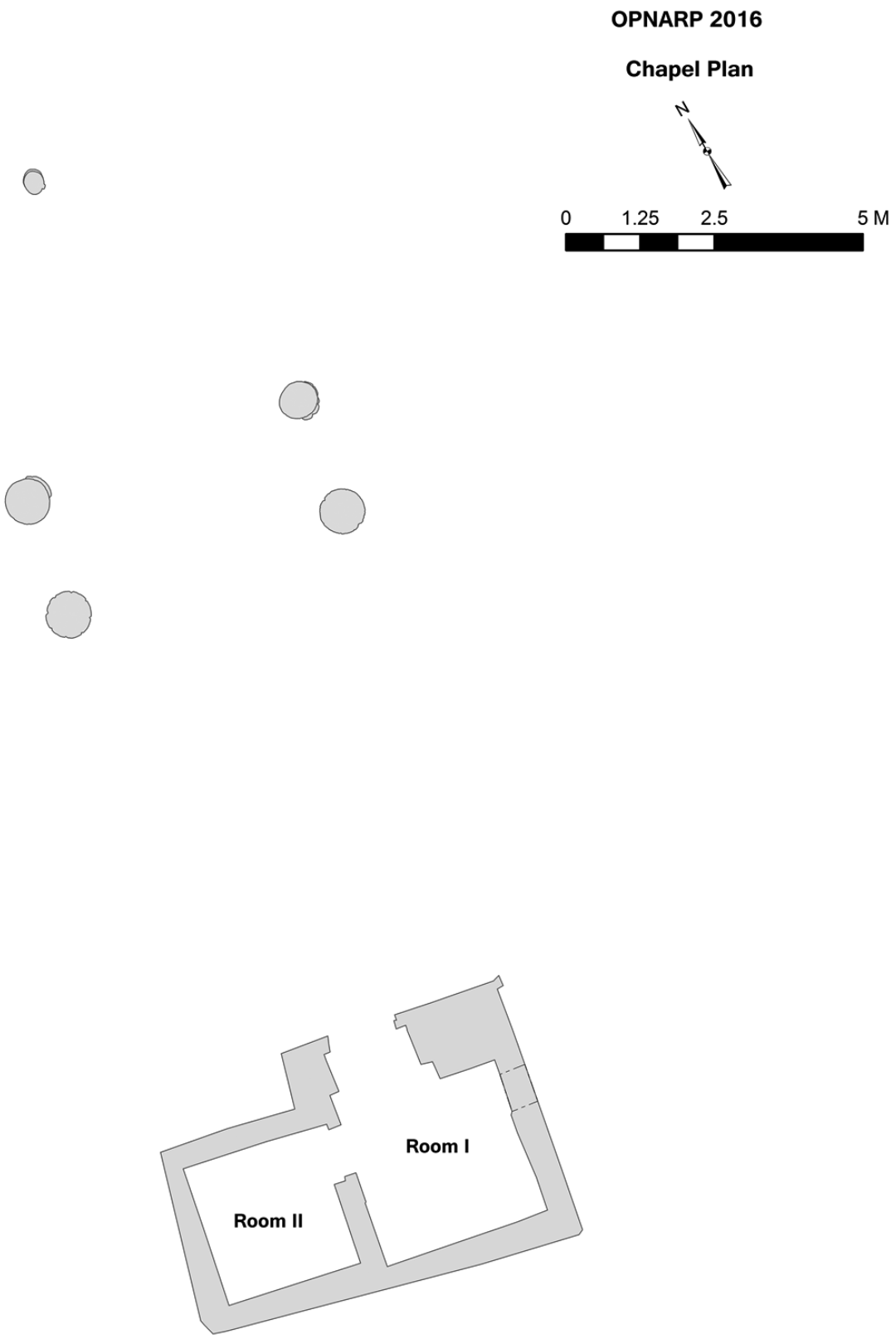


Fig. 7: New plan of the chapel of Osiris-Ptah Neb-ankh

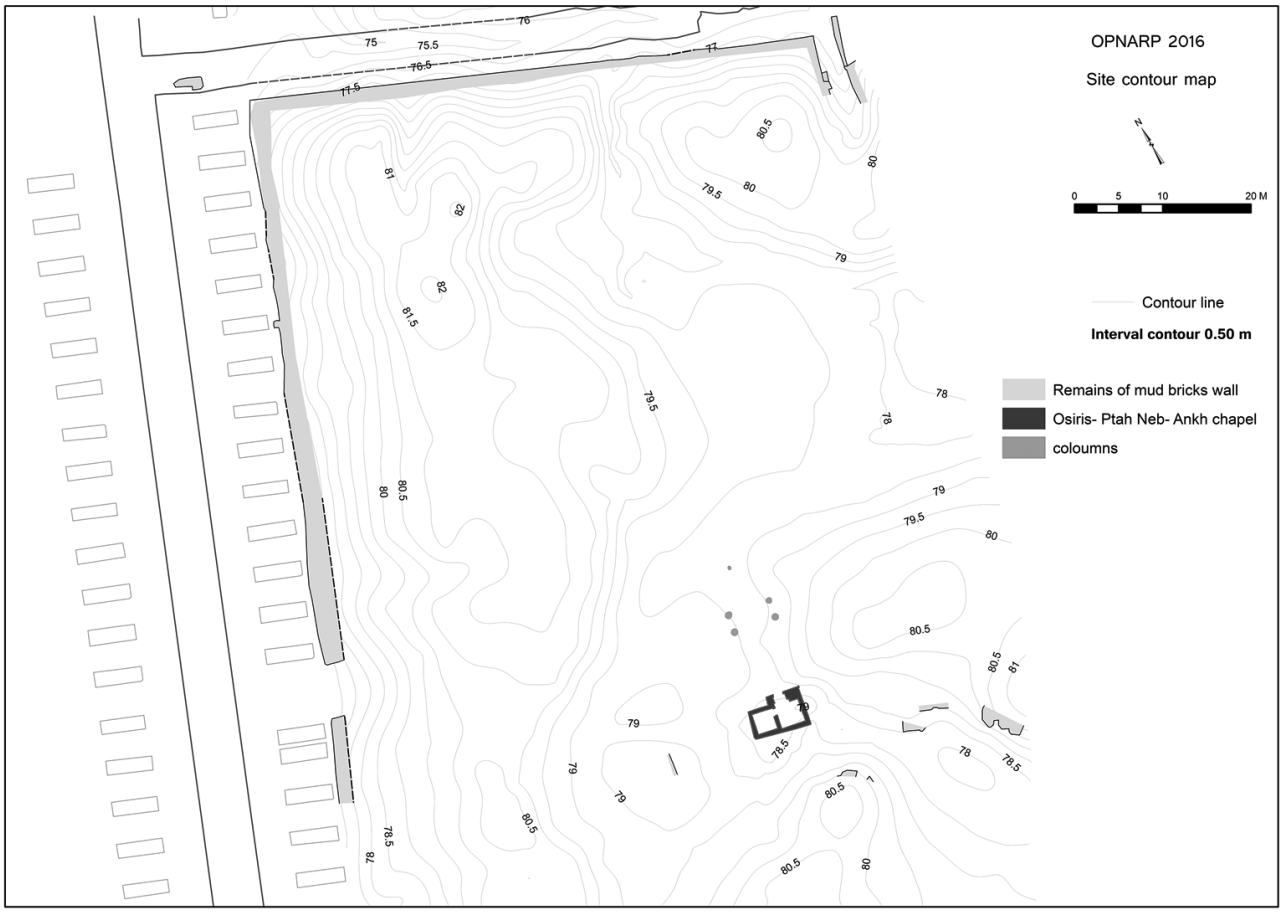


Fig. 8: Topographic map of the area around the Chapel of Osiris-Ptah Neb-ankh



Fig. 9: Gap between sphinxes possibility indicating an entrance leading to the Chapel of Osiris-Ptah Neb-ankh

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PART E:

ART

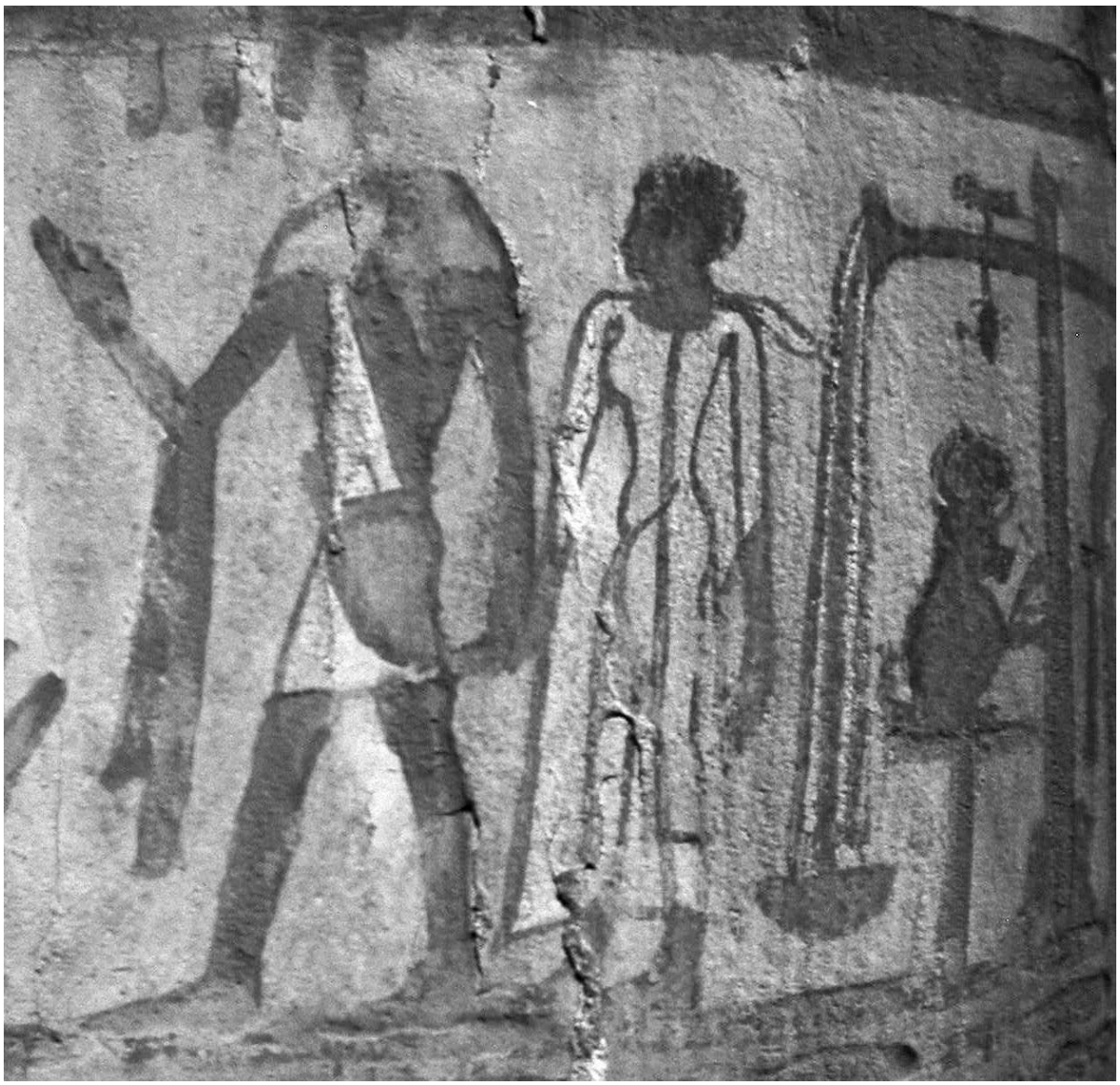


Fig. E-1: Weighing of the heart scene on the coffin of Kherirw (photo: J. Budka)

Iconography and Rituals in the Decorations of Bab el-Gusus Coffins: A Work in Progress

Eltayeb Abbas

Abstract

This article discusses and interprets some iconographic representations on the Twenty-first Dynasty coffins in respect to the rites of passage. These representations are part of a work in progress of a project dealing with ritual scenes on Twenty-first Dynasty coffins. In this paper, it will be argued how these iconographic representations can be understood as pictorial representations of the rituals performed on the body of the deceased from the moment of death until burial. Scenes on the coffin sides will be read as ritual texts. It will also recreate the environment in which these rituals might have been recited. This article focuses on two scenes illustrating the on-going work; the scene of Nut on the lid and another of Nut and Geb on the cases of the Twenty-first Dynasty coffins in order to show how they work together to ensure eternal life for the deceased placed inside the coffin.

Introduction

The Twenty-first Dynasty is the period that witnessed the end of the glory of the New Kingdom and marks the beginning of the Third Intermediate Period. During this time, Egypt has lost control over Nubia and a civil war ensued.[1] These circumstances resulted in a lack of respect for both living and dead kings, where royal tombs in the Theban Valley of the Kings were violently robbed. Building huge and visible tombs stopped during the Twenty-first Dynasty because of the increase in tomb robbery, even of the tombs of non-royal individuals. A new type of 'group burial' appeared.[2] One of these group burials was located in front of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari on the West Bank at Thebes, known today as the Bab el-Gusus ('gate of the Priests') tomb or the Second Find from Deir el-Bahari.[3] This tomb served as a group burial for the high priests of the god Amun and their families. The tomb is undecorated and it is now inaccessible.

Twenty-first Dynasty coffins of the priests of Amun and their families are considered the most important discoveries of this period. These coffins, with their decorations, served as miniature tombs for the deceased, when richly decorated tombs were no longer constructed during the Twenty-first Dynasty.[4] The inner and outer walls of these coffins served as tomb walls. The scenes on these coffins not only include representations of the underworld scenes, as found on the walls of the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings, but also have illustrations from the New Kingdom *Book of the Dead*.[5] New iconographic compositions were also introduced on these coffins. The scenes can also be considered as a record of ritual texts that were written in the *Coffin Texts* and *Book of the Dead*.[6] The sides of these coffins do not only have scenes, but also have speeches of the gods and goddesses that were common on the Middle Kingdom coffins.[7]

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[1] VAN DIJK, in SHAW (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 309.
[2] TAYLOR, in WENDRICH (ed.), *Egyptian Archaeology*, 229.
[3] The cache of royal mummies cleared in 1881 was the first. *Cf.* BETTUM, in SOUSA (ed), *Body, Cosmos and Eternity*; NIWIŃSKI, *21st Dynasty Coffins*, 24–5; NIWIŃSKI, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri*; NIWIŃSKI, in MYNÁROVÁ, ONDERKA (eds.), *Thebes*; SOUSA, *Burial Assemblages from Bab el-Gasus*. See also the relevant papers in AMENTA, GUICHARD (eds.), *Proceedings First Vatican Coffin Conference*.
[4] COONEY, *JARCE* 47 (2011), 3–44.
[5] NIWIŃSKI, in BACKES, MUNRO, STÖHR (eds.), *Totenbuch-Forschungen*, 245–64; NIWIŃSKI, in BACKES, MÜLLER-ROTH, STÖHR (eds.), *Ausgestattet mit den Schriften des Thoth*, 133–62.
[6] NIWIŃSKI, *21st Dynasty Coffins*, 11.
[7] ABBAS, *Ritual Scenes*, 8–10.

The Scene of the Sky Goddess Nut

One of the most recurring scenes on the Twenty-first Dynasty coffins is that of the sky goddess Nut spreading her wings over the chest of the deceased. This scene occurs frequently on the central panel of the lid of the outer and inner coffins of the Twenty-first Dynasty. The central panel is a large iconographic tableau which is placed between the upper and lower sections of the lid. The figure of the goddess on the central panel is normally surrounded by other decorative motifs such as scarabs, squatting gods, cobras, and *shetayet* shrines.[8]

In most cases, Nut is depicted as a squatting woman wearing divine dress, royal crown, and looking left. The goddess is depicted with an accompanying caption of text designating her. Alternatively, columns of texts representing speeches by the goddess or by the deceased directed to the goddess are also common. This type of decoration of the central panel fits in Niwiński's Type III of the Twenty-first Dynasty coffins.[9]

Two instances occur on the lids of the outer and inner coffins of the priest *Pꜣ-dj-jmn*, the High Priest of Amun who knew the mysteries in the Theban temples as his titles indicate. *Pꜣ-dj-jmn* has a coffin set consisting of an outer coffin, an inner coffin, and a mummy board. According to Niwiński, *Pꜣ-dj-jmn* was a theologian who was concerned with the cult of *Šꜣj* the personification of destiny, in one of the sanctuaries of Amun in Thebes.[10]

On the lid of the outer coffin, the goddess Nut is shown on the middle part with her outstretched wings and arms (fig. 1). The figure of the goddess is surrounded by other decorative motifs. The lower part of the lid is occupied by a speech of the deceased for the goddess Nut:

ḏd=f jꜣ hꜣj mwt(=j) Nwt	He says: Oh (my) mother Nut,
pš ḏnḥwj=ṯ ḥr=j	spread your wings over me,
dj.tw wnn=j mj jḫmw skw	and make me exist like the Imperishable Stars,
mj jḫmw wrḏw	and the Unwearying Stars.[11]

On the same lid of the outer coffin, the deceased also says:

ḏd=f psd (*pḏ*) *Nwt ꜥwj=s ḥr=j*	He says: May Nut stretch her arms over me,
m rn=s pwj m psd ꜥwy=s	in her name of She-who-stretches-her-arms,
dr=s kkwt sꜥr ḥddwt m bw nb wnn=j jm=j	and may she drive away darkness and bring up light in every place I am in.[12]

Another occurrence of the scene is found on the lid of the inner coffin of the same priest *Pꜣ-dj-jmn* and is accompanied by a speech directed to the goddess Nut:

ḏd=f hꜣj mwt(=j) Nwt	He Says: Oh (my) mother Nut,
pš dnḥwj=ṯ ḥr=j	spread your wings over me,
dj.tw wnn=j mj jḫmw skw	and make me exist like the Imperishable Stars,
mj jḫmw wrdw	and the Unwearying Stars,
nn mwt=j m-wḥm m-ḥnw ḫrt-nṯr	so that I will not die again in the necropolis,

[8] For a systemic study on the central panel of the Twenty-first Dynasty coffins, see SOUSA, in SOUSA (ed.), *Body, Cosmos and Eternity*, 90–109.
[9] NIWIŃSKI, *21st Dynasty Coffins*, 80–3.
[10] NIWIŃSKI, *The Second Find of Deir el-Bahari*.
[11] ABBAS, *Ritual Scenes*, 18.
[12] ABBAS, *Ritual Scenes*, 18.

ḫr psḏt ꜥ3 nb […] near the Great Ennead, Lord of […][13]

A third instance occurs on the lid of the inner coffin (CG 6262) of *T3j-nfr* in the Cairo Museum (fig. 2). Nut is also shown with her outstretched wings covering the middle part of the lid of the inner coffin. The image of the goddess is surrounded by other decorative motifs, such as the falcon god Horus, two winged cobras, and two winged *wḏ3t*-eyes. What is fascinating is that the image of the goddess is accompanied by a caption above her wings which reads:

ḏd=f psd (*pḏ*) *Nwt ꜥwj=s ḥr=j* He says: May Nut stretch her arms over me.

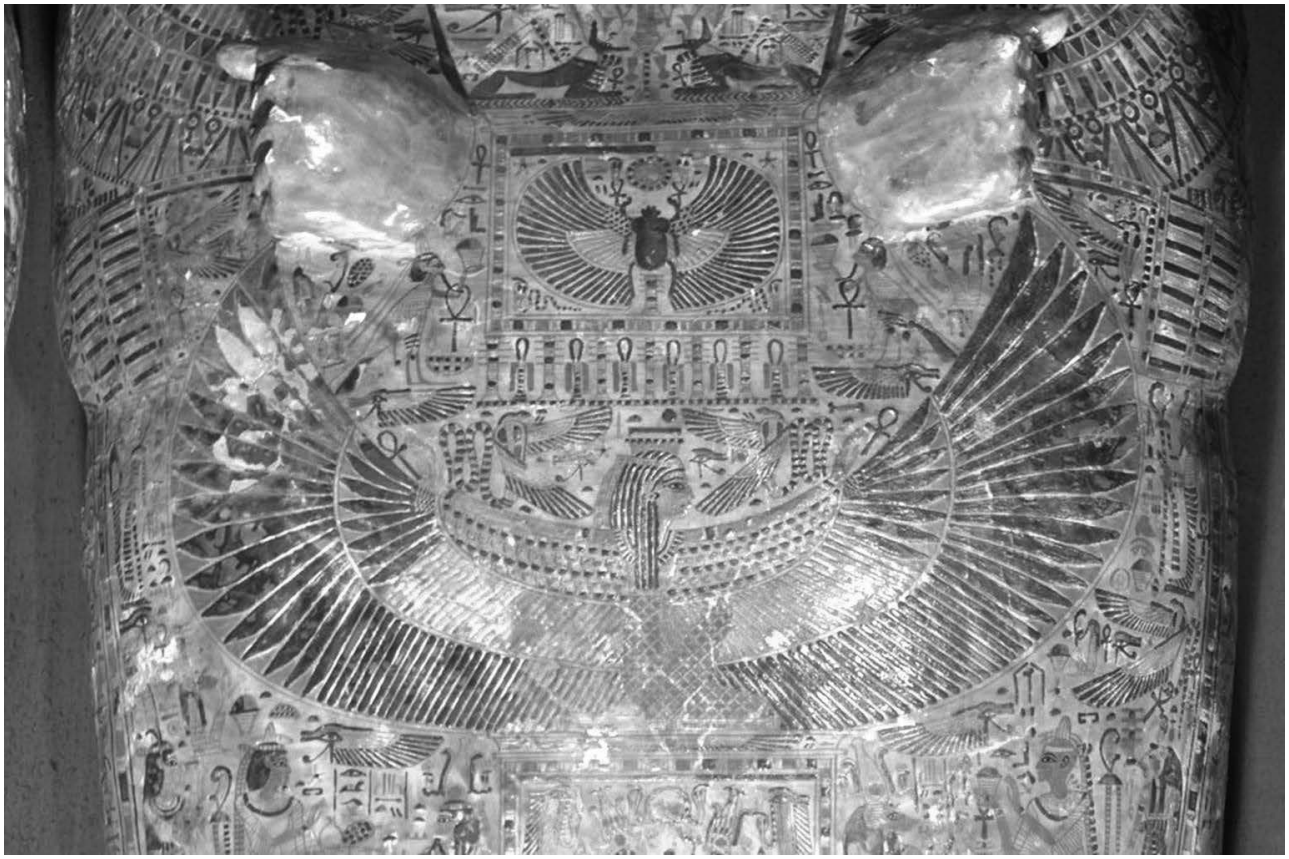


Fig. 1: The goddess Nut on the lid of the outer coffin of *P3-dj-jmn* (after ABBAS, *Ritual Scenes*, fig. 3)

It seems as if the scene is intended to be read as a text, or the depiction of the goddess is a pictorial representation of a speech that should have been recited on the body of the deceased who is placed inside the coffin.

In addition to the scene of the sky goddess Nut on the Twenty-first Dynasty coffins, there are also various examples of the goddess' speeches on the lid and floor of these multi-coloured coffins. In these texts, complemented by the representation of the goddess on the lid and floor, Nut provides the deceased with the protection necessary for his journey to the underworld.[14] It is Nut who drives away darkness and places the deceased among the Imperishable Stars. For instance, on Cairo coffin CG 61022 the deceased says:

h3 mwt(*=j*) *Nwt* O (my) mother Nut,
psš dbnwj(*=ṯ*) *ḥr=j* spread your wings over me,
rdj (*wj m*) *jḫmw skw jḫmw wrḏw* place (me among) the Imperishable Stars

[13] ABBAS, *Ritual Scenes*, 19.
[14] BILLING, *Nut*, 143.

and Unwearying Stars.[15]

Another instance occurs on Cairo Museum coffin CG 61032:

hꜣ mwt(=j) Nwt	Oh (my) mother Nut,
psš jdbwj=ṯ ḥr=j	spread your wings over me,
rdj wnn(=j)	so that I may be,
mj jḫmw skw mj jḫmw m wrḏw	like the Imperishable Stars and like the Unwearying Stars,
n mt(=j) m-wḥm	I shall not die again.[16]



Fig. 2: The central panel of the lid of the coffin of *Ṯꜣj-nfr* in Cairo Museum (CG 6262) (photo courtesy of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo)

The scenes and texts of the goddess Nut on the Twenty-first Dynasty coffins occur within a context in which other representations and speeches of other deities who were common on Middle and New Kingdom coffins. For instance, on the lid of the outer coffin of *Pꜣ-dj-jmn* cited above the deceased directs a speech to Anubis as patron of the western desert and says:

ḏd=f (j) Jnpw jʿḥ pw r mꜣnw	He says: (Oh) Anubis, (Oh) moon at *Manu*,
Wnn-nfr m ḥb	Wenennefer is in festival,

[15] DARESSY, *Cercueils*, 36–7; translation after BILLING, *Nut*, 138–9.
[16] DARESSY, *Cercueils*, 180.

nṯrw nbw tȝ-ḏsr ršw jb=sn nḏm	And all the gods of the necropolis their hearts rejoice and are happy,
Šw wbn m pt	(when) Shu is risen in the sky.[17]

On the coffin of *Pȝ-dj-jmn*, both Anubis and Nut feature on the lid and Anubis is addressed as:

Jnpw ḫntj sḥ-nṯr nb dwȝt	Anubis, Foremost of the God's Booth, Lord of the Underworld.

Anubis is also addressed on the register at the middle of the lid as:

Jnpw ḫnty-imntt	Anubis, Foremost of the West.

These speeches by Nut on the lid and floor of the Twenty-first Dynasty coffins were very common on Middle and New Kingdom coffins. In these coffins, the lid decoration was very simple. First, the lids were either flat or vaulted shrines. The decorative programme on these lids consist of a single ornamental column of hieroglyphs running from the head to the feet, but by the end of the Middle Kingdom we can see three or four text registers on the lid instead of one.[18] The text on these lids is an offering formula in which Anubis features as the Lord of Sepa and Foremost of the God's Booth, but the favours asked for him may vary. For instance, the deceased asks for happy passage to underworld. There are also different formulae following 'an offering which the king and Anubis give …'.[19] In addition to the offering formula to Anubis, some Middle Kingdom coffin lids also have a speech in which the goddess Nut is addressed as the deceased's mother, derived from PT 368 (§638a) and PT 588 (§1607a–b). In these, the deceased is told, 'your mother Nut spreads herself over you, she causes you to be a god without enemies'.[20]

The lid on Middle and New Kingdom coffins is referred to as the mother of the deceased. The goddess Nut was the most prominent figure on the lid and sometimes was replaced by the goddess Neith.[21] Neith also replaced the goddess Nut on Twenty-first Dynasty lids: for instance, on the lid of the outer coffin of Henuttawy, daughter of Pinedjem.[22] The deceased inside the coffin travels through her body as a star.[23] As a mother, the goddess Nut was depicted on the lid of the coffin protecting the deceased.

On the Middle and New Kingdom coffins, the speeches of Nut formed a part of other texts inscribed on the inner and outer walls. On the Twenty-first Dynasty coffins, these speeches by or to the goddess were abbreviated and replaced by large pictorial representation of the goddess on the lid and floor. The image of the goddess, as in Cairo coffin CG 6262 cited above, is accompanied by the *ḏd mdw* formula above the two wings of the goddess indicating that her pictorial representation could also be read and not only viewed as a scene.

The Scene of Geb and Nut

Another important scene that occurs on the cases of the Twenty-first Dynasty coffins is the well-known cosmological scene of Geb and Nut. This scene has been modified to fit the solar-Osirian unity during this pe-

[17] ABBAS, *Ritual Scenes*, 18.
[18] WILLEMS, *Chests of Life*, 173.
[19] For a survey on the different *Bitten* requested by the deceased in the offering formula to Anubis see, WILLEMS, *Chests of Life*, 173–4.
[20] WILLEMS, *Chests of Life*, 174.
[21] ASSMANN, *MDAIK* 28 (1972), 47–73; ASSMANN, *MDAIK* 28 (1972), 115–39.
[22] Neith and Nut can be replaced by a winged vulture—as on the lid of the coffin of Maatkare (CG 61028)—a falcon—as in the case of the lid of the coffin of Pinedjem II—and a winged solar disc—as in the case of the Cairo Museum inner coffin of Dirpu (CG 6083); GOFF, *Symbols*, 94.
[23] IKRAM, DODSON, *The Mummy*, 193–6.

riod. It has long been considered as a pure cosmological scene that represents the establishment of the cosmos.[24] The first instance occurs on the case of the outer coffin of *P3-dj-jmn* (CCG 6081). On this part of the coffin, Nut is shown naked and supported herself on her hands and feet (fig. 3). She is bent over the figure of Geb, who is also shown naked. Geb is accompanied by a caption and reads:

Gbb pʿt ntrw nbw Geb, elite of all gods.



Fig.3: The scene of Geb and Nut on the case of the outer coffin of *P3-dj-jmn* (CG 6081) (after ABBAS, *Ritual Scenes*, fig. 22)

The space between Nut and Geb is divided into two registers. In the lower register, Shu is described as:

Šw s3 Rʿ nṯr ʿ3 nb pt t3 Shu, son of Re, the Great God, Lord of the sky and earth,

dj=f ḥtp that he may give an offering.

Shu is standing between Nut supporting the sign of the sky while there is a human figure kneeling in adoration. In the upper register, there is a barque sailing on the *pt*-sign supported by Shu. On the barque stand, a mummy with the head of a scarab and a solar disc with its rays surmounting the scarab is depicted. The solar disc is described as:

nṯr ʿ3 nb pt The Great God, Lord of the sky.

A cobra with the white crown descends from the rudder of the barque. Above the barque is a *wḏ3t*-eye with *ʿnḫ*-sign. Behind the rudder is a label reading *jmj dw3t* 'what is in the underworld'. The whole scene is bordered on both sides by the figure of a falcon. The one on the left is called:

[24] PIANKOFF, *Mythological Papyri* I, 20–8.

Ḥr tȝwj nṯr ʿȝ nb pt nb tȝ	Horus of the two lands, Great God, Lord of the sky and Lord of the earth,
dj=f ḥtpw	that he may give offerings.

The falcon on the left is called *Skr-Wsjr* (Sokar-Osiris). Beneath the falcon on the right are a standing mummy and the sign of a loaf of bread. The text that separates this scene from the next reads:

ḏd mdw jn Jnpw jʿḥ pw r mȝnw	Speech by Anubis (Oh) this moon at *Manu*.
Wnn-nfr m ḥb nṯrw nbw tȝ-ḏsr	Wenennefer is in festival and all the gods of the necropolis,
ršw jb=sn nḏm Šw wbn m pt	their hearts rejoice and are happy when Shu is arisen in the sky.

The scene here might refer to the day journey in which the deceased takes part. In the text, the gods are happy when Shu shines in the sky, which might also allude to the deceased standing between the earth and sky; thus, he is not only Osiris but Re at the same time. He is Shu filling the space between the two spheres and is thus sharing in the daily cycle of the sun in the day and night skies. The falcons on the right and left, and their titles, refer to the deceased as sharing both aspects of Osiris and Re. Niwiński argues that here:

> 'If we imagine the mummy lying in the coffin, embraced and protected by Osiris or Imentet from beneath and Nut from above, thus situated between the earth and the sky, we can understand the mummy, as exactly corresponding to that taken by Shu in the well-known cosmological composition of the same period, the so-called scene with Geb and Nut. The deceased is therefore identified with the great god himself in both of his main united aspects; the Osirian one and the Solar one. He is not the only mummy shaped Osiris who becomes king of the dead after his sacred revival, but an incarnation of the sun the deceased travels eternally the space of the visible upper sky during the day and that of the invisible lower sky by night, being at the same time the luminous atmosphere that fills the world and is the source of life'.[25]

Another instance occurs on the case of the inner coffin of the *Pȝ-dj-jmn* in the Cairo Museum (CG 6079). Geb is shown lying on the earth and his body is covered with reeds. He has a bent beard and a feather of *mȝʿt* on his head. Above Geb is the image of the naked sky goddess Nut supported on the tips of her hands and feet and her body covered by stars. Between Geb and Nut, Shu is standing dressed in a royal garment while holding the solar barque with his upraised arms. The solar barque contains a small squatting falcon-headed god wearing the *ȝtf*-crown, with a pile of offerings in front of him. Above the barque are two *wḏȝt*-eyes. On each sides of Shu, falcons are standing on the emblem of the West. A small squatting figure on a *ḥb*-sign with offerings in front fills the space between Geb and Nut (fig. 4). On each side of Shu and in front of the falcons is a text that reads:

Wsjr nb jmntt dwȝt nṯr ʿȝ nb pt	Osiris, Lord of the West and *Duat*, the Great God, Lord of the sky.

Isis and Nephthys are standing on the right and left of the figure of Nut, stretching their hands in a gesture of protection; both stand on a *smȝ-tȝwj* symbol. The inscription in front of Nephthys reads:

Nbt-ḥwt snt-nṯr Wsjr ḫntj-jmntt	Nephthys, the God's Sister (of) Osiris Foremost of the West.

[25] NIWIŃSKI, *GM* 109 (1989), 54.

The inscription in front of Isis reads:

ỉst nbt jmntt Isis, Lady of the West.

The scene here is different from the one on the case of the outer coffin of *Pỉ-dj-jmn*. This scene seems to be more ritualistic than cosmological. The two goddesses Isis and Nephthys are standing with their arms raised in adoration towards the figure of Shu. In this scene, Shu is Osiris. The two falcons on the either side of Shu are identified as Neith and Isis, which fits in the context of the decorations on the inner case, as most of the scenes deal with Osirian aspects.[26]



Fig.4: The scene of Geb and Nut on the case of the inner coffin of *Pỉ-dj-jmn* (CG 6081) (after ABBAS, *Ritual Scenes*, fig. 45)

In order to understand what is meant by this scene, it is important to look at the following scene on the same case, which deals with the judgment of the dead (fig. 5). In this scene, the deceased is introduced to Osiris who is shown seated on a throne placed on a podium, decorated with *ḏd* and *tit* signs, standing on a *nb*-base. He wears the composite *ỉtf*-crown and holds all the royal signs of *ʿnḫ*, sceptre, and flagellum. The inscription in front of him reads:

Wsjr ḫntj-jmntt nṯr ʿỉ ʿnḫ Osiris, Foremost of the West, The Great God, the living One.

Thoth is also shown in front of Osiris as the divine scribe with a head of an Ibis holding a palette and a pen in his hand while recording the events. In front of him is an inscription that reads:

Ḏḥwtj nb mỉʿt ḫntj sḥ-nṯr jmj pt tỉ Thoth, Lord of Maat, Foremost of the God's Booth, which is in sky and earth.

[26] For a detailed description of the case of the inner coffin, see ABBAS, *Ritual Scenes*, 50–9.

Three other deities approach Osiris. The deceased is escorted by a lion-headed goddess who carries the sign of the West. The caption behind her reads:

prjt dwꜣt nṯr ꜥꜣ	She who emerges (from) the Duat of the Great God.

The deceased is dressed in a festive garment and followed by Isis, who has the head of a cobra. Behind Isis is Hapy with the head of an ape. The lion-headed goddess and Isis hold the hands of the deceased *Pꜣ-dj-jmn* as if they are introducing him to Osiris. Behind Isis stands Hapy. The vertical column of text that separates this scene from the next is a speech by Duamutef:

ḏd mdw jn Dwꜣ-mwt-f nb pt	A speech by Duamutef, Lord of the Sky,
sꜣ Wsjr nṯr ꜥꜣ nb tꜣ-ḏsr	Son of Osiris, the Great God, Lord of the Sacred Land,
ḥrj-jb jtrt Wnn-nfr	Who is in the middle of the shrine of Wenennefer,
nb jmntt dj=f ḥtpw	Lord of the West, that he may give offerings.

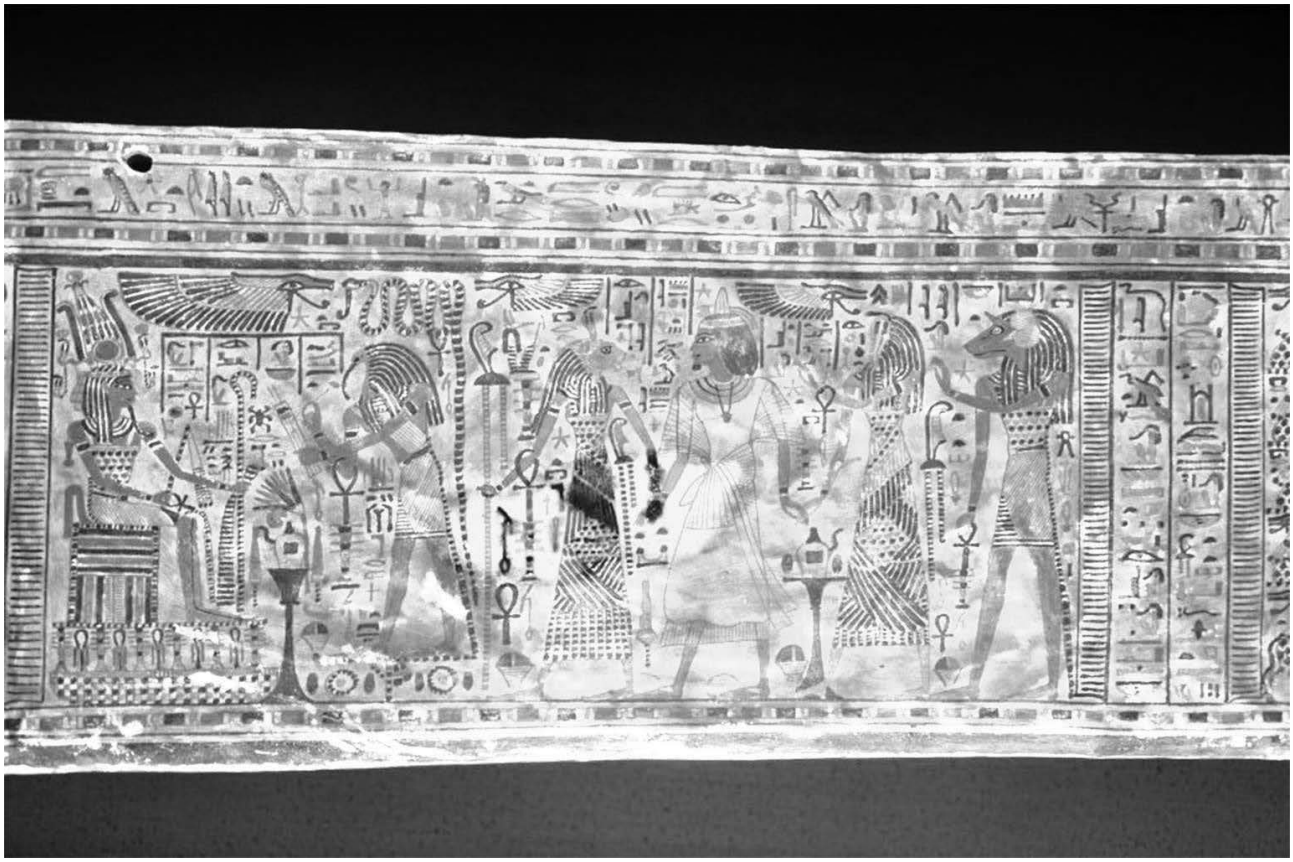


Fig. 5: The deceased is introduced to Osiris in the hall of the judgment of the dead (after ABBAS, *Ritual Scenes*, fig. 46)

In this scene, the deceased enters the kingdom of Osiris: the 'Netherworld of the Great God', as the caption indicates. Niwiński describes the scene as a variant of the judgment of the dead.[27] After the deceased has been resurrected, he proceeds to the world where Osiris is. The scene of Nut and Geb can thus be interpreted in the context of the judgment that follows, where Osiris, after being awakened, will undergo a judgment in which he will be vindicated. This also might be confirmed by the fact that the text that separates this scene

[27] NIWIŃSKI, *The Second Find of Deir el-Bahari*, 16.

from the next is a speech by Thoth, who stands in the hall of the judgment of the Great Ennead and records the events.

The important questions here are how the scene of the goddess Nut on the case and the scene of Geb and Nut on the lid work together to ensure eternal life for the deceased inside the coffin? Additionally, how should they be interpreted with regards to the rite of passage?

On the lid of the outer coffin of *P3-dj-jmn*, the goddess Nut is depicted on the middle of the lid with her outstretched wings, and the deceased asks her to spread her wings over him and to place him among the Imperishable and Unwearying Stars. Nut is considered as the place that conceals these stars. On a naos from Saft el-Henna in the Cairo Museum (CG 70021), which dates to the Thirtieth Dynasty,[28] the Imperishable Stars and the Unwearying Stars are said to come into being in Nut's body. The text reads:

št3 pw jmj Nwt	It is a secret which is in Nut.
jḫmw-sk	The Imperishable Stars,
jḫmw-wrḏ	and the Unwearying Stars
ḫpr	Have come into being.[29]

The deceased's wish to be covered by the wings of the sky goddess Nut is complemented by the scene on the case. When the deceased enters the body of the sky goddess Nut and starts his nocturnal journey, he is then concealed in the body of the goddess. After the journey, the deceased will be born as the sun-god Re. According to Billing:

> 'The night is the time of reconstitution, the mythical time of mummification and the vigil that takes place in the preparation for the burial. It is also during the night that the deceased is vindicated before the divine assembly, a judicial procedure that establishes the legitimacy required for the deceased to come forth at dawn'.[30]

The deceased's birth from Nut is envisaged as his resurrection. In the text cited above, the secrecy of the sky goddess is connected to the night sky, and as Billing argues, *št pt* is an expression referring to the nocturnal aspects of the sky journey. It is also the period of darkness in which the god, with whom the deceased is identified, is concealed within her generating body.[31]

By spreading her wings over him, the goddess transforms the deceased, her son, into a god. As a result, the god (deceased) is integrated within the community of gods. This leads to the resurrection of the deceased, which is a central theme of reconstitution,[32] described by the image of the sky goddess Nut and the deceased's nocturnal journey in her body.[33] The reintegration of the god means that he has escaped death, which is characterised by the liminal stage in the rites of passage.

By placing the deceased in her embrace and enclosing him with her body, the deceased is given life and is resurrected. For instance, CT 917 reads in part:

[...] *ḫrt-nṯr NN pn*	[...] The Necropolis. O this NN!
pḫr.ti n Nwt sm3=s t3wj Gb t3 jmntt=k	Turn yourself to Nut, that she may unite the two lands of Geb and the land of your west.
rdj.n n=k mwt=k ꜥwj=s n ꜥnḫ nt st […] *NN*	Your mother has given her arms to you for life of the seat […] O NN!

[28] NAVILLE, *Todtenbuch*, pl. 1 [lines 1.4]. See also ENGSHEDEN, *Le naos de Sopdou*; NAVILLE, *The Shrine of Saft el Henneh*.
[29] Translation after BILLING, *Nut*, 93.
[30] BILLING, *Nut*, 52.
[31] BILLING, *Nut*, 52.
[32] BILLING, *Nut*, 93.
[33] ASSMANN, *MDAIK* 28 (1972), 115–39; ASSMANN, *Liturgische Lieder*, 61 n. 96, 197 n. 31.

ṯs (t)w ḥr gs=k jȝbt	Raise yourself upon your left side,
rdj.t ḥr gs=k jmntt	having been placed on your right side.[34]

When the deceased Osiris is placed within this constellation of Nut and Geb, he then becomes the heir of the space that they embody. This also refers to the deceased as the heir of the upper underworld, symbolised by Nut, and the lower underworld, symbolised by Geb. The passage cited above also refers to the connection between placing of the body of the deceased within this space and the resurrection of his body.[35]

Isis and Nephthys are standing at the two sides of the goddess Nut. They act here as the two trajectories of the horizon, between which the deceased Osiris is travelling. For instance, in PT 269, Isis and Nephthys are described as:

jj prjw	They come, the ones who have risen up,
jj prjw	they come, the ones who have risen up;
jj ḥfdjw	they come, the ones who have climbed,
jj ḥfdjw	they come the ones who have climbed;
jj šwjw	they come who have elevated,
jj šwjw	they come who have elevated.
prj Wnjs ḥr mnwtj ȝst	Unas ascends on the knees of Isis
ḥfd Wnjs pn ḥr mnwtj Nbt-ḥwt	This Unas ascends on the knees of Nephthys.[36]

The two goddesses represent the horizon between which the deceased Unas will ascend to the sky. The horizon represents a place standing between two ontological states and it also represents the threshold between the primordial and created sphere.[37] It is a place where death is transformed into life, and a place representing the borders between existence and non-existence. It is a place where the deceased will come into being and become an *ȝḫ*.[38] The journey from death to resurrection is envisaged as a journey in the body of Nut and the two goddesses Isis and Nephthys represent the two poles between which the journey of Osiris from death to life takes place. Nut here represents the *ȝḫt* itself and Isis and Nephthys are the sides of that *ȝḫt*, or the two peaks of it. In the *Pyramid Text*, Nut is described as the Great *ȝḫt*. For instance, PT 1 (§1a) reads:

ḏd mdw jn Nwt	Speech by Nut,
ȝḫt wrt	the Great Horizon.
sȝ(=j) pw smsw Tti	This is (my) eldest son Teti,
wp ḫt(=j)	who has split open (my) womb.[39]

The deceased is also described as an *ȝḫ* who has been born by Nut.

n ṯwt js ȝḫ	For you are an *ȝḫ*,
msw Nwt snḳw ḥwt-nbt	whom Nut born and Nephthys suckled.
dmḏ=sn ṯw	They assemble you.[40]

In these two texts, Nut represents the *ȝḫt* in which the deceased will reside in order to be transformed into an *ȝḫ*. Nut is also an active participant in the *Stundenwachen* in which the deceased is transformed into an

[34] *CT* VII, 120i–m (CT 917).
[35] BILLING, *Nut*, 107.
[36] *PT* I, 197 (PT 269 = §379a–b).
[37] ENGLUND, in BRUNNSÅKER, NORDSTRÖM (eds.) *From the Gustavianum Collections in Uppsala*, 47–54.
[38] JANSEN-WINKELN, *SAK* 23 (1996) 201–15.
[39] *PT* I, 1 (PT 1 = §1a).
[40] *PT* I, 335 (PT 365 = §623a).

ꜣḫ:[41]

wrš=s m hrw ḥr ḥꜣ=k	She spends the day mourning you,
sḏr=s m grḥ ḥr sꜣḫ=k	she spends the night transfiguring you.[42]

In CT 61, the goddess is described as one of the deities who transform the deceased into an *ꜣḫ*:

sꜣḫ tw sꜣty Nwt	The two daughters of Nut glorify you,
sꜣḫ tw Gb Nwt	Geb and Nut glorify you,
nṯrw šnw rḫjt	the gods who encircle the people.[43]

Nut here is the one who is glorifying the deceased and who also places her two daughters, Isis and Nephthys, at either side of the bier. It is also important to note that the deceased Osiris, who travels in the body of his mother Nut, will become an *ꜣḫ*, which is the aim of all the texts dealing with the rites of passage in Egyptian rituals.

The texts that describe Isis and Nephthys on the lids and cases of aforementioned coffins do not give any indication as to their roles within the whole composition. The combination of text and image acts as the medium of information. In his work on the image-text relation in the *Book of the Dead*, Brunner refers to the text as a more or less fixed element whereas the image could be executed in various ways in concordance with the imagination of the artist.[44] That means that the artist saw in the image a medium through which he could enrich the text or give emphasis to more aspects connected to the image, and as Billing argues, 'the images were not only illustrations, they meant something'.[45] Here the elevation of the deceased to the sky is envisaged as his resurrection, and Isis, Nephthys, and Neith watch over this resurrection. Nut, Isis, Nephthys, and Geb play a role in the glorification of the deceased, causing him to be an *ꜣḫ*. All these aspects are referred to by the scene of Nut and Geb cited above.

The scenes of Nut spreading her wings on the lid of the Twenty-first Dynasty coffins and on the cases of the same coffins from the same period cannot be described as simply decorative. With the absence of building huge and well-decorated tombs during this period, the coffins seem to play the same role of the tomb. That means the placing of the scenes on the coffin sides followed the same roles of placing them on the tomb walls in the preceding periods. Although scenes and images were placed on tomb walls as decorative elements, at the same time the tomb walls could also be used as a writing surface on which the scenes and texts were placed or inscribed according to rules that were derived from a literary tradition or motivation rather than a representational one. The coffins during this period served as tombs, and the coffin sides can be described as tomb walls, which also mean that the scenes on the coffin sides could be read as texts.[46]

The decoration on these coffins from the Twenty-first Dynasty were not intended to be purely pictorial representations of ritual, but they had a wider function. Just like in the Middle and New Kingdom, these Twenty-first Dynasty coffins served as a universe for the deceased placed inside the coffin, and also reflecting the rituals performed for him/her from the moment of death until burial. The only difference between the Middle and New Kingdom coffins and those of the Twenty-first Dynasty is that the latter have more decorative elements than the former.[47] These decorative elements replace the ritual texts in the rites of passage from this world to the next. Like the written ancient Egyptian ritual texts, the scenes on the Twenty-first Dynasty coffins do not refer to a coherent set of rituals. Instead, the scenes on these coffins are repetitive and draw on

[41] ASSMANN, in ISRAELIT-GROLL (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology*, 36.
[42] JUNKER, *Stundenwachen*, 99 [lines 86–92]; PRIES, *Die Stundenwachen im Osiriskult* I, 226.
[43] *CT* I, 262d–e.
[44] BRUNNER, in RÖLLIG (ed.), *Das hörende Herz*, 365.
[45] BILLING, *Nut*, 195.
[46] ABBAS, *Ritual Scenes*, 8, and the references cited there.
[47] ABBAS, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 430–7.

different metaphors.[48]

Ancient Egyptian ritual texts focus on speaking the words alluding to the myth accompanying the ritual action. In the Twenty-first Dynasty coffins, the scenes seem to play the same role as the spoken word. The images allude to the myths that accompany the ritual action. In fact, it is impossible to envisage an image being placed on the coffin sides without it having ritual functions. The sides of the coffins illustrate versions of rituals, and what is missing is the spoken word that accompanied their performance. The existence of the missing recitation is shown by the appearance of the *ḏd-mdw* (saying of words) formula in the hieroglyphic inscriptions on different parts of the coffin, a heading used to show that ritual texts should be recited.[49] Thus, these scenes can be described as the ritual actions that should have been accompanied by recitation of ritual texts. There are also short label texts naming the deities represented.

The sequence of these ritual scenes on the coffin sides was not intended to be merely narrative, and it can be difficult to relate them to one another. Nonetheless, by comparing parallel data from different textual sources we can a reach a meaningful interpretation of these images on the coffins. These scenes can provide us with the raw material of what was actually carried out in the cult of the dead or in the funerary rituals connected with maintaining the integrity of the deceased, whose body disintegrated at death. They can also be viewed as ritual papyri that provide material for a service-book, even though these scenes still do not provide a complete, direct record of each individual ritual that was performed. The ritualist would use the service-book while performing ritual. This 'book' does not contain a coherent set of ritual images but rather discrete units. The rituals that are related to the annual cycle of the death and resurrection of the mythical king Osiris and his coronation as ruler of the underworld are all represented on the coffin sides in scenes, and not in texts as they were in Middle Kingdom *Coffin Texts*.

The images also show how the enactment of the myth through ritual set in motion the recurring process that was necessary for the deceased to share in the daily cycle of death and resurrection of the sun-god Re. The cycle of death and resurrection of the deceased was incorporated into the daily cycle of the day and night journeys of Re in the sky. This explains the existence of images of a boat, scarabs, and sun discs on the different sides of the coffin surrounding the scene of the sky goddess Nut on the lid and cases of the Twenty-first Dynasty coffins.[50] The repetition of the scenes of the sky goddess Nut on the lid and cases with speeches directed to her by the deceased or spoken by goddess herself is possibly because they refer to the very complicated cycle of death and resurrection of Osiris that is represented in the journey of the sun god Re in the day and night skies.

The Solar-Osirian unity is very clear in the scenes of the goddess Nut on the lid and the scenes of Nut and Geb on the cases of these coffins. On the coffins cited above, the cosmological scenes have been modified to fit into the context of this unity. For instance, the famous cosmological scene in which Shu stands between the sky and earth, which is purely solar, has been modified on these coffins to refer also to the cycle of the death and resurrection of Osiris.

Like the Egyptian religious texts of the afterlife, the images and texts on these coffins hardly adhere to one particular doctrine, Solar or Osirian. The images on these coffins provide the deceased with the characteristics of Re and at the same time with those of Osiris. Both Re and Osiris were considered to be sons of the sky goddess Nut and their continuing existence depended on rebirth. That is why Osiris' rebirth and resurrection is envisaged as the sunrise. These concepts of sunrise and resurrection of Re and Osiris became

[48] For the scenes on the temple walls to be read as texts, *cf.* GRAEFE, in QUAEGEBEUR (ed.), *Ritual and Sacrifice*, 143–56; DERCHAIN, in LOPRIENO (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 359; on the relation between illustration and text as literary compositions, see ASSMANN, in BILDERMANN, SCHARFSTEIN (eds.), *Interpretation in Religion*, 87–109; on the iconic representation of a *Pyramid Texts* ritual, see EYRE, *The Cannibal Hymn*, 36–40.
[49] EYRE, *The Cannibal Hymn*, 26.
[50] ABBAS, *Ritual Scenes*, 83.

very clear during the New Kingdom, especially when the body of the sun-god Re merged with that of Osiris.[51] Osiris in his journey from death to resurrection is Re in his journey from the depth of the night-time underworld until he shines again in the daytime sky. Every deceased individual shared in this cycle of death and resurrection of both gods. This idea is well-expressed in the scenes of the sky goddess Nut on the lid and the scenes of Geb and Nut on the Twenty-first Dynasty coffins.

It is known that the ritual environment is integration between actions and recitations; they cannot be separated from each other and need to be approached as a unity. Texts and images on the Twenty-first Dynasty coffins recreate the essence of the actions taking place in the performance of rituals. They provide a record of the rituals performed on or for the deceased. In spite of the extensive record of such ritual actions and recitations in texts and images on the coffins sides, the record of such rituals is still incomplete. The record can be described as episodic and the material record of such rituals on the coffins is still representative and not narrative.[52]

The decoration on the Twenty-first Dynasty coffins make the coffin a living thing in itself, a representation of the cosmos or part of it, in which the deceased remains. The coffin is also a space in which the gods are immanent, and in which the interaction between humans and gods takes place. In this sense, the lid and the case of these coffins can be read as a book rather than being simply pictures. It is also not surprising to see that the decorative corpus on the coffin sides can be considered as a service-book containing images that are diverse in nature and intended to be used on different ritual occasions. The integration between the texts and the images symbolises the essence of the coffin and recreates the essence of action.[53]

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[51] WILLEMS, *Chests of Life*, 150.
[52] ABBAS, *Ritual Scenes*, 83.
[53] For a detailed discussion of the ideas in this essay and the decoration of the coffin set of Padiamun, see ABBAS, *Ritual Scenes*.

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Afrikanisches in der ägyptischen Kunst?

Dietrich Wildung

Abstract

The European approach regards ancient Egypt as the origins of occidental civilisation, neglecting its association with the African continent. Art history can provide much proof of African elements in ancient Egyptian civilisation. The ethnic specifics of Kushite human figures can be found already in Old and Middle Kingdom statuary and reliefs. The ram-shaped Egyptian Amun originates from Kerma. The origins of ceramics and sculpture are located in Northern Sudan in Mesolithic and Neolithic times. 'Africa in Egypt' as an innovative approach will reveal new insights into the origins and nature of ancient Egypt.

„Während die Kunst Afrikas und der Moderne schon seit einem Jahrhundert zueinander gefunden haben, führt eine Begegnung der altägyptischen und der afrikanischen Kunst in wenig begangenes Terrain". Mit dieser Feststellung charakterisiert der Generaldirektor der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin in seinem Grußwort zur 2009 in Berlin gezeigten Ausstellung *5000 Jahre Afrika Ägypten Afrika*[1] ein Phänomen der Kunstgeschichte, ein Vakuum der Forschung, das von der großen Zahl von Publikationen und Ausstellungen, die sich einerseits der Kunst Afrikas, andererseits dem alten Ägypten widmen, unberührt geblieben ist.

Carl Einstein hat sich zu seiner viel beachteten *Negerplastik*[2]—1915 erschienen und bis heute aktuell[3]—durch ein grundlegendes Werk über die Skulptur Altägyptens anregen lassen, durch Hedwig Fechheimers *Die Plastik der Ägypter* (1914).[4] Weder die Ägyptologie noch die Ethnologie haben Carl Einsteins Ansatz aufgegriffen. Die Marginalität der ägyptischen Kunst in der ethnologischen Forschung erklärt sich aus der geographischen Randlage Ägyptens auf dem afrikanischen Kontinent und aus der historischen Distanz von Jahrtausenden, die die meisten Kulturen, die den Forschungsgegenstand der Ethnologie bilden, vom pharaonischen Ägypten trennt.

Von entscheidender Bedeutung für die Stellung Altägyptens im Kosmos der Wissenschaften—und auch im fachinternen Selbstverständnis der Ägyptologie—ist der europäische Blick, unter dem seit der griechischen Antike das Land am Nil gesehen wird.[5] Herodot, Platon, Solon, Pythagoras sind die Vorreiter einer Ägyptomanie, die sich über Diodor und Plinius kontinuierlich bis zu Horapollon und zum Hermetismus weiterentwickelt. Sie macht Altägypten zur Keimzelle einer kulturellen Evolution, die über Athen und Rom bis in die Renaissance führt. Aber Altägypten fand als „vorgriechische" Kultur, deren schriftliche Selbstäußerungen erst mit der Entzifferung der Hieroglyphen verständlich werden sollten, keine Aufnahme in den Kanon des europäischen Klassizismus. Das Verdikt Wilhelm von Humboldts, die ägyptischen Altertümer nicht ins Alte Museum am Berliner Lustgarten aufzunehmen, auf dessen Fassade die Widmung „studio antiquitatis omnigenae" steht, ist symptomatisch für diese Stigmatisierung der Kunst Altägyptens im frühen 19. Jahrhundert.

Auch eine andere künstlerische Bewegung, der *Primitivismus* des späten 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhunderts,[6] verweigert sich der ägyptischen Kunst. Während die Bestände afrikanischer und ozeanischer Objekte in den völkerkundlichen Sammlungen für die französischen und deutschen Expressionisten zu Quellen der Inspiration werden, sind altägyptische Elemente nur ganz vereinzelt bei Paul Gauguin, Pablo Picasso, Franz

[1] JUNGE, WILDUNG (Hgg.), *5000 Jahre Afrika – Ägypten – Afrika*, 9.
[2] EINSTEIN, *Negerplastik*.
[3] Reprint 2012: SCHMIDT-MÖBUS (Hg.), *Carl Einstein Negerplastik*; NEUNDORFER, *„Kritik an Anschauung"*, 42–7.
[4] PEUCKERT, *Hedwig Fachheimer*.
[5] GLÜCK, MORENZ (Hgg.), *Exotisch, Weisheitlich und Uralt*.
[6] RUBIN (Hg.), *Primitivismus*.

Marc, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Karl Schmidt-Rottluff zu finden. Nur zwei Künstler der Moderne haben sich intensiv auf altägyptische Kunst eingelassen, Paul Klee und Alberto Giacometti.[7]

Für einen europäisch geprägten Kulturbegriff gehört die Kunst Altägyptens nicht zu der von Griechenland und Rom dominierten Antike, ist aber auch von einem an Afrika und Ozeanien orientierten Primitivismus ausgeschlossen. Zwischen zwei Stühlen sitzend, ist Altägypten gleichzeitig zu exotisch und zu wenig „primitiv".

Der Blick auf die Rezeptionsgeschichte zeigt, dass Altägypten ohne Berücksichtigung seiner unmittelbaren Nachbarschaft zu den Kulturen Zentral- und Nordostafrikas als „Randkultur" der antiken Welt verstanden wurde – und wird. Im Untertitel der Publikation *L'image du noir dans l'art occidental. Tome 1: Des pharaons à la chute de l'empire romain*[8] ist das pharaonische Ägypten nicht Bestandteil des afrikanischen Kulturraums, sondern wird der abendländischen Kunst zugeordnet, die auf den schwarzen Kontinent blickt. Die Ägyptologie hat bis in jüngste Zeit Nubien und den Sudan kaum als eigenständige Kulturräume wahrgenommen. Umso erstaunlicher ist die Vision von Richard Lepsius, der schon 1840 das mittlere Niltal bis Sennar als integrales Element in seinen Expeditionsplan aufnahm, dieser Region in seiner monumentalen Publikation *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* einen gewichtigen Platz einräumte und in seinem Konzept für das Neue Museum auf der Berliner Museumsinsel die meroitische Kunst gleichrangig neben die pharaonische stellte. Lepsius ist es auch gewesen, der mit seinen linguistischen Studien eine der Grundlagen für die aktuelle Arbeit an der Lösung des meroitischen Sprachproblems legte.

Nubien ist immer noch der *Corridor to Africa*,[9] also eine Einbahnstraße in Nord-Süd-Richtung; eine Ausstellung in Indianapolis (1996) und eine Publikation des University College London (2003) tragen den Titel *Ancient Egypt in Africa*. Wenn hier vergeblich nach *Afrika in Ägypten* gesucht wird, so wird diese Perspektive in großer Ausführlichkeit und mit missionarischem Eifer von der in den dreißiger Jahren von Aimé Césaire und Léopold Senghor formulierten „négritude" vertreten; von Sheikh Anta Diop zu einer weltweit agierenden und vor allem in Frankreich als „présence africaine" aktiven Bewegung entwickelt, sieht sie im pharaonischen Ägypten eine rein afrikanische Kultur. Diese von der Ägyptologie wenig beachteten Thesen sind erst durch Martin Bernals *Black Athena* (1987, 1991, 2006) ins Blickfeld der wissenschaftlichen Diskussion gerückt.[10]

In der Ägyptologie ist es vor allem Jean Leclant gewesen, der die nubisch-sudanesischen Kulturen als Forschungsgegenstand hoffähig gemacht hat. Seine Feststellung, „daß der Nil ein afrikanischer Strom ist und dass die altägyptische Kultur zahlreiche Spuren ihrer Verwurzelung im schwarzen Kontinent bewahrt hat",[11] lässt sich durch linguistische Studien zu afrikanischem Sprachmaterial im Altägyptischen belegen[12] und wird in Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte Afrikas und Ägyptens durch den Vergleich von Objektgattungen wie Kopfstützen, von Bildthemen wie dem Mutter-Kind-Motiv, von formalen Strukturen der Skulptur untermauert.[13] Die Relevanz solcher Vergleiche ist jedoch dadurch erheblich eingeschränkt, dass die Vergleichsgegenstände durch eine zeitliche Distanz von Jahrtausenden voneinander getrennt sind. Es gilt also, auf Referenzobjekte Bezug zu nehmen, in denen sich das Afrikanische und das Ägyptische auf derselben historischen Ebene begegnen; es sind fast ausschließlich altägyptische Objekte, da—abgesehen

[7] KLEMM, WILDUNG, *Giacometti, der Ägypter*.
[8] VERCOUTTER, LECLANT u. a., *L'image du noir*.
[9] ADAMS, *Corridor*.
[10] BERNAL, *Black Athena Writes Back*.
[11] LECLANT, in WILDUNG, *Sudan*, 73.
[12] ZIBELIUS-CHEN, *„Nubisches" Sprachmaterial*.
[13] JUNGE, WILDUNG (Hgg.), *5000 Jahre Afrika – Ägypten – Afrika*.

von der Nok-Kultur[14]—die Archäologie Afrikas bislang nur wenig Material zutage gefördert hat, das dem Horizont der drei Jahrtausende pharaonischer Geschichte vor der Zeitenwende zuzuweisen ist.

Neben den Objekten der materiellen Kultur ist es die ägyptische Kunst, die jene „zahlreichen Spuren" bietet, von denen Jean Leclant spricht; er hatte dabei wohl vor allem Skulptur, Relief und Architektur der kuschitischen Dynastie vor Augen, die er in seinen *Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXV^e^ dynastie*[15] bearbeitet hatte. Für eine unmittelbare, authentische Anschauung bietet sich die Rundplastik der Kuschitenzeit an.[16] Sie bewahrt in der formalen Struktur von rechteckiger Basis und Rückenpfeiler und in der Typologie von Standschreitfigur und Sitzfigur ein künstlerisches Erbe des pharaonischen Ägypten, dessen Wurzeln in der Frühzeit und im Alten Reich liegen, und macht den im Mittleren Reich entstandenen Typus der Würfelfigur zur beliebtesten Statuenform. Eingebettet in diese künstlerischen Traditionen artikuliert sich das „Afrikanische" der Skulpturen der 25. Dynastie auf zwei Ebenen, den Proportionen und der Stilistik. Den weiblichen Körper prägen breite Hüften und kräftige Oberschenkel; dieses Schönheitsideal steigert sich in der napatanischen Kunst und erreicht in den meroitischen Reliefdarstellungen der Kandake eine ausgeprägte Korpulenz. Die männliche Figur zeigt lange Beine in dynamischer Schreitstellung, einen athletischen Körper mit breiten Schultern, einen kurzen, gedrungenen Hals und einen proportional kleinen Kopf mit flachem Schädel (Abb. 1). Das auffälligste Merkmal der Skulpturen der Kuschitenzeit ist die Gestaltung der Gesichter. In der niederen Stirn, der stumpfen, breiten Nase, den Nasolabialfalten („Kuschitenfalten"), den schwellenden Lippen und dem vorspringenden Kinn prägt sich mit aller Deutlichkeit die ethnische Identität der Dargestellten aus, der kuschitischen Könige, der Gottesgemahlinnen und hoher Würdenträger. Die stilistischen Kriterien der fast ausschließlich im thebanischen Raum gefundenen Statuen gelten ebenso für die kuschitischen Reliefdarstellungen der Sakralbauten in Karnak und Medinet Habu sowie in den Gräbern im Asasif.

Sind diese afrikanisch geprägten Darstellungen von ägyptischen Künstlern geschaffen worden? Sind sie das Werk von kuschitischen Bildhauern, die in den Jahrzehnten der Herrschaft der „schwarzen Pharaonen" nach Theben gekommen waren, bei ägyptischen Meistern die Bearbeitung harter Gesteine gelernt und sich mit den formalen Strukturen und der Ikonographie ägyptischer Plastik vertraut gemacht hatten? Wenn Montemhet in der Standschreitfigur aus der Cachette in Karnak (Kairo CG 42236) „afrikanische" Gesichtszüge trägt, könnte dies ein Hinweis auf einen kuschitischen Bildhauer sein, ebenso wie für das außergewöhnliche Relief in Kansas City (48-28/2) aus Montemhets Grab im Asasif.

In diesen Fragenkomplex der künstlerischen Autorschaft sind die Königsstatuen der Kuschiten- und Napatanerdynastie einzubeziehen, die nicht in Ägypten, sondern im kuschitischen Stammland gefunden wurden, im Tempel B 500 am Gebel Barkal, in Dukki Gel (Kerma)[17] und in Dangeil.[18] Die Perfektion der Bearbeitung der teils überlebensgroßen Standschreitfiguren aus Hartgestein setzt—ebenso wie die formale Struktur von Basis und Rückenpfeiler—das professionelle Know-how ägyptischer Werkstätten voraus. Die Ikonographie des doppelten Uräus und der Widderhörner greift lokale kuschitische Muster auf. Die Stilistik der Gesichter und die Proportionierung der Körper zeugen von der Vertrautheit der Künstler mit der ethnischen Identität dieser afrikanischen Könige. Vieles spricht dafür, dass es in Ägypten ausgebildete kuschitische Bildhauer waren, die diesen monumentalen Königsstatuen ihren afrikanischen Charakter verliehen haben.

[14] BREUNIG (Hg.), *Nok*.
[15] LECLANT, *Recherches*.
[16] BOTHMER (Hg.), *Egyptian Sculpture*, 1–20; RUSSMANN, *Representation of the King*.
[17] BONNET, VALBELLE, *Pharaons venus d'Afrique*.
[18] ANDERSON, AHMED, in ANDERSON, WELSBY, *Fourth Cataract and Beyond*, 613–9.

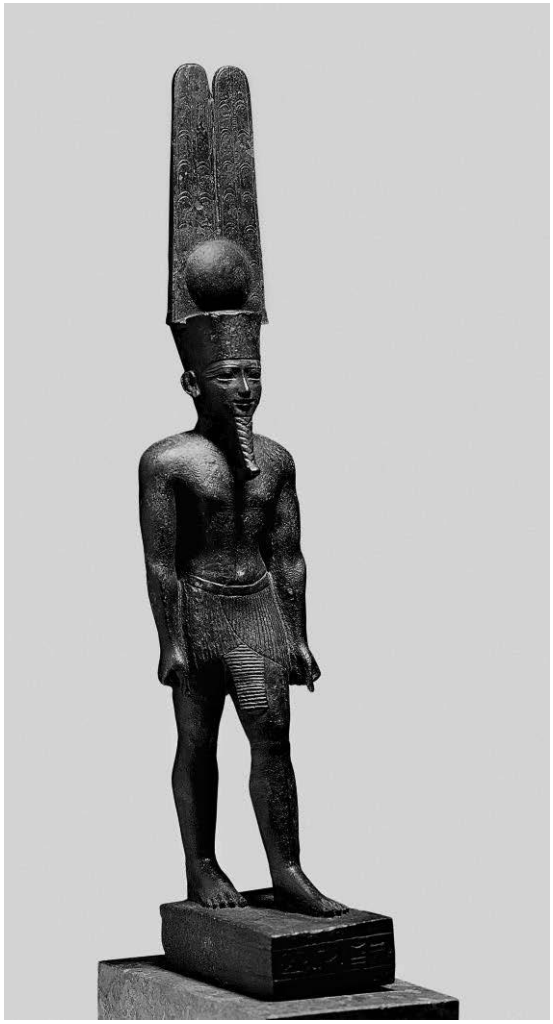


Abb. 1: Statue des Amun. Bronze. H. 44,5 cm. Frühe 26. Dynastie, um 600 v. Chr.
(© München, Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst, ÄS 6978)

Für Ort und Zeit der Entstehung eines Kunstwerks und die Identität des Künstlers sind die drei Komponenten Form, Ikonographie und Stil von unterschiedlicher Relevanz. Während formale Strukturen und ikonographische Motive von einem handwerklich qualifizierten Künstler unschwer zu kopieren sind, ist der spezifische Stil eines Werkes nicht von der Epoche und der Herkunftsregion des Künstlers zu trennen. Die Bindung des Stils eines Kunstwerks an eine Region, die Klassifizierung nach lokalen Schulen, nach Landschaftsstilen ist eine methodologische Grundlage der Kunstgeschichte und ein traditionsreiches Präsentationsschema von Kunstmuseen. In der Kunstgeschichte Ägyptens hat die Unterscheidung lokaler Stile bislang wenig Beachtung gefunden. Die geographische Ausdehnung des ägyptischen Niltals über eintausend Kilometer lädt geradezu dazu ein, zwischen unterägyptischen und oberägyptischen Werkstätten zu differenzieren.[19] Ein „afrikanisch“ geprägter Stil lässt sich für das südliche Oberägypten bereits für das frühe Alte Reich definieren. Eine Standschreitfigur im Metropolitan Museum of Art (62-200)[20] entspricht in ihren Proportionen und der Stilistik des Gesichts kuschitischen Skulpturen, kann aber mit Sicherheit der 4. Dynastie um 2600 v. Chr. zugewiesen werden; ihr „afrikanisches“ Aussehen erklärt sich aus ihrer Herkunft aus Elkab, das an der ethnischen und sprachlichen Grenze zwischen Ägypten und Nubien liegt. Wenn ihre Herkunft aus dem memphitischen Bereich nicht gesichert wäre, müssten aufgrund ihrer Gesichtsbildung

[19] WILDUNG, in ZIEGLER (Hg.), *L'art de l'Ancien Empire égyptien*, 335–53.
[20] WILDUNG (Hg.), *Sudan*, 46–8.

auch die Reliefs der 3. Dynastie aus den Gräbern des Hesirê und des Chabausokar in Sakkâra einer oberägyptischen Werkstätte zugewiesen werden. Sie sind nicht die einzigen memphitischen Kunstwerke des frühen Alten Reiches mit „afrikanischer" Konnotation. Die Statuen des Mykerinos in Boston (MFA 09.200, 09.204) und Kairo (CG 46499) entsprechen mit dem kleinen Kopf und dem athletischen Körperbau dem ethnischen Typus, der die kuschitischen Statuen auszeichnet; auch die Figur des Rahotep (Kairo CG 3) von der Paarstatue aus seinem Grab in Medum ist hier zu nennen—sowohl in den Gesichtszügen als auch in der Proportionierung des Kopfes. Ein Ersatzkopf aus Giza in Boston (MFA 14.719) zeigt, dass die Frau des Grabinhabers eine Nubierin war. Dass das Herrscherhaus des frühen Alten Reiches aus Oberägypten stammt, ist auch am Gesichtstypus der kleinen Elfenbeinfigur des Cheops in Kairo (JE 36143) und den beiden Königsköpfen mit oberägyptischer Krone in Brooklyn (46.167) und München (ÄS 7086)[21] (Abb. 2) zu erkennen. Es liegt nahe anzunehmen, dass oberägyptische Bildhauerwerkstätten in der memphitischen Residenz tätig waren.



Abb. 2: Kopf einer Königsfigur mit oberägyptischer Krone. Kalkstein. H. 6 cm. 4. Dynastie, um 2550 v. Chr. (© München, Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst, ÄS 7086)

In diesen Bildwerken bringen die Künstler die ethnische Zugehörigkeit der Dargestellten zum oberägyptisch-nubischen Raum zum Ausdruck. Diese tritt mit noch größerer Deutlichkeit in der Kunst des frühen Mittleren Reiches in Erscheinung, in den Statuen Mentuhoteps Nebhepetrê und Seanchkarê und in den Reliefs aus dem Mentuhotep-Tempel in Deir el-Bahari (Abb. 3–4). Der oberägyptische Ursprung der Herrscher der frühen 12. Dynastie, wie ihn die Gesichter Amenemhets I. und Sesostris' I. in Skulptur und Reliefs erkennen lassen, ist durch den Hinweis in der Weissagung des Neferti untermauert, die Mutter Amenemhets I. sei eine Frau aus Ta-seti (Nubien). Einer ganz anderen Stilrichtung sind im umfangreichen Repertoire der Statuen Sesostris' I. die Sitzfiguren und Osisrispfeiler aus seiner Pyramidenanlage in Lischt zuzuordnen; ihre idealisierenden Gesichter stehen in der Tradition memphitischer Werkstätten des Alten Reiches.

[21] SCHOSKE, WILDUNG, *Münchner Buch*, 39.

Die nach Süden orientierte Kunst des oberägyptischen Raumes artikuliert sich im Mittleren Reich auch in der Privatplastik, wie sich in der Sitzfigur des Antef aus seinem Grab im Asasif (TT 386) und dem vermutlich einer Statue des Wesirs Mentuhotep aus Karnak zuzuweisenden „Salt-Kopf" (Louvre N 2289)[22] und an der Würfelfigur des Nesmonth in München (ÄS 7148)[23] (Abb. 5) erkennen lässt.



Abb. 3: Relief Mentuhoteps Nebhepetrê. Sandstein.H. 11,5 cm. Mentuhotep-Tempel Deir el Bahari. 11. Dynastie, um 2050 v. Chr. (© München, Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst, ÄS 1617)



Abb. 4: Relief eines Königspaares. Kalkstein. H. 37 cm. Mentuhotep-Tempel Deir el Bahari. 11. Dynastie, um 2050 v. Chr. (© München, Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst, ÄS 1621)

[22] BARBOTIN, COQUINOT, *RLMF* 2012: 1 (2012), 34–45.
[23] SCHOSKE, WILDUNG, *Münchner Buch*, 66.

Die Affinität der Kunst der 11. Dynastie zu Nubien lässt daran denken, auch in der Architektur entsprechende Anregungen aus dem Süden zu sehen, im Terrassentempel Mentuhoteps in Deir el-Bahari. Der auf einen künstlichen Hügel gestellte Podiumtempel ist eine geläufige Form der meroitischen Architektur, deren Ursprünge vielleicht in Kerma zu sehen sind, in der Westlichen Deffufa; aus Millionen von Ziegeln errichtet, hebt sie als gebauter Tempelberg das Hauptheiligtum hoch über die königliche Stadt.

Die wohl am weitesten verbreitete Übernahme nubischer Vorstellungen und Formen bietet die Widdergestalt des Gottes Amun. Lange bevor sie in der 18. Dynastie erstmals in der religiösen Ikonographie Ägyptens erscheint, wird in Kerma eine Widdergottheit verehrt. Der Prototyp der Allee von Widderstatuen vor einem Tempeleingang entsteht wohl nicht zufällig im Stammland von Kerma, in Soleb. Während die Widderallee und die Widdersphingenallee in Ägypten auf Karnak und das Neue Reich beschränkt sind, bleiben die Widderalleen im Nordsudan ein Kontinuum der Tempelarchitektur, von Kawa und Gebel Barkal über Dangeil bis Meroe, Muweis, el Hassa und Naga. Für die Kuschiten der 25. Dynastie mögen die Widder im Stadtbild von Theben als Bestätigung der Legitimität ihrer Herrschaft über das ägyptische Niltal verstanden worden sein.



Abb. 5: Würfelfigur des Nesmonth. Anorthositgneis. H. 41 cm. 12. Dynastie, um 1970 v. Chr.
(© München, Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst, ÄS 7148)

Hinter der Präsenz nubischer Aspekte in der ägyptischen Kunst steht das historische Faktum der Ursprünge der Kultur des pharaonischen Ägypten im Süden. Die Feldforschung der letzten Jahrzehnte und Jahre, die Projekte BOS und ACACIA der Forschungsstelle Afrika der Universität Köln und die Grabungen in el Barga,[24] haben mit dem Nachweis der Keramikproduktion im Mesolithikum des 10. Jahrtausends v. Chr. und des Kulturtransfers vom Nordsudan über die Ostsahara während des Neolithikums das Bild vom Entstehen der ägyptischen Kultur revolutioniert. Die Keramik des vorgeschichtlichen Ägypten hat ihren Ursprung im Nordsudan. Keramik wird in allen Kulturen des mittleren Niltals über die A-Group, C-Group und Kerma bis in die meroitische Zeit ein Medium künstlerischer Artikulation bleiben. Auch die frühesten rundplastischen Darstellungen der menschlichen Figur—ausschließlich weiblich—sind hier geschaffen worden.[25] Die Steinfiguren aus Kadruka und die Keramikstatuetten aus el Kadada sind die Vorläufer der Statuetten der A-Group und der C-Group und bereiten den Tonfiguren der Negadezeit in Ägypten den Weg.
Die autonome Entwicklung Altägyptens seit dem 4. Jahrtausend v. Chr. lässt die afrikanischen Wurzeln allmählich in den Hintergrund treten. Eine Analyse der ägyptischen Kunst aus einer Perspektive, die versucht, sich vom europäischen Blickwinkel zu lösen, kann einen Beitrag dazu leisten, jene „zahlreiche[n] Spuren ihrer Verwurzelung im afrikanischen Kontinent“ sichtbar zu machen, zu deren Offenlegung Jean Leclant[26] aufgerufen hat.

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[24] HONEGGER, in ANDERSON, WELSBY (Hgg.), *Fourth Cataract and Beyond*, 19–30.
[25] REINOLD, KRZYZANIAK, in WILDUNG (Hgg.), *Sudan*, 8–34.
[26] *Cf.* Anm. 11.

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PART F:

CERAMICS



Fig. F-1: Pottery at Abydos (photo: J. Budka)

Ceramic Industry Developments in the Theban Area during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty: Between Traditions and Innovations

Stéphanie Boulet

Abstract

Recent studies have made important contributions to our understanding of the Theban ceramic industry at the beginning of the Late Period. From the mid-eighth century BC, technological and morphological pottery developments can be observed in contrast to the ceramic industry in the Delta. Thanks to recent discoveries in the chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau (IFAO) and in the area of the Ptah Temple at Karnak (CFEETK), it is now possible to propose a better definition and description of these important evolutions in the ceramic industry in the Theban area.

The Theban industry in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty appears as an innovative production easily identifiable in the ceramic repertoire in Egypt. This paper also aims to present the large diffusion of this industry in Egypt. The recent ceramological surveys at Tanis in the Delta (MFFT) bring important information about the exchange between the north and south of Egypt during the Kushite Period.

Introduction

In the framework of the first edition of the conference Thebes in the First Millennium BC, Catherine Defernez and I had the opportunity to present our discoveries on the ceramic industry developments in the Theban area from the Third Intermediate Period to the Late Period.[1] Since this first contribution, additional results were delivered thanks to the continuation of the ceramic analyses of the archaeological contexts in Karnak and in the Theban Necropolis.[2] The aim of this paper is to show a general overview of the ceramic evolution from the end of the Third Intermediate Period to the beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

The ceramic material presented in this paper comes from three different archaeological sectors of the Theban area. The first one is located in the northern part of Karnak and corresponds to the chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau (fig. 1).[3] Since 2000, the excavations directed by Laurent Coulon (EPHE) and Cyril Giorgi (INRAP) brought to light important ceramic sets dated from the New Kingdom to the Roman Period. Additionally, examples dated from the end of the Twenty-second Dynasty to the beginning of the Kushite Period have been also discovered in the northern part of the Osirian monument (SD42/31, SD20). In addition to these elements, a large deposit in front of the Osirian chapel was excavated (SD14), which was mainly composed of sherds dated to the seventh century BC.

The second area corresponds to the Ptah Temple, also located in the north of the Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak, excavated by the CFEETK,[4] under the direction of Christophe Thiers (CNRS). The ceramics of two archaeological areas will be outlined. The first one corresponds to the deposit uncovered near the first monumental door located to the south of the temple (Sector 2) and was mainly comprised of Twenty-fifth Dynasty pottery (fig. 2a).[5] Guillaume Charloux (CNRS) recently excavated the second area to the south of the

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[1] BOULET, DEFERNEZ, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 603–24.

[2] This project was supported by LabEx ARCHIMEDE from the 'Investissement d'Avenir' programme ANR-11-LABX-0032-01 (Université Paul-Valéry Montpellier III).

[3] Programme 'Sanctuaires osiriens de Karnak, mission chapelles osiriennes nord' (IFAO, CFEETK, UMR 5189 and 167, and INRAP). For the excavations of the chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau, see the online annual activity reports available at: http://www.ifao.egnet.net/ifao/recherche/rapports-activites/ <accessed 27.04.2017>; COULON, DEFERNEZ, *BIFAO* 104 (2004), 135–90.

[4] For the excavations of the Ptah Temple area at Karnak, see the online annual activity reports available at: http://www.cfeetk.cnrs.fr/index.php?page=rapports-pdf <accessed 27.04.2017>.

[5] For this sector, see LICITRA, THIERS, ZIGNANI, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 555–6; THIERS, ZIGNANI, *CahKarn* 14 (2013), 493–513.

temple (Sector 6). Among archaeological strata dated from the Ptolemaic Period to the Middle Kingdom, few strata of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty have been excavated (fig. 2b).[6]

In addition, some ceramic examples from the Theban Necropolis coming from the excavations led by Laurent Bavay (ULB) and Dimitri Laboury (ULg) in the tomb of Amenhotep (TT C3) at Sheikh Abd el-Gurna (Mission archéologique dans la nécropole thébaine – MANT) will be also presented.[7]

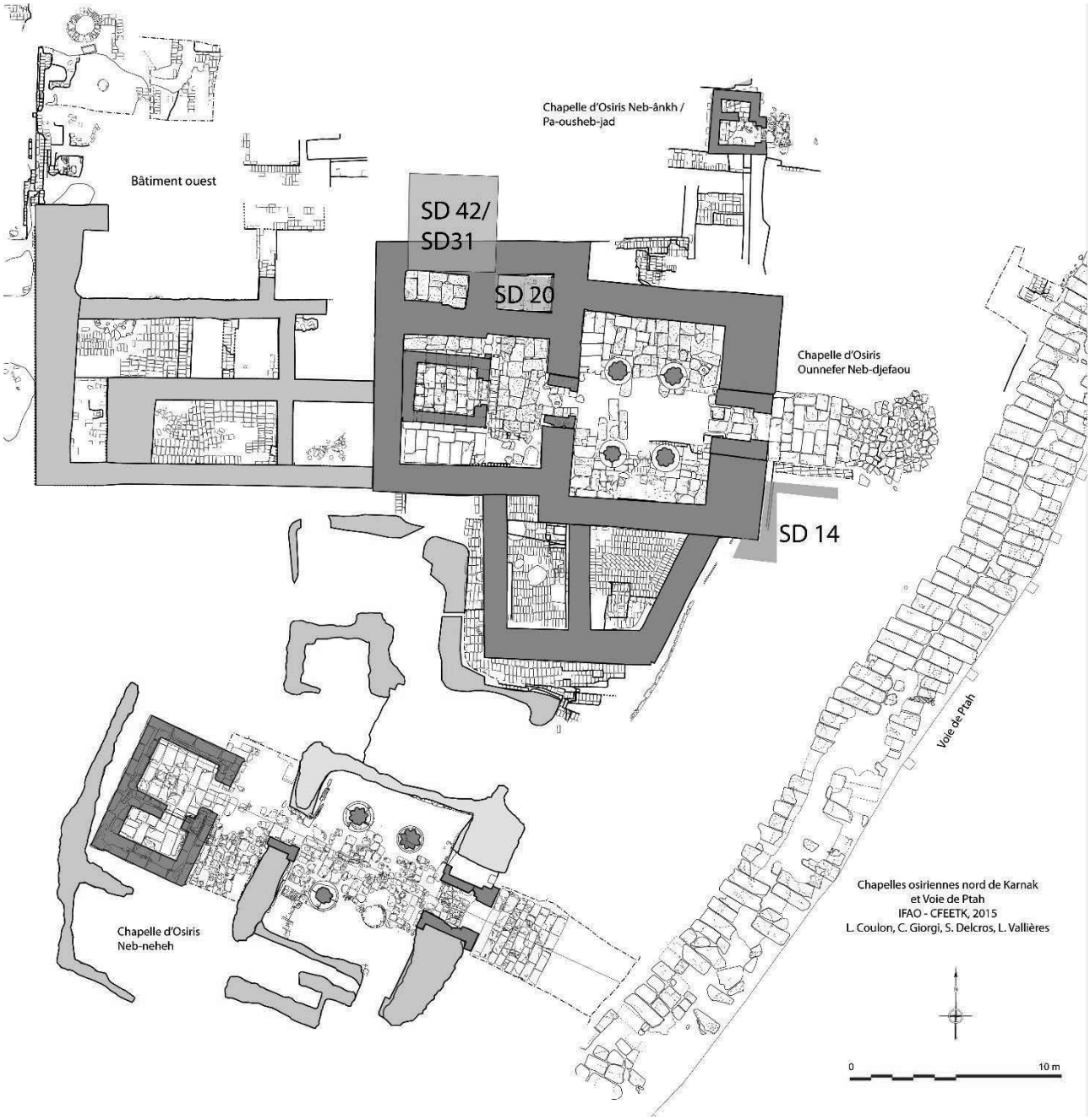


Fig.1: The chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau at Karnak (© CFEETK/IFAO – 2015)

[6] BOULET, DEFERNEZ, *Karnak* (2013); CHARLOUX *et al.*, *CahKarn* 16 (2017).
[7] For the MANT excavations, see BAVAY, *BSFE* (2010), 177–8; BAVAY, LABOURY, *Ceci n'est pas une pipe*, 63–79.

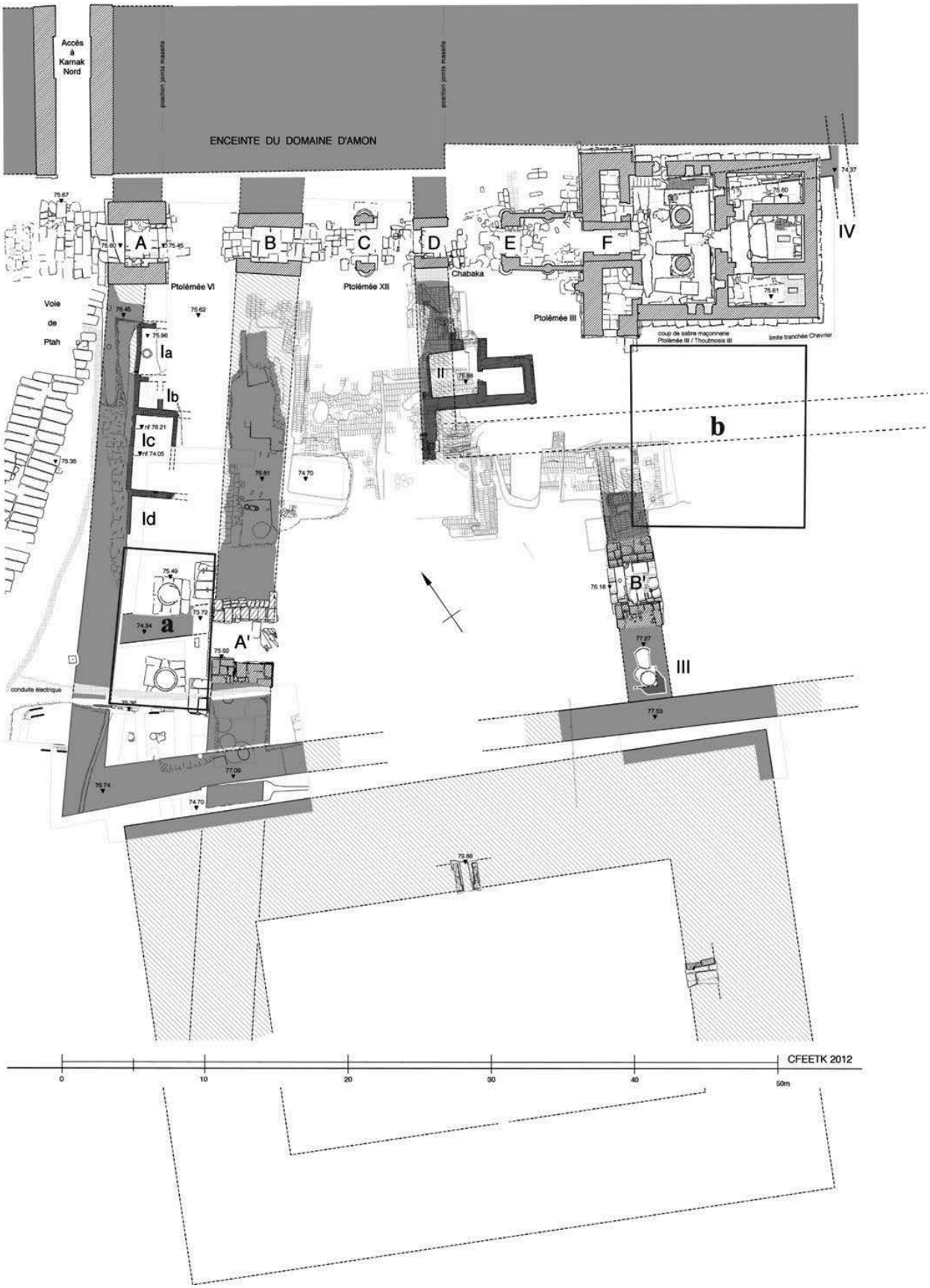


Fig.2: The sector of the Ptah Temple at Karnak (© CFEETK – 2012)

Ceramic Development in the Theban Area

Phase I: The Third Intermediate Period

Phase I, corresponding to the Third Intermediate Period, is characterised by a significant conformity of the ceramic repertoire. Thanks to recent studies,[8] we can distinguish two distinctive phases. The first one corresponds to the Phase IA, dated from the Twentieth to the Twenty-first Dynasty. The local ceramic industry shows a significant continuation with the New Kingdom repertoire.[9] This phase is well documented in the Merenptah Temple at Gurna.[10] The second one, the so-called Phase IB, is dated from the end of the Twenty-first to the first part of the Theban Twenty-second Dynasty and differs from the previous one in some morphological variations. Despite the disappearance of some Phase IA pottery types, the ceramic repertoire is relatively similar. In Upper Egypt, some important contexts have been discovered, e.g., in the Osirian chapel,[11] in the Mut Temple at Karnak[12] and at Elephantine.[13]

In general, the majority of the ceramic production is made of Nile clay during Phase I in the Theban area. Among closed shapes, storage jars in coarse Nile silt fabric are attested (fig. 3a).[14] Jars with a bulging neck (fig. 3b)[15] and jars with a short neck and bulging rim (fig. 3c)[16] can be recovered by a thick orange or white slip applied with a brush. A thick red slip and a painted red rim are common for the opened shapes (fig. 3d).[17] In the Phase IA, Nile silt cups can be covered by a thick polished red slip, which is absent in Phase IB. Marl clay production is attested in both phases but in small quantities. These are represented by, e.g., large storage jars[18] (fig. 3e–g) or neckless jars in Marl A4 Variant 1 (fig. 3h).[19] Some carinated cups with black decoration (fig. 3i) are known in Phase IA but disappear in the next one.

One of the most important observations for the Third Intermediate Period ceramic repertoire is its significant uniformity throughout Egypt. Indeed, several comparisons can be made between the Theban area contexts and other sites in Egypt, e.g., el-Ashmunein,[20] Kom Firin,[21] Memphis,[22] and Tanis.[23]

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[8] ASTON, *Egyptian Pottery*, 59–71; ASTON, *Burial Assemblages*, 317–48; BOULET, *EAO* 81 (2016), 31–8.
[9] ASTON, *Burial Assemblages*, 317.
[10] ASTON, *The Pottery*.
[11] BOULET, DEFERNEZ, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDLA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 608–10.
[12] See pottery types from stratum 3 and 4 at the Mut Temple: SULLIVAN, *A Glimpse into Ancient Thebes*, 76–143, 190–239.
[13] ASTON, *Elephantine* XIX, 68–158 (Phase IIB).
[14] ASTON, *Elephantine* XIX, 72–3, pl. 17, nr. 521; ASTON, *The Pottery*, 218–9, pl. 76 (nrs. 1516, 1517), 238–9, pl. 86 (nrs. 1725–6), 243–4, pl. 89 (nr. 1761), 279–80, pl. 106 (nrs. 2146–7); SULLIVAN, *A Glimpse into Ancient Thebes*, 193, 233 (type 19-6).
[15] ASTON, *The Pottery*, 207–8, pl. 70 (nr. 1404); JACQUET-GORDON, *Karnak-Nord* X, 94, 243, fig. 94h (P.2668).
[16] ASTON, *Elephantine* XIX, 77–8, pl. 19 (nr. 578); ASTON, *The Pottery*, 198–9, pl. 66 (nr. 1312); JACQUET-GORDON, *Karnak-Nord* X, 95, 245, fig. 95l (P.1170); SULLIVAN, *A Glimpse into Ancient Thebes*, 192, 231 (types 18-7, 18-8).
[17] ASTON, *The Pottery*, 199–200, pl. 67 (nr. 1334); 240, 242, pl. 88 (nr. 1747); 304-305, pl. 118, nr. 2422; SULLIVAN, *A Glimpse into Ancient Thebes*, 177, 209 (type H-5).
[18] ASTON, *Elephantine* XIX, 82–3, pl. 21 (nrs. 617, 619), 102–3, pl. 28 (nr. 839); ASTON, *The Pottery*, 240–1, pl. 87 (nr. 1735), 245–6, pl. 90 (nr. 1787); JACQUET-GORDON, *Karnak-Nord* X, 91, 234–5, fig. 91c (P.248), 91d (P.888), 91e (P.1227); SULLIVAN, *A Glimpse into Ancient Thebes*, 182, 218 (type 5-1), 190, 229 (type 16-2).
[19] ASTON, *The Pottery*, 198–9, pl. 66 (nr. 1321), 202, 204, pl. 68 (nr. 1369), 207–8, pl. 70 (nr. 1405), 213–4, pl. 73 (nr. 1461), 216–7, pl. 75 (nr. 1498), 238–9, pl. 86 (nr. 1716), 240–1, pl. 87 (nr. 1737), 257–8, pl. 96 (nrs. 1906–7), 261–2, pl. 98 (nr. 1953), 267–8, pl. 101 (nr. 2011), 269–70, pl. 102 (nr. 2037), 274–5, pl. 104 (nr. 2094), 275–6, pl. 104 (nrs. 2108–9); 305–6, pl. 118 (nr. 2432); JACQUET-GORDON, *Karnak-Nord* X, 90, 232, fig. 90a (P.1336); SULLIVAN, *A Glimpse into Ancient Thebes*, 193, 233 (type 19-7).
[20] SPENCER, *Excavations at El-Ashmunein*.
[21] SPENCER, *Kom Firin* II.
[22] ASTON, JEFFREYS, *The Survey of Memphis* III.
[23] BAVAY, in BRISSAUD, ZIVIE-COCHE, *Tanis*, 316–32.

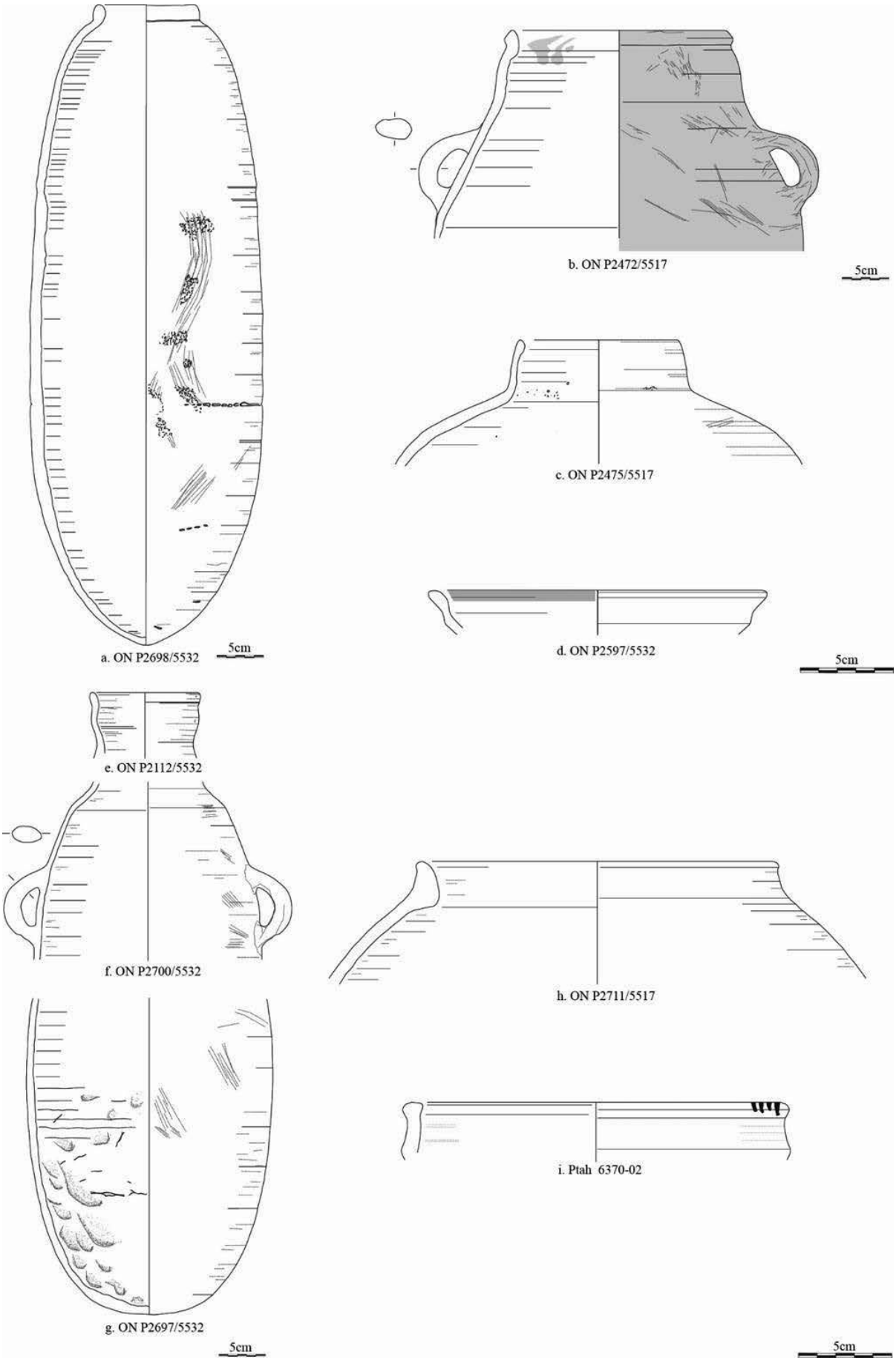


Fig.3: Theban ceramic production – phase I (©IFAO/CFEETK – drawings: S. Boulet, J. Laroye)

Phase II: The Mid-eighth Century BC

Contrary to Northern Egypt, the Theban ceramic repertoire shows important morphological and technical developments around the mid-eighth century BC.[24] A significant percentage of the ceramic material is composed in Nile clay production belonging to the ceramic repertoire specific to the second part of the Third Intermediate Period: large neckless jars (fig. 4a),[25] jars with bulging neck (fig. 4b),[26] with a triangular rim (fig. 4c),[27] bottles (fig. 4d–e),[28] but also conical cups (fig. 4f),[29] bowls (fig. 4g),[30] chalices (fig. 4h),[31] and flattened-base cups (fig. 4i).[32] The surface treatment associated is predominantly the white slip and white bands located on the upper part of jars. Orange slip and red rim, specific to the previous phase, become very rare.

If the ceramic repertoire in Nile clay is relatively varied and marks a significant continuation with the Third Intermediate Period industry, an important particularity of this phase is the development of the fabric M1, corresponding to the Marl A4 Variant 2.[33] Among the marl clay examples, the storage jars with marked rim (fig. 4j),[34] well known in the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasty ceramic sets, appear during this period. Thanks to recent studies, it is now clear that these jars correspond to the evolution of the Third Intermediate Period marl clay storage jars (fig. 3e–g). Another example of this evolution of Phase I is the presence of neckless jars (fig. 3h) evolving to jars with *S*-profiled rims (fig. 4k).[35] Other developments can be equally noted as the transposition of Third Intermediate Period Nile clay production in M1 from the mid-eighth century BC; jars with short neck (fig. 4l), bottles (fig. 4m),[36] conical bowls (fig. 4n),[37] and *S*-profiled cups (fig. 4o).[38] Parallel to these observations, new shapes are attested, e.g., large cups with everted rims (fig. 4p)[39] and convex bowls (fig. 4q).[40]

[24] For this phase, see BOULET, *BCE* 26 (2016), 213–26.
[25] HUMMEL, SHUBERT, in REDFORD, *Excavations*, pl. 49 (nr. 6).
[26] ASTON, *CCE* 4 (1996), 32, pl. 5 (nr. 87); ASTON, *Elephantine* XIX, 189–90, pl. 57 (nr. 1710); JACQUET-GORDON, *Karnak-Nord* X, 94, 243, fig. 94h (P2668).
[27] JACQUET-GORDON, *Karnak-Nord* X, 96, 246, fig. 96c (P.574); SULLIVAN, *A Glimpse into Ancient Thebes*, 186, 223 (type 8-5).
[28] JACQUET-GORDON, *Karnak-Nord* X, 95, 244, figs. 95d (P.412), 95e (P.924).
[29] D.A. ASTON, *Elephantine* XIX, 166–7, pl. 49 (nrs. 1541, 1543–5); JACQUET-GORDON, *Karnak-Nord* X, 92, 237, fig. 92k (P.201); SULLIVAN, *A Glimpse into Ancient Thebes*, 174, 205 (type E-5).
[30] ASTON, *CCE* 4 (1996), 26, pl. 3, figs. 38–9; ASTON, *Elephantine* XIX, 80–1, pl. 20 (nrs. 595–6), 143–4, pl. 42 (nrs. 1340–1), 156–7, pl. 47 (nrs 1489–91); JACQUET-GORDON, *Karnak-Nord* X, 92, 238–9, fig. 92aa (P.1326); SULLIVAN, *A Glimpse into Ancient Thebes*, 172, 203 (types D-1–4).
[31] ASTON, *Elephantine* XIX, 76–7, pl. 19 (nr. 556); JACQUET-GORDON, *Karnak-Nord* X, 93, 241, fig. 93r (P.426); SULLIVAN, *A Glimpse into Ancient Thebes*, 178-179, 212 (types L-1–5).
[32] ASTON, *Elephantine* XIX, 80–1, pl. 20 (nr. 597); SULLIVAN, *A Glimpse into Ancient Thebes*, 177, 210 (type I-2).
[33] ASTON, *Elephantine* XIX, 4.
[34] ASTON, *CCE* 4 (1996), 31–2, pl. 5, figs. 76, 79; ASTON, *Elephantine* XIX, 191, 193, pl. 58 (nr. 1736); SULLIVAN, *A Glimpse into Ancient Thebes*, 195, 236 (type 22-3).
[35] SULLIVAN, *A Glimpse into Ancient Thebes*, 182, 219 (type 5-10), 193, 233 (type 19-9).
[36] ASTON, *MDAIK* 52 (1996), 5, 7, pl. 3d, fig. 3d (Ke 1006); JACQUET-GORDON, *Karnak-Nord* X, 89, 231, fig. 89ll. (P.635).
[37] ASTON, *Elephantine* XIX, 181, 183, pl. 54 (nrs. 1669–70); JACQUET-GORDON, *Karnak-Nord* X, 89, 229, fig. 89j (P.1313).
[38] HUMMEL, SHUBERT, in REDFORD, *Excavations*, pl. 50 (nr. 5).
[39] ASTON, *Elephantine* XIX, 182–3, pl. 54 (nrs. 1675–77), 202, 205, pl. 63 (nr. 1857); JACQUET-GORDON, *Karnak-Nord* X, 99, 254–5, figs. 99n (P.425), 99p (P.104); SULLIVAN, *A Glimpse into Ancient Thebes*, 175–6, 207 (type G-2).
[40] HUMMEL, SHUBERT, in REDFORD, *Excavations*, pl. 74 (nr. 1); LECUYOT, *Memnonia* 23 (2012), 105, 120, fig. 11 (nr. 3).

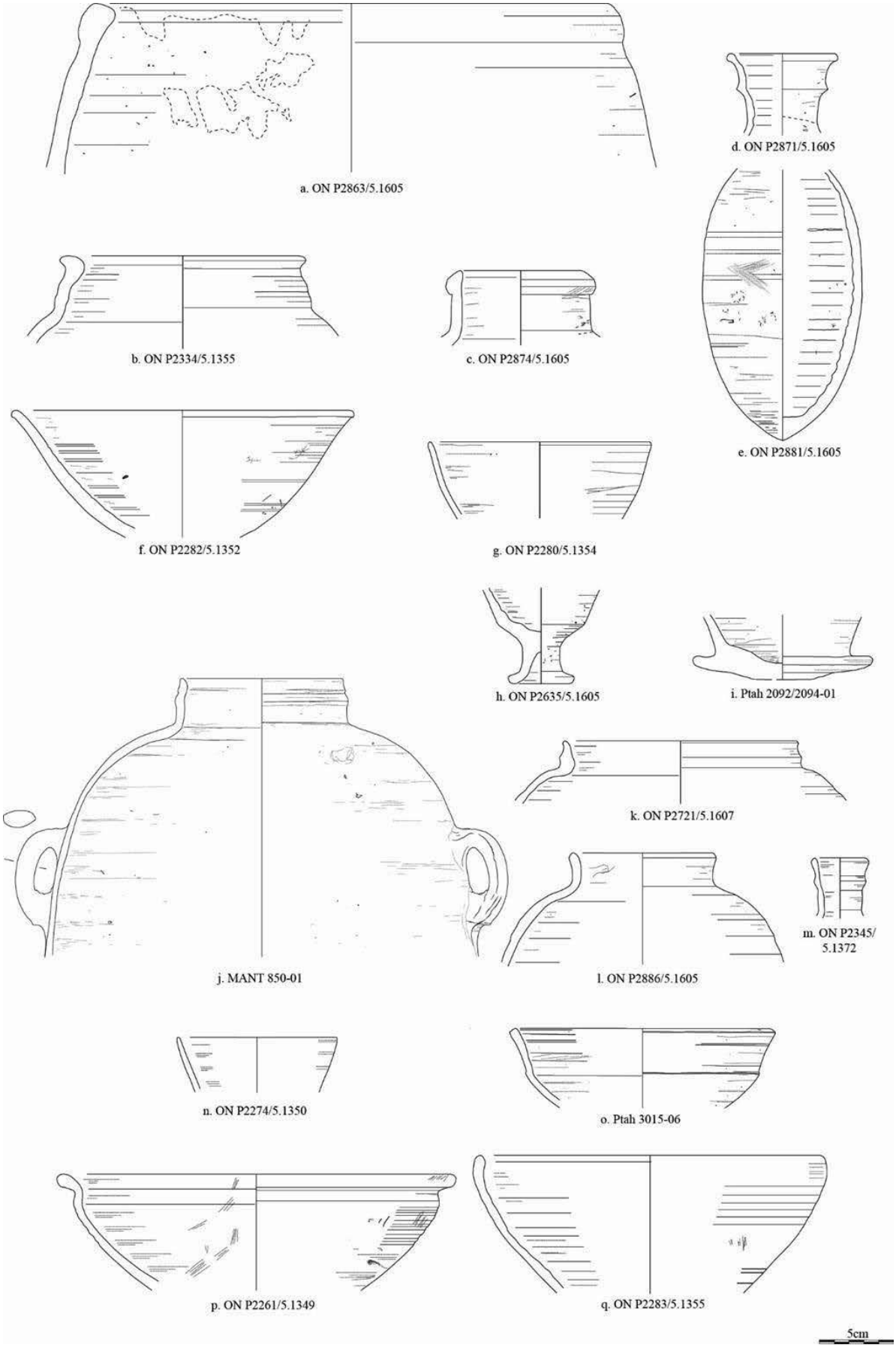


Fig.4: Theban ceramic production – phase II
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In parallel with the morphological advances, the development of the use of a new technology, the kick-wheel, seems to be associated with this period.[41] A new surface treatment specific to marl clay production appears: the grooves. According to some ceramologists, this ribbed surface, characterised by regular and fine grooves, associated with more complex and more carinated pottery profiles, can be the result of this technology.[42] The question of the appearance and the origin of the kick-wheel in Egypt is highly significant but is still difficult to resolve.[43] However, its use seems to be visible on the Egyptian pottery production from the mid-eighth century BC.

Subsequently, this phase is characterised by an important and progressive development of the Theban ceramic production around the mid-eighth century BC, probably due to technological changes. Although the reasons for these changes are still difficult to understand, we can observe, with the development of marl clay industry, a real distinction between the ceramic industry of Northern and Southern Egypt.[44]

Phase III: The End of the Eighth to the Beginning of the Seventh Century BC

During Phase III,[45] marl clay pottery is much more abundant, corresponding to more or less 50% of the ceramic production at Karnak. On the morphological aspect, shapes are changing to a more complex profile with more marked rims and an increased in carinated shapes. Many pottery types attest to a significant continuity with the previous phase: jars with a short neck and marked rim (fig. 5a–b),[46] neckless jars with convex rim (fig. 5c),[47] triangular rim (fig. 5d),[48] *S*-profiled rim (fig. 5e),[49] and thick rim (fig. 5f). Among open shapes, this phase is comprised of, e.g., large cups with a thick rim (fig. 5g),[50] carinated cups (fig. 5h),[51] and conical bowls (fig. 5i).[52]

Undoubtedly, the Nile clay productions are still well represented and show a continuity with the Third Intermediate Period tradition, e.g., jars with a short neck (fig. 5j),[53] bottles (fig. 5k–l),[54] flattened-base cups

[41] ARNOLD, in ARNOLD, BOURRIAU (eds.), *An Introduction to Ancient Egyptian Pottery*, 79–83; BOULET, *BCE* 27 (2017) 289–98; BOURRIAU, *Umm el-Qa'ab*, 16; HOLTHOER, *New Kingdom Pharaonic sites*, 23–6, 33; HOPE, *Egyptian Pottery*, 15.

[42] ARNOLD, in ARNOLD, BOURRIAU (eds.), *An Introduction to Ancient Egyptian Pottery*, 83; Budka, *Bestattungsbrauchtum*, 193.

[43] For the appearance and use of the wheel in Egypt, see DOHERTY, *The Origins and Use of the Potter's Wheel*.

[44] ASTON, *Egyptian Pottery*, 72; FRENCH, *CCE* 3 (1992), 84. Of course, if marl clay production marks this distinction, some comparison can still be made between the ceramic industry in Nile clay from Upper Egypt and the Delta (BUDKA, *Bestattungsbrauchtum*, 213).

[45] BOULET, *BCE* 27 (2017), 53–62.

[46] Concerning fig. 5a, see ASTON, *Elephantine* XIX, 186, 187, pl. 56 (nr. 1698), 191, 193, pl. 58 (nrs. 1737–42), 204, 207, pl. 64 (nrs. 1869, 1871–2), 206–7, pl. 64 (nr. 1885); JACQUET-GORDON, *Karnak-Nord* X, 101, 257, fig. 101e (P.725); SULLIVAN, *A Glimpse into Ancient Thebes*, 195, 236 (types 22-5–7).
Concerning fig. 5b, see ASTON, *Burial Assemblages*, 325, 345 (fig. 37, nr. 159); SCHREIBER, *The Mortuary Monument of Djehutymes*, 62, 63, pl. 58, fig. 2.1.7 (nr. 22).

[47] BARAHONA-MENDIETA, *BCE* 24 (2014), 276, 279, fig. 13; LECUYOT, *Memnonia* 23 (2012), 105, 124, fig. 15 (nr. 2); SCHREIBER, *The Mortuary Monument of Djehutymes*, 74, pl. 70, fig. 2.2.2.4 (nr. 65).

[48] ASTON, *Elephantine* XIX, 185–6, pl. 55 (nr. 1697), 192, 195, pl. 59 (nr. 1756); JACQUET-GORDON, *Karnak-Nord* X, 101, 257, fig. 101d (P.82).

[49] ASTON, *Elephantine* XIX, 191, 193, pl. 58 (nr. 1733), 196–7, pl. 60 (nr. 1785), 204-205, pl. 63 (nr. 1867); JACQUET-GORDON, *Karnak-Nord* X, 102, 259, fig. 102.h (P.1175).

[50] ASTON, *Elephantine* XIX, 182–3, pl. 54 (nr. 1678); ASTON, *The Pottery*, 357, 359–60, pl. 143 (nr. 2961); LECUYOT, *Memnonia* 23 (2012), 105, 120, fig. 11 (nr. 5); SULLIVAN, *A Glimpse into Ancient Thebes*, 176, 208 (type G-8).

[51] BÉOUT *et al.*, *CahKarn* 9 (1993), 164, 185, fig. 7 (nrs. 6–7); JACQUET-GORDON, *Karnak-Nord* X, 99, 253, fig. 99d (P.81); LECUYOT, *Memnonia* 23 (2012), 105, 121, fig. 12 (nrs. 4–5).

[52] HUMMEL, SHUBERT, in REDFORD, *Excavations*, pl. 76 (nr. 4).

[53] ASTON, *Elephantine* XIX, 202–3, pl. 62 (nr. 1845); JACQUET-GORDON, *Karnak-Nord* X, 111, 277, fig. 111p (P.1135); SULLIVAN, *A Glimpse into Ancient Thebes*, 186, 223 (type 8-7).

(fig. 5m),[55] chalices (fig. 5n),[56] everted and large cups (fig. 5o).[57] The surface treatment also shows changes. Concerning the Nile clay production, the orange slip, specific to the Third Intermediate Period production, completely disappears. The white slip also changes to concentric white bands, still used during the Twenty-sixth dynasty. As for the marl clay production, the grooves are more marked than on Phase II sherds.

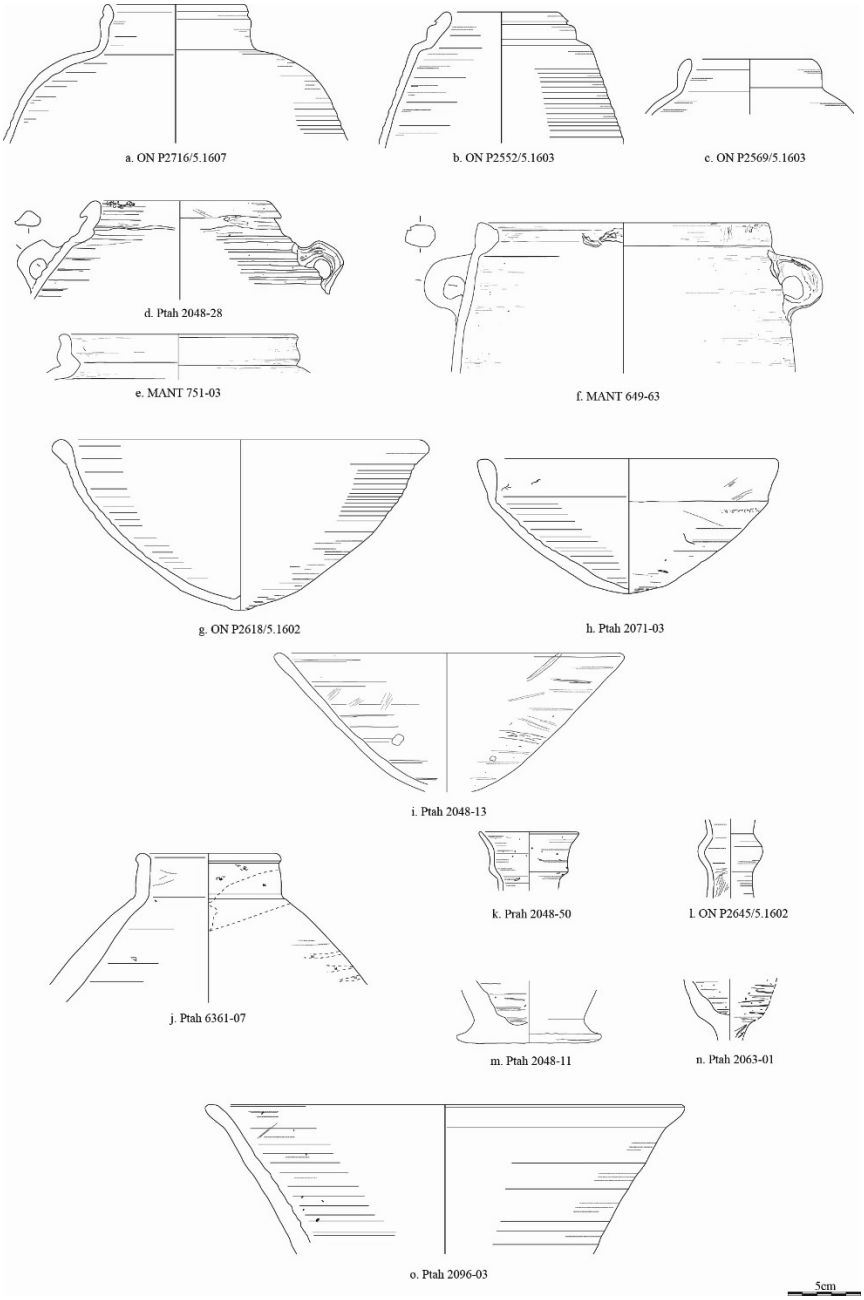


Fig.5: Theban ceramic production – phase III
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[54] For fig. 6k, see JACQUET-GORDON, *Karnak-Nord* X, 95, 244, figs. 95d (P.412), 95e (P.924). For fig. 6l, see BARAHONA-MENDIETA, *BCE* 24 (2014), 277, 279, fig. 16; JACQUET-GORDON, *Karnak-Nord* X, 90, 233, fig. 90m (P.942), 90n (P.2479).
[55] ASTON, *Elephantine* XIX, 169, 171, pl. 50 (nrs. 1566–8); SULLIVAN, *A Glimpse into Ancient Thebes*, 177, 210 (type I-3).
[56] ASTON, *Elephantine* XIX, 200–1, pl. 61 (nr. 1829); SULLIVAN, *A Glimpse into Ancient Thebes*, 178, 212 (type L-2).
[57] ASTON, *Elephantine* XIX, 166–7, pl. 49 (nrs. 1540–7), 197–8, pl. 60 (nr. 1806), 202–3, pl. 62 (nr. 1840); JACQUET-GORDON, *Karnak-Nord* X, 92, 237, fig. 92k (P.201).

Phase IV: The Seventh Century BC

Phase IV lasted from the end of the Twenty-fifth to the beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. The major part of the repertoire of Phase III continues to grow during the seventh century BC. The developments of Phase IV correspond to morphological evolutions. In parallel with these traditional shapes, new pottery types specific to the Saite Period appear.

The use of marl clay is still very important and the statistical analyses at Karnak show more or less the same proportion of its use than in Phase III. Among the marl clay production can be noted neckless jars with modelled rim (fig. 6a),[58] convex rim (fig. 6b),[59] triangular rim (fig. 6c),[60] carinated cups (fig. 6d),[61] cups with a thick rim (fig. 6e),[62] and convex bowls (fig. 6f).[63] This phase is also characterised by the first attestation of the Cypriot mortar imitation in coarse marl clay (fig. 6g).[64] In parallel, many Nile clay productions are still manufactured and show a relative continuity with the previous phases as the large storage jars in coarse Nile clay covered with white bands (fig. 6h–i).[65] New shapes also developed as the vases with simple rim (fig. 6j).[66] Among opened shapes, flattened-cups have already been documented (fig. 6k)[67] and new shapes appeared as the large bowls with a modelled rim (fig. 6i).[68] Surface treatments are very similar to Phase III with well-marked grooves for the marl clay production and red slip and white bands for the storage jars in Nile clay.

The Distribution of the Theban Production during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty in Egypt: The Case Study of Tanis

Thanks to the morphological and technical evolutions, the Upper Egyptian ceramic production in marl clay is clearly distinctive in comparison to the northern part of the country. The development of the ceramic industry in the Theban area during the mid-eighth century BC is associated to an economical growth in the region, marked by a large distribution of ceramic production that can be attested at several sites in Egypt[69] and in Nubia,[70] essentially during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.

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[58] ASTON, *The Pottery*, 358–62, pl. 144 (nrs. 2970, 2976–7); BÉOUT *et al.*, *CahKarn* 9 (1993), 171–2, 196, fig. 20, nr. 88 (form 33); BUDKA, *Bestattungsbrauchtum*, 444–6, fig. 182, K53.1 (type D2); JACQUET-GORDON, *Karnak-Nord* X, 101, 258, figs. 101l (P.516), 101m (P.724); LECUYOT, *BCE* 24 (2014), 105, 112, pl. Vc, fig. 5c; SCHREIBER, *The Mortuary Monument of Djehutymes*, 75, pl. 70, fig. 2.2.2.4 (nr. 68), 75, pl. 71, fig. 2.2.2.4 (nrs. 71, 73–4; pl. 78, fig. 2.3 (nr. 45), 81, pl. 79, fig. 2.3 (nrs. 48–9).

[59] BÉOUT *et al.*, *CahKarn* 9 (1993), 170, 193, fig. 17.2 (form 14); BUDKA, *Bestattungsbrauchtum*, 684–5, fig. 298, reg. 133; JACQUET-GORDON, *Karnak-Nord* X, 101, 256, fig. 101.a (P.732).

[60] BUDKA, *Bestattungsbrauchtum*, 444–6, fig. 182, reg. 181a (type D1); SULLIVAN, *A Glimpse into Ancient Thebes*, 184, 220 (types 5-14–5).

[61] SCHREIBER, *The Mortuary Monument of Djehutymes*, 82–3, pl. 80, fig. 2.4.2 (nrs. 1–2).

[62] ASTON, *Elephantine* XIX, 182–3, pl. 54 (nr. 1674); MARCHAND, LAISNEY, *CCE* 6 (2000), 269–70, 285, fig. 60.

[63] BARAHONA-MENDIETA, *BCE* 24 (2014), 275, 279, fig. 9; LECUYOT, *Memnonia* 23 (2012), 120, fig. 11 (nr. 4).

[64] BÉOUT *et al.*, *CahKarn* 9 (1993), 173, 198, fig. 22, nrs. 460, 421 (form 46); HÖLSCHER, *The Excavations of Medinet Habu*, 74, pl. 47 (W2); JACQUET-GORDON, *Karnak-Nord* X, 105, 263–4, figs. 105c (P.948), 105d (P.789).

[65] For fig. 6h, see ASTON, *The Pottery*, 357, 359, 360, pl. 143 (nrs. 2954, 2957); BUDKA, *Bestattungsbrauchtum*, 444–8, 664–71, 694–5, figs. 184, 287–90, 305, reg. 142, reg. 147, reg. 148, reg. 172b, reg. 185a, reg. 186, reg. 186a, reg. 331 (type B); LECUYOT, *BCE* 24 (2014), 105, 112, pl. 5c, fig. 5b.
For fig. 6i, see ASTON, *Burial Assemblages*, 324–5, 338, fig. 30 (nr. 133); JACQUET-GORDON, *Karnak-Nord* X, 110, 275, fig. 110q (P.358); SCHREIBER, *The Mortuary Monument of Djehutymes*, 72–3, pl. 68, fig. 2.2.2.4 (nrs. 30–1), 81, pl. LXXVI, fig. 2.3 (nrs. 30–1).

[66] BÉOUT *et al.*, *CahKarn* 9 (1993), 170, 191, fig. 15, nrs. 332, 329 (form 5); JACQUET-GORDON, *Karnak-Nord* X, 107, 270, figs. 107v (P.861), 107w (P.1317), 107x (P.886).

[67] JACQUET-GORDON, *Karnak-Nord* X, 106, 266, fig. 106d (P.145); LECUYOT, *Memnonia* 23 (2012), 104–6, 117, figs. 8.11 (TP.254), 8.12 (TP.22/PT.9/1); SULLIVAN, *A Glimpse into Ancient Thebes*, 177, 210 (type I-4).

[68] ASTON, *Elephantine* XIX, 175, 177, pl. 52 (nr. 1630).

[69] For example, on the sites of el-Ashmunein: SPENCER, *Excavations at El-Ashmunein*, Heracleopolis Magna: ASTON, in CARMEN PÉREZ DIE (ed.), *Heracleopolis Magna*, 28–83; LÓPEZ GRANDE *et al.*, *Excavaciones*, Mendes: HUMMEL,

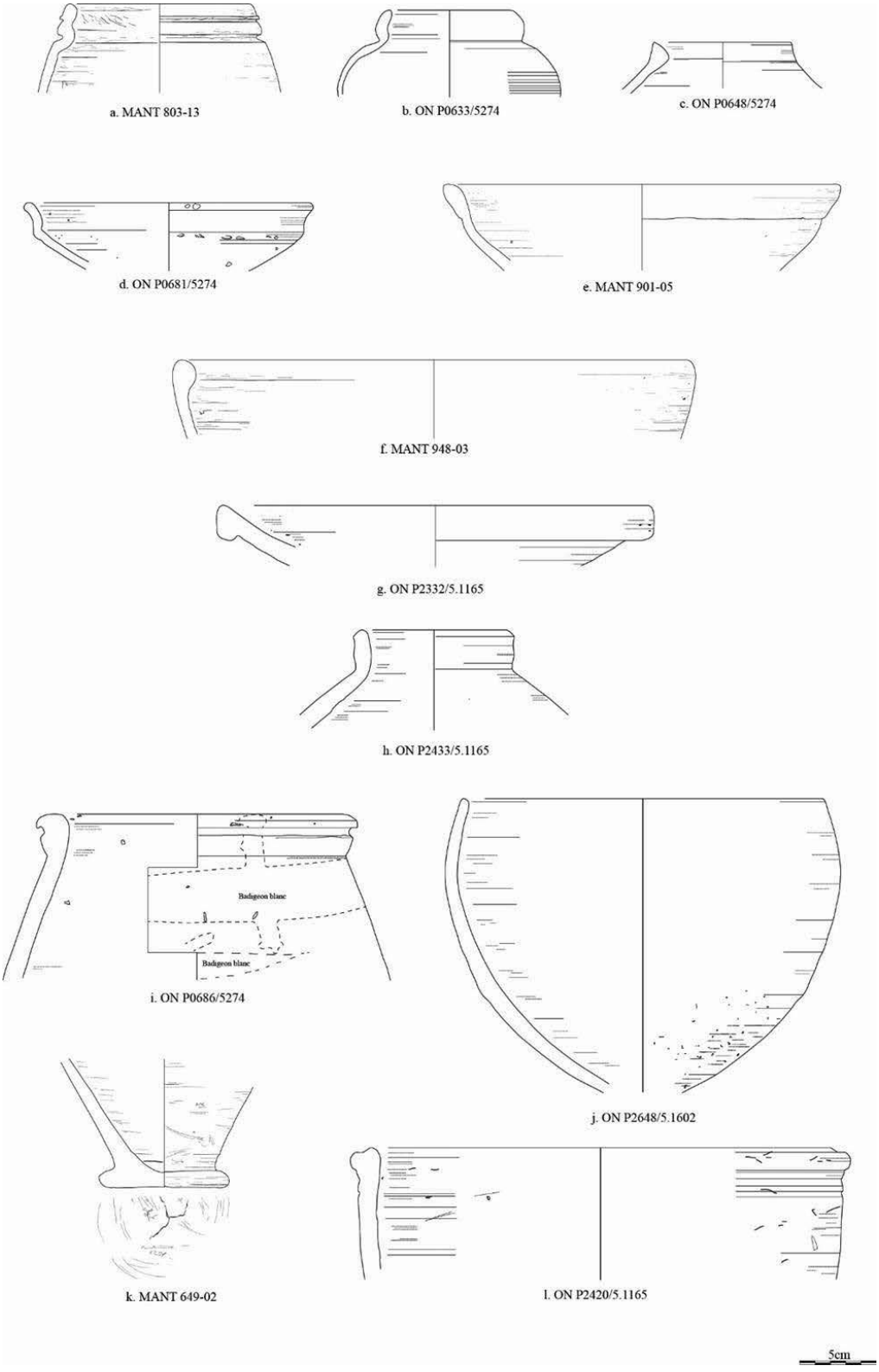


Fig.6: Theban ceramic production – phase IV
(©IFAO/CFEETK/MANT-ULB – drawings: B. Böhm, S. Boulet, J. Laroye, A. Stoll)

SHUBERT, in. REDFORD, *Excavations*, 135–84, Tanis: DEFERNEZ, *BCE* 25 (2015), 77–100; LAEMMEL, *Le matériel céramique*, Tell el Ghaba: LUPO, CREMONTE, *BACE* 22 (2011), 115–28, Buto: FRENCH, BOURRIAU, in HARTUNG *et al.*, *MDAIK* 63 (2007), 101–19; Plinthine: BARAHONA-MENTIETA, PESENTI, REDON, *BCE* 26 (2016), 5–38.

[70] For example, at Kerma: RUFFIEUX, in BONNET *et al.*, *Geneva* 55 (2007), 183–246, Kawa: MACADAM, *The Temples of Kawa*, Sanam: GRIFFITH, *AAALiv* 10 (1923), 73–171, Sesebi: SPENCE *et al.*, *SudNub* 15 (2011), 34–8, Hillat el-Arab: VINCENTELLI, *Hillat El-Arab*, El Kurru: HEIDORN, *JARCE* 31 (1994). See also BUDKA, *Bestattungsbrauchtum*, 219.

Concerning the Delta, the city of Tanis is a good example to present this distribution.[71] Under the leadership of François Leclère (MFFT-EPHE), recent geomagnetic prospections have been made in the central area of the Tell by Tomasz Herbich (Polish Academy of Sciences).[72] In parallel with this intense work, ceramological examinations have been conducted by Catherine Defernez and I that concentrated on the Third Intermediate and Late Period levels. The examinations revealed an important area, mainly composed of Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasty production, with significant artisanal areas characterised by the presence of numerous ceramic slags on the ground.

Complementary to the Lower Egyptian ceramic production, a large variety of Theban pottery produced in marl clay has been discovered specific to Phase III and a few to Phase IV. The majority of the Theban production consists of closed shapes, e.g., jars with marked rim (fig. 7a–b), jars with short neck (fig. 7c), or jars with modelled rim (fig. 7d–e). The opened shapes are also attested, but are less common: carinated cups (fig. 7f) and bowls with everted rim (fig. 7g).

The problem of the Theban pottery diffusion is significant and Tanis shows a great quantity and variety of this production. However, further research is needed to answer several open questions, such as the case of the distribution inside the Delta. Was it the same in the entire Delta? Did the troubles inside the Delta during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty have an impact on the trade with Thebes? To be able to give an appropriate answer, more research on these productions associated with new statistic and comparative studies of archaeological contexts in the entire Delta is necessary.

Conclusion

The recent ceramological research in Karnak and in the Theban Necropolis allows us to produce a more precise typo-chronology of the Theban ceramic industry. From the Third Intermediate Period to the end of the Late Period, six principal phases have been identified:

- Phase I: Third Intermediate Period
    - Phase IA: Twentieth–Twenty-first Dynasty
    - Phase IB: From the end of Twenty-first to the first part of the Twenty-second Dynasty
- Phase II: Around the mid-eighth century BC (from the end of the Twenty-second Dynasty to the beginning of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty)
- Phase III: The end of the eighth to the beginning of the seventh century BC (Twenty-fifth Dynasty)
- Phase IV: Seventh century BC (from the end Twenty-fifth Dynasty to the beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty)
- Phase V: From the end of the seventh to the first part of the sixth century BC (the Twenty-sixth Dynasty)
- Phase VI: the late Saite-Persian Period

Even if the first four phases are well documented, as presented in this contribution, ceramic production for the second half of the Late Period needs to be better understood for the Theban Area.[73] The rigorous analysis of the ceramic material of the chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau by Catherine Defernez will provide new information on the development of the local industry from the sixth to the fourth centuries BC.

[71] DEFERNEZ, *BCE* 25 (2015), 77–100.
[72] With the collaboration of K. Kiersnowski, J. Ordutowski, and R. Ryndziewicz.
[73] The ceramic material from the Ptolemaic Period to the Romano-Byzantine Period in the Osirian chapel is being studied by Sylvie Marchand (IFAO).

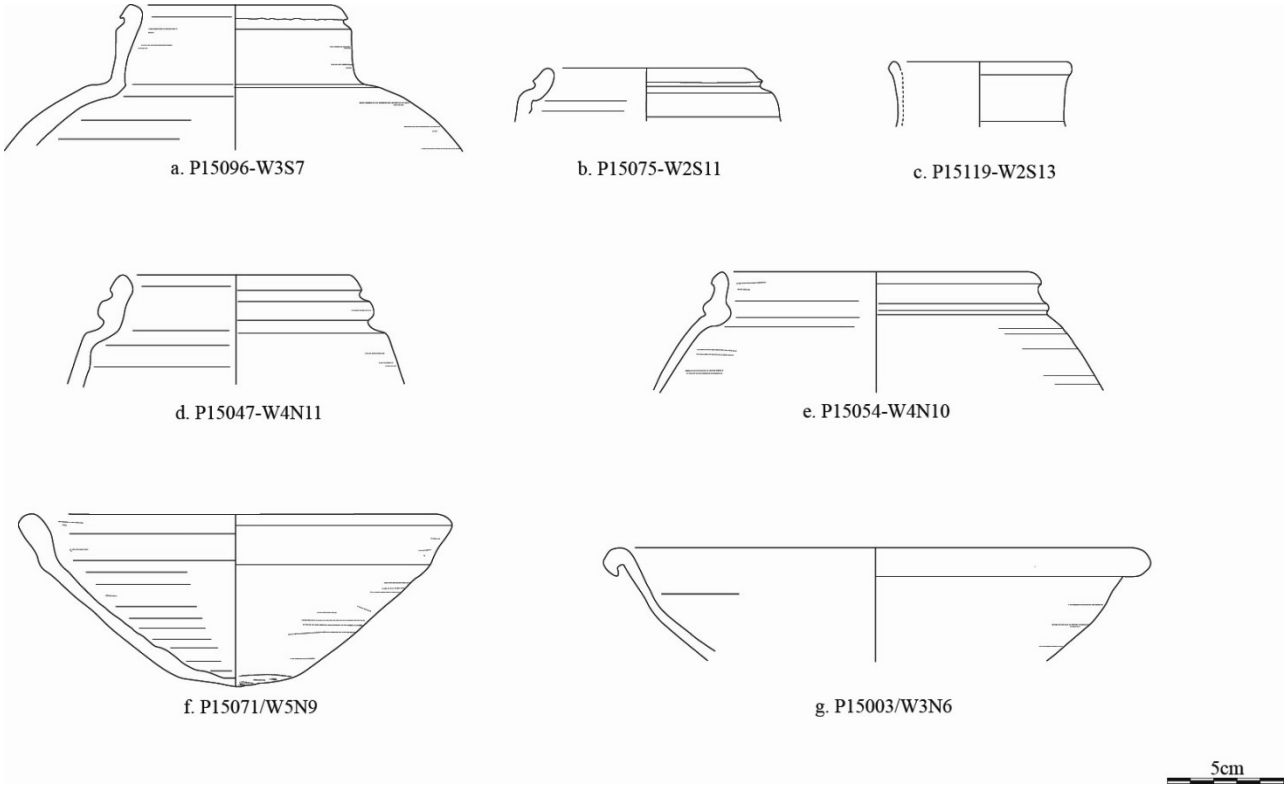


Fig.7: Theban ceramic production from Tanis/Sân el-Hagar (©MFFT – drawings: S. Boulet)

Acknowledgments

I am grateful to Christophe Thiers (CFEETK-CNRS), Laurent Coulon (EPHE), Cyril Giorgi (INRAP), and Guillaume Charloux (CNRS) for the opportunity to work on the ceramic material at Karnak and also to Laurent Bavay (IFAO/ULB) for his permission to mention the finds of the MANT excavations in this paper. My gratitude also goes to Francois Leclère (EPHE/MFFT) for giving me the possibility to work at Tanis and for his permission to present some key elements of the recent ceramological examinations here. I am also indebted to Catherine Defernez (CNRS) for her precious help during my work. Finally, I am grateful to Sylvie Marchand (IFAO) for her advice, Juliette Laroye and Barbara Böhm for their drawings, and to Gabriella Dembitz for correcting my English.

Catalogue

P2698/5532 (fig. 3a)
Dimensions: D. 11.5 cm; H. 69 cm
Fabric: A4 – Red orange Nile clay with a grey core. Coarse. Hard. Wet smoothed
Context: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau – SD 03

P2472/5517 (fig. 3b)
Dimensions: D. 23 cm; H. 22.8 cm
Fabric: A1, variant 3 – Red Nile clay. Coarse. Not hard. Thick orange slip on the outer surface
Context: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau – SD 03

P2475/5517 (fig. 3c)
Dimensions: D. 10.5 cm; H. 8 cm
Fabric: A7 – Brown grey Nile clay. Coarse. Hard. White slip on the outer surface

Context: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau – SD 03

P2597/5532 (fig. 3d)
Dimensions: D. 22 cm; H. 2.8 cm
Fabric: A2 – Brown red Nile clay. Coarse. Hard. Wet smoothed
Context: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau – SD 03

P2112/5532 (fig. 3e)
Dimensions: D. 12 cm; H. 7.1 cm
Fabric: M5 – Light brown to green marl clay. Sandy. Fine. Hard
Context: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau – SD 03

P2700/5532 (fig. 3f)
Dimensions: H. 19.3 cm
Fabric: M5 – Light brown to green marl clay. Sandy. Fine. Hard
Context: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau – SD 03

P2697/5532 (fig. 3g)
Dimensions: H. 34 cm
Fabric: M5 – Grey green marl clay. Sandy. Fine. Hard
Context: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau – SD 03

P2711/5517 (fig. 3h)
Dimensions: D. 23 cm; H. 8 cm
Fabric: M5 – Pink green marl clay. Sandy. Fine. Hard
Context: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau – SD 03

6370-02 (fig. 3i)
Dimensions: D. 25 cm; H. 3.7 cm
Fabric: M5 – Pink white marl clay. Sandy. Fine. Hard. Black painted decoration on the rim
Context: Karnak, Ptah Temple – Sector 6

P2863/5.1605 (fig. 4a)
Dimensions: D. 37 cm; H. 11.7 cm
Fabric: A6 – Red orange Nile clay with a grey core. Coarse. Hard. White slip on the outer surface visible on the inner surface
Context: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau – SD 31

P2334/5.1355 (fig. 4b)
Dimensions: D. 16.5 cm; H. 6.2 cm
Fabric: A6 – Red Nile clay with a light grey. Coarse. Hard. White slip on the outer surface
Context: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau – SD 20

P2874/5.1605 (fig. 4c)
Dimensions: D. 10 cm; H. 5.1 cm
Fabric: A6 – Red Nile clay. Coarse. Hard. White bands on the outer surface

Context: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau – SD 31

P2871/5.1605 (fig. 4d)
Dimensions: D. 7.5 cm; H. 5.6 cm
Fabric: A1, variant 2 – Red orange Nile clay with a red core. Coarse. Soft
Context: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau – SD 31

P2881/5.1605 (fig. 4e)
Dimensions: H. 18.2 cm
Fabric: A1, variant 2 – Red orange Nile clay with a red core. Coarse. Soft
Context: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau – SD 31

P2282/5.1352 (fig. 4f)
Dimensions: D. 23 cm; H. 8.5 cm
Fabric: A1, variant 2 – Grey brown Nile clay with a red core. Coarse. Soft. Wet smoothed
Context: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau – SD 20

P2280/5.1354 (fig. 4g)
Dimensions: D. 15 cm; H. 5.1 cm
Fabric: A1, variant 2 – Red Nile clay. Coarse
Context: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau – SD 20

P2635/5.1605 (fig. 4h)
Dimensions: D. base 4.6 cm; H. 6.5 cm
Fabric: A1, variant 4 – Light brown Nile clay with a red core. Coarse. Soft. Wet smoothed
Context: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau – SD 31

2092/2094-01 (fig. 4i)
Dimensions: D. base 12.2 cm; H. 4.3 cm
Fabric: A1, variant 2 – Red Nile clay. Coarse. Hard. Wet smoothed
Context: Karnak, Ptah Temple – Sector 2 – SD 07

850-01 (fig. 4j)
Dimensions: D. 11 cm; H. 18.8 cm
Fabric: M1 – Red orange marl clay with a light brown core. Wet smoothed
Context: Sheikh Abd el-Gurna – TT C3

P2721/5.1607 (fig. 4k)
Dimensions: D. 16 cm; H. 4.2 cm
Fabric: M1 – Red orange to green marl clay. Sandy. Fine. Hard. Wet smoothed
Context: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau – SD 31

P2886/5.1605 (fig. 4l)
Dimensions: D. 10 cm; H. 7.7 cm
Fabric: M1 – Red orange to green marl clay. Sandy. Fine. Hard. White slip on the outer surface
Context: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau – SD 31

P2345/5.1372 (fig. 4m)
Dimensions: D. 4 cm; H. 4.1 cm
Fabric: M3 – Green marl clay. Coarse. Soft
Context: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau – SD 22

P2274/5.1350 (fig. 4n)
Dimensions: D. 10.8 cm; H. 3.7 cm
Fabric: Red orange marl clay. Sandy. Fine. Hard
Context: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau – SD 20

3015-06 (fig. 4o)
Dimensions: D. 18 cm; H. 5.3 cm
Fabric: M1 – Red orange marl clay. Sandy. Fine. Hard
Context: Karnak, Ptah Temple – Sector 2 – SD 07

P2261/5.1349 (fig. 4p)
Dimensions: D. 27 cm; H. 7.9 cm
Fabric: M1 – Red orange marl clay with a brown core. Sandy. Fine. Hard
Context: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau – SD 20

P2283/5.1355 (fig. 4q)
Dimensions: D. 23.5 cm; H. 9.5 cm
Fabric: M1 – Red orange marl clay. Sandy. Fine. Hard. White slip on the outer surface
Context: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau – SD 20

P2716/5.1607 (fig. 5a)
Dimensions: D. 9.6 cm; H. 9.5 cm
Fabric: M1 – Red orange to green marl clay. Sandy. Fine. Hard. White slip on the outer surface
Context: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau – SD 31

P2552/5.1603 (fig. 5b)
Dimensions: D. 8 cm; H. 9 cm
Fabric: M1 – Red orange marl clay. Sandy. Fine. Hard. White slip on the outer surface
Context: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau – SD 31

P2569/5.1603 (fig. 5c)
Dimensions: D. 8.5 cm; H. 3.7 cm
Fabric: M1 – Red orange to green marl clay. Sandy. Fine. Hard. White slip on the outer surface
Context: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau – SD 31

2048-28 (fig. 5d)
Dimensions: D. 14 cm; H. 6.7 cm
Fabric: M1 – Red orange marl clay. Sandy. Fine. Hard
Context: Karnak, Ptah Temple – Sector 2 – SD 07

751-03 (fig. 5e)
Dimensions: D. 16.5 cm; H. 3.1 cm
Fabric: M2 – Green marl clay. Sandy. Fine. Hard
Context: Sheikh Abd el-Gurna – TT C3

649-63 (fig. 5f)
Dimensions: D. 20 cm; H. 10.3 cm
Fabric: M1 – Red orange marl clay. Sandy. Fine. Hard. White slip on the outer surface
Context: Sheikh Abd el-Gurna – TT C3

P2618/5.1602 (fig. 5g)
Dimensions: D. 26 cm; H. 11.8 cm
Fabric: M1 – Red orange marl clay with a light brown core. Sandy. Fine. Hard. White slip on the inner surface
Context: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau – SD 31

2071-03 (fig. 5h)
Dimensions: D. 20.8 cm; H. 9.4 cm
Fabric: M1 – Red orange marl clay. Sandy. Fine. Hard
Context: Karnak, Ptah Temple – Sector 2 – SD 07

2048-13 (fig. 5i)
Dimensions: D. 24 cm; H. 9.5 cm
Fabric: M1 – Red orange marl clay with a brown core. Sandy. Fine. Hard. White slip on the outer surface
Context: Karnak, Ptah Temple – Sector 2 – SD 07

6361-07 (fig. 5j)
Dimensions: D. 10 cm; H. 10 cm
Fabric: A6 – Red Nile clay. Coarse. Hard. White bands on the outer surface
Context: Karnak, Ptah Temple – Sector 6

2048-50 (fig. 5k)
Dimensions: D. 7 cm; H. 4.9 cm
Fabric: A6 – Red orange Nile clay. Coarse. Hard. White slip on the outer surface
Context: Karnak, Ptah Temple – Sector 2 – SD 07

P2645/5.1602 (fig. 5l)
Dimensions: H. 5.5 cm
Fabric: A1 Variant 1 – Red Nile clay. Coarse. Soft. Red slip on the outer surface
Context: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau – SD 31

2048-11 (fig. 5m)
Dimensions: D. base 10 cm; H. 4.2 cm
Fabric: A4 – Brown red Nile clay with a black core. Coarse. Soft
Context: Karnak, Ptah Temple – Sector 2 – SD 07

2063-01 (fig. 5n)
Dimensions: 5 cm
Fabric: A4 – Red orange Nile clay. Coarse. Soft. Trace of fire inside
Context: Karnak, Ptah Temple – Sector 2 – SD 07

2096-03 (fig. 5o)
Dimensions: D. 23 cm; H. 10.3 cm
Fabric: A1 Variant 1 – Light brown Nile clay with a red core. Wet smoothed
Context: Karnak, Ptah Temple – Sector 2 – SD 07

803-13 (fig. 6a)
Dimensions: D. 12.2 cm; H. 5.8 cm
Fabric: M1 – Red orange to green marl clay. Sandy. Fine. Hard
Context: Sheikh Abd el-Gurna – TT C3

P0633/5274 (fig. 6b)
Dimensions: D. 8.8 cm; H. 5.7 cm
Fabric: Light brown marl clay. Sandy. Fine. Hard
Context: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau – SD 14

P0648/5274 (fig. 6c)
Dimensions: D. 9 cm; H. 3 cm
Fabric: M1 – Red orange marl clay. Sandy. Fine. Hard. White slip on the outer surface
Context: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau – SD 14

P0681/5274 (fig. 6d)
Dimensions: D. 19 cm; H. 4.5 cm
Fabric: M2 – Green marl clay. Sandy. Fine. Hard
Context: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau – SD 14

901-05 (fig. 6e)
Dimensions: D. 26 cm; H. 5.6 cm
Fabric: M1 – Red orange marl clay. Sandy. Fine. Hard. White slip on the outer and inner surfaces
Context: Sheikh Abd el-Gurna – TT C3

948-03 (fig. 6f)
Dimensions: D. 34 cm; H. 5.1 cm
Fabric: M1 – Red orange marl clay. Sandy. Fine. Hard
Context: Sheikh Abd el-Gurna – TT C3

P2332/5.1165 (fig. 6g)
Dimensions: D. 29 cm; H. 4 cm
Fabric: M1, variant – Orange marl clay with a light grey core. Coarse. Hard
Context: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau – SD 14

P2433/5.1165 (fig. 6h)
Dimensions: D. 10.5 cm; H. 6.5 cm
Fabric: A6 – Light brown Nile clay with a red core. Coarse. Hard. White slip on the outer surface
Context: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau – SD 14

P0686/5274 (fig. 6i)
Dimensions: D. 20.8 cm; H. 11 cm
Fabric: A6 – Red orange to brown Nile clay with a grey core. Coarse. Hard. White bands on the outer surface
Context: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau – SD 14

P2648/5.1602 (fig. 6j)
Dimensions: D. 24 cm; H. 19.4 cm
Fabric: A1, variant 2 – Brown Nile clay with a red core. Coarse Nile clay. Soft. Red slip on the outer and inner surfaces
Context: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau – SD 31

649-02 (fig. 6k)
Dimensions: D. base 8.3 cm; H. 8.5 cm
Fabric: A1, variant 1 – Red brown Nile clay with a red core. Coarse. Hard. Wet smoothed
Context: Sheikh Abd el-Gurna – TT C3

P2420/5.1165 (fig. 6l)
Dimensions: D. 33 cm; H. 8.7 cm
Fabric: A6 – Red Nile clay. Coarse. Hard. Red slip on the outer surface
Context: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau

P15096-W3S7 (fig. 7a)
Dimensions: D. 9 cm; H. 6.2 cm
Fabric: M1 – Red orange marl clay with a light brown core. Sandy. Fine. Hard. White slip on the outer surface
Context: San el-Hagar – Tanis, Central area – surface

P15075-W2S11 (fig. 7b)
Dimensions: D. 9 cm; H. 2.2 cm
Fabric: M1 – Red orange marl clay. Sandy. Fine. Hard
Context: San el-Hagar – Tanis, Central area – surface

P15119-W2S13 (fig. 7c)
Dimensions: D. 8 cm; H. 2.8 cm
Fabric: M1 – Red orange marl clay. Sandy. Fine. Hard
Context: San el-Hagar – Tanis, Central area – surface

P15047-W4N11 (fig. 7d)
Dimensions: D. 10 cm; H. 4.7 cm
Fabric: M1 – Light red to green marl clay. Sandy. Fine. Hard

Context: San el-Hagar – Tanis. Central area – surface

P15054-W4N10 (fig. 7e)
Dimensions: D. 10 cm; H. 2.7 cm
Fabric: M1 – Red orange marl clay with a light brown core. Sandy. Fine. Hard
Context: San el-Hagar – Tanis. Central area – surface

P15071/W5N9 (fig. 7f)
Dimensions: D. 18.7 cm; H. 7.5 cm
Fabric: M1 – Red orange marl clay. Sandy. Fine. Hard. White slip on the outer surface and in the inner surface of the rim
Context: San el-Hagar – Tanis. Central area – surface

P15003/W3N6 (fig. 7g)
Dimensions: D. 24 cm; H. 4.9 cm
Fabric: M2 – Green marl clay. Sandy. Fine. Hard. Eroded surfaces
Context: San el-Hagar – Tanis. Central area – surface

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Kushite Pottery in Egypt: An Update from Thebes and Abydos

Julia Budka

Abstract

Based on recent archaeological fieldwork, a reassessment of Kushite pottery, both in Egypt and at selected Kushite sites in modern Sudan, is possible. Such a study promises answers to questions related with indigenous traditions and innovations during the time period of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. This paper focuses on new material from the South Asasif necropolis (TT 223 and TT 391) and Abydos (Umm el-Qaab) and attempts to address aspects of cultural contacts between Egypt and Kush.

Introduction

A detailed assessment of the contacts between Egypt and Kush, as reflected in the ceramics, is still clearly needed.[1] The question of a possible Kushite impact on ceramics of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty has not yet been addressed systematically, despite the fact that pottery datable to this era saw an important technical revolution: the introduction of the so-called kick wheel.[2] Vessels with marks of this new technological feature are attested in Lower and Upper Egypt as well as in Sudan. According to their specific marl clay fabric (Marl A4, variant 2), they were probably produced in the Theban region,[3] but no workshops have yet been found.[4]

Recent archaeological fieldwork at Thebes and Abydos has produced significant material from the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.[5] Material unearthed in the South Asasif necropolis, especially in the Kushite tombs of Karakhamun (TT 223) and Karabasken (TT 391), holds particularly rich potential. The majority of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty ceramic corpus from both tombs is Egyptian style vessels, but drinking vessels and beakers imported from Kush are also present.[6]

This paper attempts a reassessment of Kushite pottery, both in Egypt and at selected Kushite sites in modern Sudan, in order to address questions of indigenous traditions and innovations during the time period of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. As ceramic vessels were used in various contexts and functioned as objects of daily use, transport containers, funerary equipment, and also as ritual items, such an investigation promises new insights into cultural connections between the most important sites like Abydos, Thebes, and el-Kurru.

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[1] See BUDKA, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 503–20.

[2] ARNOLD, in ARNOLD, BOURRIAU (eds.), *An Introduction to Ancient Egyptian Pottery*, 79–83. See also BOULET in this volume.

[3] ASTON, *Elephantine* XIX, 186, pl. 156. See also BUDKA, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 509; VINCENTELLI, *Hillat el-Arab*, 48.

[4] Of prime importance in this respect is the new material from Karnak, see BOULET, *BCE* 26 (2016), 213–26; BOULET, DEFERNEZ, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 603–24. See also BOULET in this volume.

[5] For Thebes, see BUDKA, *Bestattungsbrauchtum*, 211–3, 345, fig. 141; BUDKA, in BAREŠ, COPPENS, SMOLÁRIKOVÁ (eds.), *Egypt in Transition*, 32–4; BUDKA, in GODLEWSKI, ŁAJTAR (eds.), *Between the Cataracts*, 507; SULLIVAN, *A Glimpse into Ancient Thebes*, passim. For Abydos, see ASTON, *MDAIK* 52 (1996), 1–10; BUDKA, in BAREŠ, COPPENS, SMOLÁRIKOVÁ (eds.), *Egypt in Transition*, 55–8; BUDKA, *MDAIK* 66 (2010), 45–6, 50–1, 53–4.

[6] For TT 223, see BUDKA, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 327–35.

The Ceramics from South Asasif

TT 223

The recording of the pottery from TT 223 was carried out in 2011, 2012, and 2014.[7] The ceramics from the burial compartment (Area X) were of prime interest and have been studied in detail. Within an assemblage of mixed ceramics, demonstrating the multiple robberies of the tomb chamber, a small quantity of Twenty-fifth Dynasty vessels was identified that probably belonged to the original burial equipment of Karakhamun. Most interesting within this small pottery corpus are vessels that are not found among typical Egyptian tomb groups of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.[8] Thanks to parallels from Kush and Kushite contexts at Thebes, it was possible to identify these vessels from TT 223 as imports from modern Sudan, attesting to the indigenous tradition of Karakhamun within his Egyptian temple-tomb.[9]

TT 391

In 2016, substantial parts of the pottery from the ongoing excavation in TT 391 were analysed.[10] Work focused on the sectors of the burial compartment (VI: Burial Chamber; VI.1: Sarcophagus, V: Ramp) and the Pillared Hall (IV). Selected material from Area I, the Courtyard of TT 391, was studied as well. A total amount of 11,876 sherds from TT 391 were processed in 2016. Figs. 1a and 1b give the details of the distribution according to find spot.

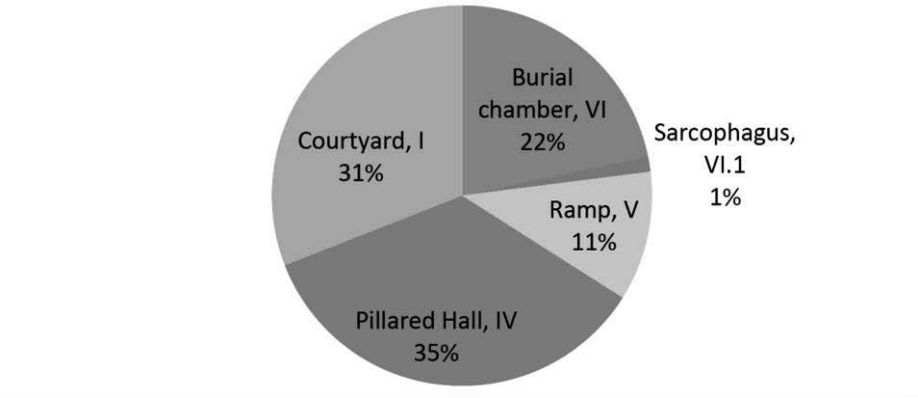


Fig. 1a: Distribution of pottery from TT 391, processed in 2016 according to areas

Area	Total amount	Twenty-fifth Dynasty
Burial chamber, VI	2577	26
Sarcophagus, VI.1	154	1
Ramp, V	1308	6
Pillared Hall, IV	4160	3
Courtyard, I	3677	18
	11876	**54**

Fig. 1b: Amount of processed pottery according to areas from TT 391, 2016

[7] BUDKA, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 247–62; BUDKA, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 503–20; BUDKA, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis: New Discoveries*, 327–35. For general information about the excavations, see PISCHIKOVA, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 121–60.

[8] BUDKA, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 507–8.

[9] For Kushite ceramics imported to Egypt, see BUDKA, *Bestattungsbrauchtum*, 197, 345, fig. 141, 583–5; BUDKA, in GODLEWSKI, ŁAJTAR (eds.), *Between the Cataracts*, 507, fig. 3, 514; BUDKA, KAMMERZELL, *MittSAG* 18 (2007), 172.

[10] For previous work in the 2014 season, see BUDKA, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis: New Discoveries*, 332–5. For the excavations in TT 391, see PISCHIKOVA, "Recreating Kushite Tombs", in this volume.

The largest amount studied originated from the Pillared Hall (4,160 pieces, 35%), followed by 34% from the burial compartment (Burial Chamber, Sarcophagus, and Ramp). The 4,039 sherds from the burial compartment represent the complete amount of pottery excavated there; from the Pillared Hall, more pottery needs to be processed in upcoming seasons. From Area I, the Courtyard of Karabasken, a total of 3,677 sherds were looked at, sorted, and recorded according to their ware and vessel type (31%). Additional material from Area I still awaits processing.

Despite of a high degree of disturbed contexts and mixed material, the distribution of pottery datable to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty in TT 391 is significant. As illustrated by fig. 2, 61% of the material comes from the burial compartment of which all available ceramics have been studied. With only a total of 54 pieces, the Kushite pottery comprises less than 0.5% of the documented material. This small quantity compares well to the findings in TT 223 (see above).

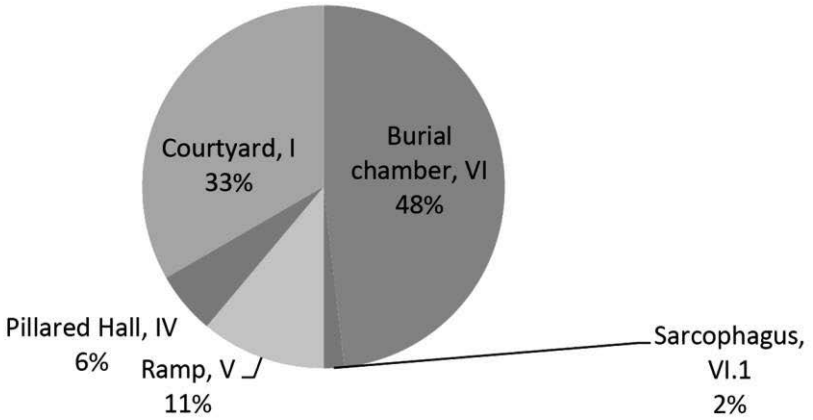


Fig. 2: The distribution of Twenty-fifth Dynasty material within the pottery studied in 2016 according to area (TT 391)

Pottery from the Burial Compartment of TT 391

In general, the material from the burial compartment of TT 391 shows parallels to the burial compartment of TT 223.[11] The material is completely mixed (comprising intrusive New Kingdom material as well as Twenty-fifth Dynasty, Late Period, Ptolemaic, Roman, Coptic, and Modern/Islamic pottery), but complete vessels could be reconstructed out of numerous fragments, including marl clay vessels of possible Late Period date.

Of special interest is the material datable to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, which possibly belongs to the original tomb group of Karabasken. Similar to TT 223, three functional groups of pottery are preserved in TT 391:[12] 1) storage vessels of Egyptian type, 2) incense burners and cups finding good parallels in Thebes, and 3) indigenous vessels of Kushite tradition.

Most common are Nile clay incense burners with a ledged base (fig. 3). These footed beakers appear for the first time during Kushite rule and later become standardised during the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.[13] It is noteworthy that although incense burners have a long lasting indigenous tradition in Kush,[14] only Egyptian types of burners were used in TT 223 and TT 391. These ritual vessels are therefore no identity markers, but relate to their context of deposition—and attest to the innovative aspects of pottery production during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.

[11] BUDKA, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 327–35.
[12] See BUDKA, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 511–3.
[13] BUDKA, *Bestattungsbrauchtum*, 211; BUDKA, in BAREŠ, COPPENS, SMOLÁRIKOVÁ (eds.), *Egypt in Transition*, 32. See also ASTON, *Egyptian Pottery*, 75, fig. 219c.
[14] BUDKA, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 511.

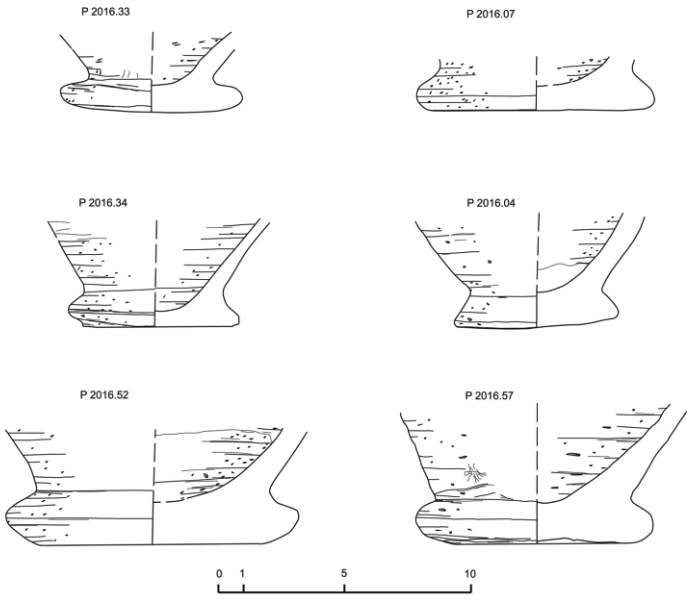


Fig. 3: Nile clay incense burners with ledged bases from TT 391. Scale 1:3

Well attested in TT 391 are also small fragments of Marl A variant 2 storage vessels with a modelled rim and deep grooves demonstrating the use of the kick-wheel (figs. 4a–b). These vessels seem to represent innovations of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty and show a distinct evolution until Ptolemaic times.[15] Four handled marl clay jars from TT 391 find close parallels in the chapel of Amenirdis in Medinet Habu.[16] Nile clay storage vessels are also present and show the common feature of an irregular white wash, well attested in Thebes and also Abydos.[17]

Besides the Egyptian wheel-made material, also some un-Egyptian beakers and one hand-made cooking pot were found (fig. 5). As with TT 223, they seem to indicate the Nubian tradition for drinking and cooking vessels.[18] As observed for the tomb of Karakhamun, it is remarkable that the long lasting Nubian tradition of depositing cooking vessels as burial gifts[19] is also found within Egyptian monumental tomb architecture in the South Asasif.[20] This contrasts considerably from the Egyptian tradition of equipping the dead with storage vessels holding provisions,[21] but finds a parallel in the Kushite infant burial within Tomb VII in the Northern Asasif.[22] Like in this case, the Kushite beakers and cooking pots from TT 223 and TT 391 seem to attest to specific Kushite aspects of burial pottery. The Kushite type of beaker is very common at Kushite sites in modern Sudan, in different social strata, not only in royal contexts, but also in simple non-elite burials such as Qustul.[23] It is striking that Kushites buried in Egypt did not simply use Egyptian equivalents of this vessel shape or adapted the vessel type according to their preference, but that they used authentic vessels that had to be imported from Kush. Here it might be relevant that some kind of special native function of

[15] ASTON, *CCE* 8 (2007), 427, fig. 5; MASSON, CCE 9 (2011), figs. 20–7. For parallels from Twenty-fifth Dynasty contexts, see, e.g., ASTON, *Burial Assemblages*, 325, 345 (fig. 37, nr. 159); SCHREIBER, *The Mortuary Monument of Djehutymes*, 62–3, pl. 58. See also BOULET in this volume.
[16] ASTON, *Egyptian Pottery*, fig. 175.
[17] ASTON, *MDAIK* 52 (1996), 5–6, 9–10.
[18] BUDKA, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 510–1.
[19] See, e.g., LOHWASSER, *Aspekte der napatanischen Gesellschaft*, 200 [type J, cooking pots without traces of use].
[20] BUDKA, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 510–2.
[21] See ROSE, in STRUDWICK, TAYLOR (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis*, 202–9; ASTON, *Burial Assemblages*, 321–48.
[22] BUDKA, *Bestattungsbrauchtum*, 583–5; BUDKA, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 510–11.
[23] WILLIAMS, *Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and Napatan Remains*, 54, fig. 2.

Nubian style vessels, like the black-topped and red rimmed beakers, could have also existed at Napatan cemeteries, as recently proposed by Lohwasser.[24]

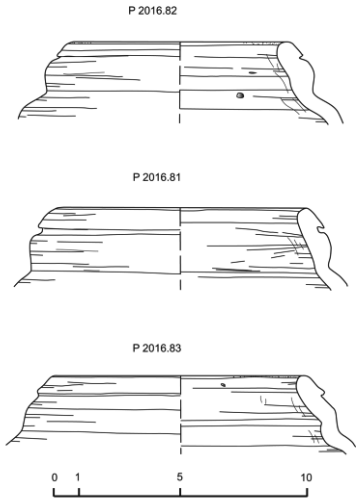


Fig. 4a: Marl A variant 2 storage vessels (rim fragments) from TT 391. Scale 1:3

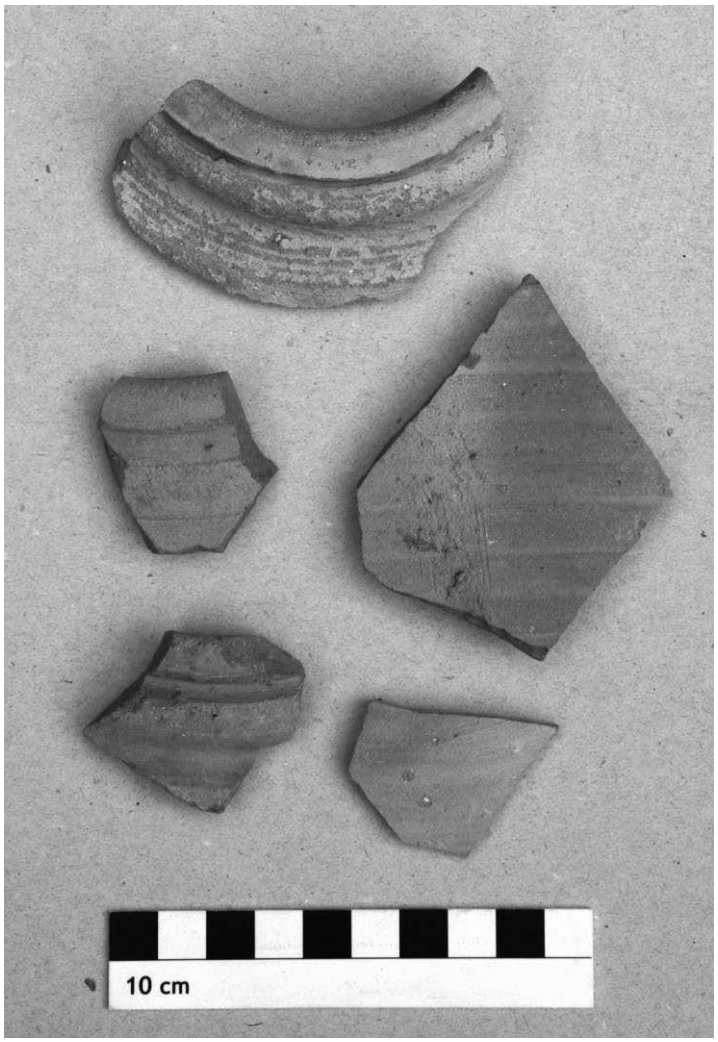


Fig. 4b: Marl A variant 2 storage vessels (rim fragments and body sherds) from TT 391 (photo: Julia Budka)

[24] LOHWASSER, *Aspekte der napatanischen Gesellschaft*, 208 (with Sanam as case study).

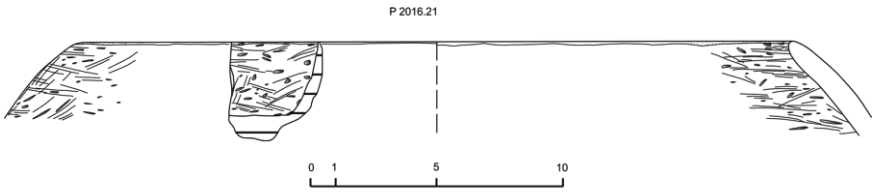


Fig. 5: Kushite indigenous vessels from TT 391 (cooking pot). Scale 1:3

Especially remarkable are parallels from TT 391 to material from Umm el-Qaab, Abydos, connected with the cult for Osiris (see below). A small rim fragment of a cup with inverted rim (P2016.20) represents the first attestations of a '*qaab*'-vessel in the South Asasif necropolis. These *qaabs*, attested in their millions at Umm el-Qaab, are closely linked with the Abydene cult. Possibly recalling a specific type of votive cup from the Middle Kingdom, they were deposited during ritual processions for Osiris.[25] Interestingly, outside of Abydos, *qaabs* are mostly known from Kush, in particular from the royal necropolis of Nuri (see below, fig. 7).[26] The new finds from TT 391 therefore represent not only a link between Thebes and Abydos, but also to Kushite sites.

One complete vessel from the courtyard of TT 391 is of particular interest. P2015.69 (fig. 6) represents a close parallel to storage jars from Umm el-Qaab, possibly giving material evidence for Osirian festivals in the courtyard of Karabasken.[27]

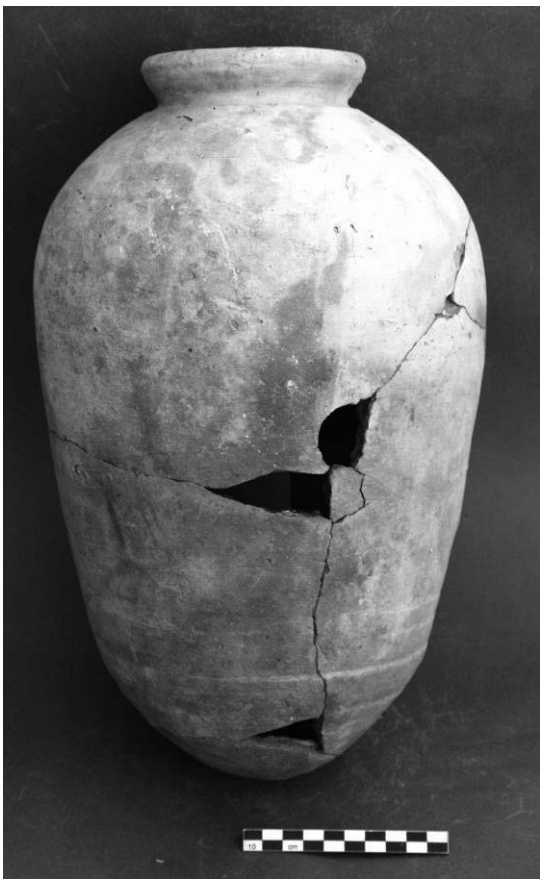


Fig. 6: Jar P2015.69 from TT 391 (photo: Julia Budka)

[25] BUDKA, *MDAIK* 66 (2010), 35–69; BUDKA, in JURMAN, ASTON, BADER (eds.), *"You Had Better Look Twice"*, in press.
[26] BUDKA, *Sokar* 29 (2014), 57. See also BUDKA, in JURMAN, ASTON, BADER (eds.), *"You Had Better Look Twice"*, in press.
[27] BUDKA, *Sokar* 29 (2014), 58–9.

All in all, the Twenty-fifth Dynasty sherd material from TTT 391 compares to TT 223, but covers a wider corpus. The pottery also finds close parallels at Abydos and Kushite sites like Kurru and Nuri—these connections will therefore be explored in more detail.

The Homeland: Napatan Ceramics in Kush (Ninth–Sixth Centuries BC)

Many parallels for the material from the South Asasif necropolis can be found in the old homeland, present Sudan, of Karakhamun and Karabasken, for example, at Dukki Gel,[28] Hillat el-Arab,[29] Qustul,[30] and at the royal cemetery at el-Kurru.[31] The middle class cemetery at Sanam and the site of Kawa provide equivalents as well.[32] Similar to the Egyptian monumental tombs in South Asasif, these Napatan burials display a thought-provoking mixture of both traditions: Egyptian marl clay storage vessels are well attested, but indigenous, locally made ceramic vessels, especially drinking vessels and cooking ware, as well as different jars complement the assemblage.

Kurru

Kurru has played a key role in the investigation of funerary customs in Kush as reflected by ceramics.[33] The case of the royal cemetery at Kurru illustrates the adaption of Egyptian traditions and the development of a specific Napatan tradition with close links to Egypt.[34] Some of the early tombs at the site, especially Ku. 19 and Ku. Tum 6., which were assigned to Generation B,[35] yielded a special type of pottery.[36] Reisner discovered hundreds of sherds of large painted vessels and of footed offering bowls with 'crude Egyptianizing decoration'.[37] These vessels were most probably deliberately broken at the tombs after having been used during the funerary banquet. Since an offering chapel was built at Ku. Tum. 6, it is convincing that the pottery was specially produced for the funerary ceremony and destroyed after the funerary meal.[38]

Most of the broken pottery was red slipped and polished ware with white or black painted decoration.[39] The painted vessels fall into two main categories: large handled jars and footed bowls. In recent years, relevant parallels for these vessels were unearthed in Egypt, at Umm el-Qaab. They do not represent full equivalents, but give close comparisons to the style of decoration (black with white outline) and to funerary rites like smashing pots.[40]

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[28] RUFFIEUX, *Geneva* 55 (2007), 183–246.
[29] VINCENTELLI LIVERANI, *CRIPEL* 17/2 (1007), fig. 3; VINCENTELLI, *Hillat el-Arab*, 49–50 and passim.
[30] E.g., WILLIAMS, *Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and Napatan Remains*, 54, fig. 2, 70, fig. 21.
[31] See HEIDORN, *JARCE* 31 (1994), 115–131; BUDKA, in WELSBY, ANDERSON (eds.), *The Fourth Cataract and Beyond*, 641–54.
[32] Sanam: BUDKA, *Beiträge zur Sudanarchäologie* 11 (2012), 221; GRIFFITH, *AAALiv* 10 (1923), 73–171; LOHWASSER, *Aspekte der napatanischen Gesellschaft*, 199–234; Kawa: WELSBY, *SudNub* 12 (2008), 34–9.
[33] For a recent summary, see BUDKA, in WELSBY, ANDERSON (eds.), *The Fourth Cataract and Beyond*, 641–54. See also LOHWASSER, *Aspekte der napatanischen Gesellschaft*, 347.
[34] BUDKA, in WELSBY, ANDERSON (eds.), *The Fourth Cataract and Beyond*, 641–54; LOHWASSER, in CZERNY *et al.* (eds.), *Timelines* III, 133–8.
[35] KENDALL, in WENIG (ed.), *Studien zum antiken Sudan*, 18–25.
[36] BUDKA, in WELSBY, ANDERSON (eds.), *The Fourth Cataract and Beyond*, 641–54; DUNHAM, *Kurru*, 72, 74, fig. 24d, pl. 42B; KENDALL, in WENIG (ed.), *Studien zum antiken Sudan*, figs. 10–11.
[37] KENDALL, *Kush*, 22; see also HEIDORN, *JARCE* 31 (1994), 120.
[38] BUDKA, in WELSBY, ANDERSON (eds.), *The Fourth Cataract and Beyond*, 641, with further references; KENDALL, *Kush*, 23; KENDALL, in WENIG (ed.), *Studien zum antiken Sudan*, 21.
[39] DUNHAM, *Kurru*, figs. 5b–c, 18c, 24b; KENDALL, *Kush*, fig. 17; KENDALL, in WENIG (ed.), *Studien zum antiken Sudan*, figs. 10–11.
[40] BUDKA, in WELSBY, ANDERSON (eds.), *The Fourth Cataract and Beyond*, 641–54.

The jars with special painted decoration from Umm el-Qaab picture mummified figures/gods and they bear cartouches and short texts.[41] The inscribed pieces either give royal names or the names of Theban High Priests of Amun. They can thus be safely dated to the Libyan Period, in particular, to the late Twenty-first Dynasty up to the middle of the Twenty-second Dynasty (*c*. 960–800 BC).[42] All of these jars were red-slipped and none were found complete. There are good reasons to assume that these vessels have been deliberately broken at the site. Thus, within the context of the cult for Osiris, an apotropaic ritual can be proposed for which we still lack the precise name.[43]

Nuri

Why king Taharqa moved the royal cemetery from Kurru to Nuri is still unclear.[44] The necropolis of Nuri, which was used after Taharqa by later Napatan kings and queens as a burial ground, provides various links to Abydos; monumental ones like the resemblance of the subterranean part of Taharqa's pyramid and the Osireion, but also small-sized references, like parallels for the votive cups from Umm el-Qaab, the so-called *qaabs* (fig. 7).[45] These *qaabs* were found in foundation deposits in Nuri. Since no pottery was safely attributed to Taharqa's reign, the cemetery of Nuri is less relevant for comparisons with Twenty-fifth Dynasty material, but provides several parallels for Twenty-sixth Dynasty material.[46] Egyptian style marl clay vessels produced on the kick-wheel testify the influence of Egyptian traditions in Napatan royal burial examples and speak for links between Kush and Thebes.[47] On a broader level, the site of Nuri is especially relevant for its stone sarcophagi of the Napatan rulers Anlamani and Aspelta, which attest to a profound knowledge of Egyptian funerary texts and rituals during the Kushite period.[48]

Comparison with Abydos: Votive Pottery of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty

The votive pottery of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty from Umm el-Qaab illustrates activities connected with the cult of Osiris. Within the long tradition of votive offerings around the royal tombs of the Early Dynastic Period, the Kushite Period marks the beginning of some specific vessel shapes. The most significant new type is the so-called *qaab*, which continued into the Ptolemaic era.[49] The *qaab*, responsible for the modern name of the site Umm el-Qaab ('Mother of Pots'), most probably recalls miniature vessels of the Middle Kingdom and in some respects canopic jars.[50] The only close parallel for this specific vessel type in votive contexts outside of Abydos can be found at the royal Kushite necropolis of Nuri (see above, fig. 7).

In situ deposits of *qaabs* at Umm el-Qaab, which frequently held organic remains as contents, illustrate that the vessels were carefully laid out reflecting organised votive activities embedded in the annual festival of Osiris.[51] Apart from the *qaabs*, a specific type of storage vessel, the so-called Late Period bottles are most common during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty at Umm el-Qaab. These large bottles are a very special type of vessel, clearly locally made, produced in very large numbers, and arranged to form two parallel rows marking pathways (fig. 8).[52] Until recently, no traces of any content within the bottles were observed.[53] The

[41] EFFLAND, EFFLAND, *Abydos*, 74–89.
[42] EFFLAND, EFFLAND, *Abydos*, 92.
[43] BUDKA, in WELSBY, ANDERSON (eds.), *The Fourth Cataract and Beyond*, 641–54.
[44] See KENDALL, in GODLEWSKI, ŁAJTAR (eds), *Between the Cataracts*, 117–47.
[45] DUNHAM, *Nuri*, 125, fig. 125 (Nu. 9), 157, fig. 118 (Nu. 10), pls. 134–5. See also BUDKA, *MDAIK* 66 (2010), 45–6; PUMPENMEIER, *MDAIK* 54 (1998), 134.
[46] See DUNHAM, *Nuri*, passim.
[47] See BUDKA, in ROEDER, MYLONOPOULOS (eds.), *Archäologie und Ritual*, 88, with further literature in n. 32.
[48] See WELSBY, *Kingdom of Kush*, 82.
[49] BUDKA, *MDAIK* 66 (2010), 45; MÜLLER, *MDAIK* 62 (2006), 82.
[50] See BUDKA, *MDAIK* 66 (2010), 58.
[51] EFFLAND, *MDAIK* 66 (2010), 29–30.
[52] BUDKA, in BAREŠ, COPPENS, SMOLÁRIKOVÁ (eds.), *Egypt in Transition*, 56–7.

discovery of a new very large ceramic deposit along the eastern edge of the subsidiary tombs of Djer, O-NNO, allowed an updated assessment of Kushite votive activity at Umm el-Qaab. Complete examples and fragments of *qaab*-dishes and remains of their filling (botanical remains and sand) were discovered together with the so-called Late Period bottles. In some cases, the votive dishes were obviously positioned in already laid out storage vessels. In other cases, small groups of *qaabs* were put next to the Late Period bottles.[54] Thus, for the first time, the deposition of the large bottles can be directly associated with the ritual deposition of *qaabs*.[55] As mentioned above, one Late Period bottle type was discovered in the courtyard of TT 391 (fig. 6), suggesting some rituals associated with this vessel in the South Asasif necropolis, which might be similar to activities in Umm el-Qaab.

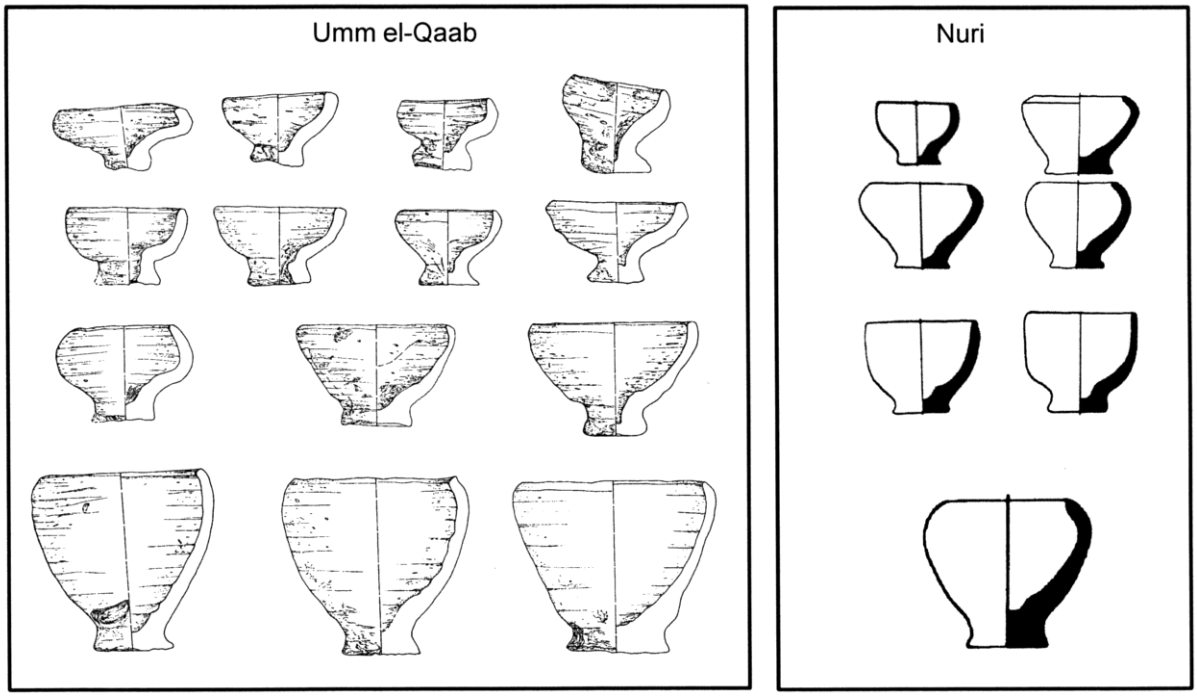


Fig. 7: Qaabs from Umm el-Qaab, tomb of Osiris (Budka, Osiris cult project) and from Nuri, foundation deposits (after Dunham 1955)

There are several references to rituals in the pottery deposit O-NNO at the tomb of Djer/Osiris.[56] First of all, a large number of 'killing holes' was recognised (fig. 8, bottom right).[57] Secondly, several traces of irregular red paint, possibly also with an apotropaic character, were documented on various types of vessels, both on *qaabs* as well as Late Period bottles. It seems noteworthy that the smashing of vessels, and here of red vessels, is also attested in Kushite context, at the royal cemetery at Kurru (see above).[58] These parallels between Kurru and Abydos are striking and imply close connections between the sites and associated personnel/priests.

The votive pottery at Umm el-Qaab can be associated with deposits at other locations and landmarks throughout the site of Abydos. Investigations by Ute and Andreas Effland have clearly shown that there are several important connections between North Abydos, Umm el-Qaab, the Seti I complex, and also South

[53] See BUDKA, in BAREŠ, COPPENS, SMOLÁRIKOVÁ (eds.), *Egypt in Transition*, 55.
[54] BUDKA, *Sokar* 29 (2014), 62–3, figs. 15–7; BUDKA, in REGULSKI (ed.), *Abydos*, in press.
[55] See, however, the pit A 4 with a Late Period bottle and several *qaabs* already excavated at the Heqareshu hill; PUMPENMEIER, *MDAIK* 54 (1998), 134.
[56] BUDKA, *Sokar* 29 (2014), 57.
[57] See BUDKA, *MDAIK* 66 (2010), 61; BUDKA, *Sokar* 29 (2014), 62.
[58] See BUDKA, in WELSBY, ANDERSON (eds.), *The Fourth Cataract and Beyond*, 641–54.

Abydos. A significant landmark at Umm el-Qaab was the so-called 'southern hill'.[59] Obviously, the votive vessels laid out in rows marked the main cultic axes constructing the sacred landscape of Abydos as the processional ways during the festival for Osiris. For example, the deposit O-NNO seems to be orientated towards the 'southern hill'.[60] During the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, already existing structures and processional features set up during the New Kingdom were revived. A similar Kushite reconstruction of the sacred landscape can be observed at Thebes.[61] The underlying concepts for this were the conscious references to earlier periods also known as 'archaism'[62] and especially the wish to legitimise Kushite rulers by embedding them and their monuments into previous traditions.[63]

Reflections of Abydos in Kush and Thebes

The familiarity and involvement of the Kushite rulers, their officials, priests, architects, and artists with the site of Abydos and its monuments left clear traces in the building activity in Kush. The much-debated form of the underground rooms of the pyramid of Taharqa at Nuri can only be explained with a high degree of knowledge of the Osireion at Abydos.[64] It is noteworthy that the pyramid of Taharqa is not the only monument of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty recalling the Osirian sanctuary at the rear of the Seti I complex. Eigner already stressed in 1984 the reflections of the Abydene monument in certain sets of rooms within the subterranean structures of the Theban temple-tombs in the Asasif,[65] for example, in the tomb of Montuemhat (TT 34) who also had close relations with the Kushite court.[66] Thanks to two rock inscriptions at Abydos, a visit by Montuemhat to the site is attested and it is safe to assume that he was not only familiar with the tomb of Osiris at Umm el-Qaab and the respective ritual activities, but also with the older still standing monuments like the temple of Seti I and the Osireion.[67]

Thanks to recent work of the South Asasif Conservation Project, there is another architectural link between Thebes and Kush: the shrine niches (or *pr-nw* chapels) in the *Lichthof* of TT 223 find a close parallel in the niches in Taharqa's tomb and especially along the lateral walls of later Napatan kings such as the tombs of Senkamanisken[68] and Aspelta.[69] It is no coincidence that the latter yielded one of the rare Napatan stone sarcophagi in the shape of a *ḳrsw*-coffin,[70] which frequently display shrines with protective deities on their lateral sides.[71] The link between the South Asasif and Nuri is therefore also a functional one: both tomb architecture and coffins focus on the resurrection of the deceased as Osiris.[72]

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[59] EFFLAND, BUDKA, EFFLAND, *MDAIK* 66 (2010), 82–3, fig. 52; EFFLAND, EFFLAND, *MOSAIKjournal* 1 (2010), 137–9.
[60] BUDKA, *Sokar* 29 (2014), 60; EFFLAND, EFFLAND, *Abydos*, 78, figs. 1–2.
[61] BUDKA, *MDAIK* 66 (2010), 60–1 with references.
[62] See BUDKA, *MDAIK* 66 (2010), 60; BUDKA, *Sokar* 29 (2014), 63, with further references. See also MASSON, in ASTON *et al.* (eds.), *Under the Potter's Tree*, 645–77.
[63] BUDKA, in JURMAN, ASTON, BADER (eds.), *"You Had Better Look Twice"*, in press. See also LOHWASSER, BECKER, BLÖBAUM in this volume.
[64] KENDALL, in GODLEWSKI, ŁAJTAR (eds), *Between the Cataracts*, 117–47.
[65] EIGNER, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten*, 163–83; see also BUDKA, *Bestattungsbrauchtum*, 71, 78.
[66] See BUDKA, *Bestattungsbrauchtum*, 65, with further references in n. 346. Also remarkable is the 'Osirian monumental tomb' section of TT 33, see here most recently TRAUNECKER, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium BC*, 217–21.
[67] See EFFLAND, EFFLAND, *Abydos*, 81.
[68] DUNHAM, *Nuri*, Nu. 3, chamber C, pls. 16–17; cf. PISCHIKOVA, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 61, n. 80.
[69] DUNHAM, *Nuri*, Nu. 8, chamber C, pls. 30–33.
[70] DUNHAM, *Nuri*, Nu. 8, figs. 57–68.
[71] For the appearance of *pr-nw* chapels on *ḳrsw*-coffins (an innovation of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty), see EIGNER, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis: New Discoveries*, 78–81.
[72] BUDKA, in JURMAN, ASTON, BADER (eds.), *"You Had Better Look Twice"*, in press. Note that also the burial chambers in Nuri which are equipped with shrines on their lateral sides represent models of *ḳrsw*-coffins with barrel vaults, see DUNHAM, *Nuri*, Nu. 3, fig. 26 and Nu. 8, fig. 52.

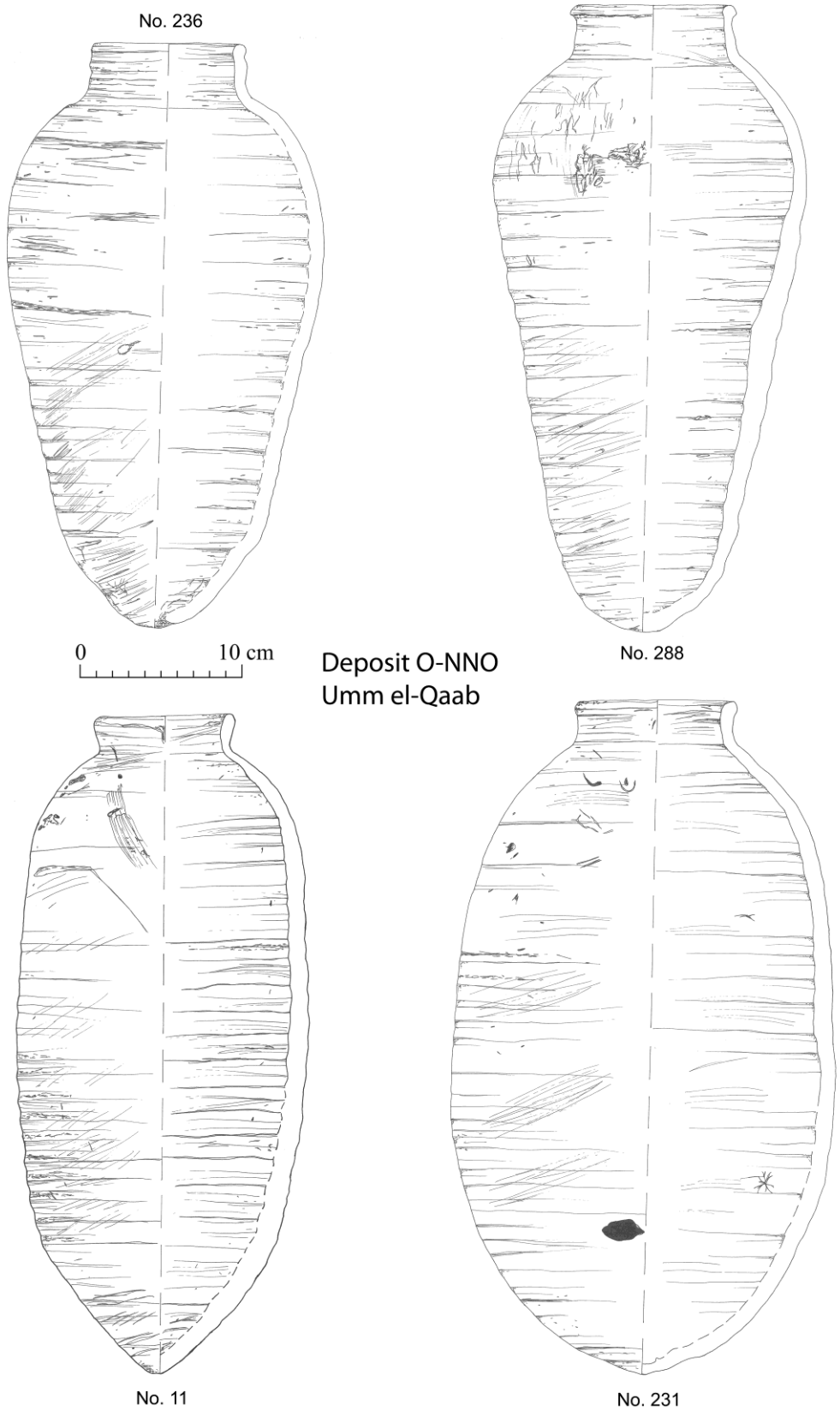


Fig. 8: Late Period bottles from deposit O-NNO, Umm el-Qaab. Scale 1:4 (© DAI Osiriskultprojekt, Julia Budka)

Summary

This paper has aimed to illustrate that pottery can add important aspects to the picture derived from monuments, art, and texts. Strong links between Thebes, Abydos, and Kush have already been noted earlier, but matches within ritual practices connected with pottery as well as technological innovations in ceramics in both Egypt and Kush allow connecting these parallels with people. As much as the knowledge of funerary texts, representation, and architecture can also be explained by the use of 'pattern books' and 'master copies',[73] drinking vessels, cooking pots, and also *qaabs* seem directly related to specific persons—persons who brought Nubian tradition to Egypt, and who transferred Egyptian tradition to Kush.[74] Although the complete pattern of this exchange of ideas, technology and objects still requires further research, I would suggest identifying Abydos and Osiris as the key factors, both for Kushites in Thebes/Egypt and for Kushites in Kush.[75] The site of Abydos and the god Osiris fulfil the requirements for the legitimation of the Kushite kingship, especially because of the strong links to Thebes and Amun.[76]

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[73] See, e.g., EIGNER, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis: New Discoveries*, 81.
[74] See also BUDKA, in NEUNERT, GABLER, VERBOVSEK (eds.), *Sozialisationen*, 45–55.
[75] See BUDKA, *GM* 232 (2012), 29–51.
[76] BUDKA, in JURMAN, ASTON, BADER (eds.), *"You Had Better Look Twice"*, in press. See also LOHWASSER, BECKER, BLÖBAUM in this volume.

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PART G:

RELIGION AND CULTS



Fig. G-1: Outer anthropoid coffin of the *ḥm-nṯr* priest of Montu Padiamonet (photo: Cynthia May Sheikholeslami)

Montu Priests in Third Intermediate Period Thebes

Cynthia May Sheikholeslami

Abstract

Drawing primarily on prosopographical data from statuary and funerary equipment, this paper explores the combinations of offices held by different priests of Montu in Third Intermediate Period Thebes in order to better understand the nature of the cultic and ritual milieu in which they functioned as well as the heredity of offices in Theban extended families. An ancestor in one Montu priestly family is the last known Viceroy of Kush before the Kushites are established in Thebes, and the connection perhaps helps explain the prominence of Montu priest families in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. The discussion is preceded by a review of the Theban monuments of Montu from the earliest attestations to the end of the Third Intermediate Period to provide additional context for understanding the priests' roles in society.

Introduction

The god Montu was known as the god of the fourth Upper Egyptian nome *w3st* (Thebes) from at least the Eleventh Dynasty until Roman times. Once the cult of Amun was established at Karnak and Amun-Re became the imperial deity in the New Kingdom, the cult of Montu tended to be eclipsed in the surviving archaeological record of the period at Karnak, as well as in the eyes of Egyptologists, yet it never disappeared. Montu remained the head of the ennead of Karnak, Amun-Re's major temple complex. Three of his four major Middle Kingdom cult centres endured in their original locations (the fourth was eventually transferred from the west to the east bank). All were extensively rebuilt in the Ptolemaic Period.

The cult and priesthood of Montu to the end of the New Kingdom and the theology of Montu in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods have been previously studied.[1] This paper briefly explores some of the combinations of offices held by different priests of Montu in the Third Intermediate Period in the *niwt* of Thebes (the city that developed around Karnak) in order to better understand the nature of the cultic and ritual milieu in which they functioned as well as the heredity of offices in Theban extended families. Montu and his priests become especially prominent with more elite status in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. This may be due in part to the archaising trend of the period and the inclusion of Montu as the legitimator of the king, a role that was particularly prominent in the Middle Kingdom, as well as to the fact that an ancestor in one of the Montu priestly families was the last known viceroy of Kush before the Kushites were established as rulers in Thebes under Kashta and Piankhy, eventually being recognised throughout most of Egypt as the Twenty-fifth Dynasty of Manetho.[2]

Montu of Thebes

Before discussing the Third Intermediate Period material relating to the cult and priests of Montu in more detail, it is useful to provide some background (necessarily simplified) about Montu and his monuments in

[1] WERNER, *Montu*. Recently, in more detail, one may refer to the following studies: RELATS MONTSERRAT, *Fouilles*, with closer examination of the archaeological evidence for Medamud; PAYRAUDEAU, *Administration*, discusses a selection of families related to the priesthood of Montu during the Libyan Period. The unpublished thesis of FORTIER, *Recherches*, deals with the post-Saite Period, with a focus on theology rather than personnel; AUFRÈRE, *Propylône*, discussed the North Karnak gate; SAMBIN, in Thiers (ed.), *Documents*, 273–94, provides more detail on the theology at Medamud under the Ptolemies; ZIVIE-COCHE, in THIERS (ed.), *Documents*, I, 167–225; II, 227–84; III, 327–97, has examined the role of Montu in the cult of Djeme; KLOTZ, *Caesar*, 147–67, studied the cults of Montu in Roman Thebes. The author is preparing a monograph on the cult and priesthood of Montu in Thebes during the Third Intermediate Period, especially during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.

[2] For recent discussion of the chronology of the Kushite rulers, see JURMAN, *JEH* 10 (2017), 124–51; PAYRAUDEAU, *NeHeT* 1 (2015), 115–27.

Thebes from the earliest times until the end of the New Kingdom to provide context for the emphasis on the god and his cult in the Twenty-second to Twenty-fifth Dynasties.[3] The theology of Montu was greatly elaborated in the Ptolemaic and Roman monuments in Thebes, although it may reflect beliefs already current in earlier periods.

The Egyptian god Montu, an anthropomorphic falcon-headed solar deity, has a headdress of a solar disc with two *uraei* in front and double feathers behind, and frequently wears a leather corselet imitating feathers as armour. Montu the lord of Thebes (*nb wꜣst*, written with either the town or the nome determinative) is the 'falcon (*bik*) or Horus of Thebes', agriculturally the wealthiest district in southern Egypt. His sacred animal is the bull,[4] perhaps why he is paired with the cow-goddess Hathor in royal ritual. Montu *nb ỉwnw* (Armant) and Hathor *nbt ỉwnt* (Gebelein,[5] Dendera) may also represent two Upper Egyptian cults centred around pillars (*ỉwn*) as well as counterparts to the Lower Egyptian *ỉwnw* (Heliopolis). Montu's partners are the goddesses Tjanenet and Iunyt. Tjanenet (the meaning of whose name is unknown) appears first at Tod and then at Armant with Iunyt (whose name means 'She of the *ỉwnw*-pillar [Armant]') in the Eleventh Dynasty, with both goddesses being closely linked with Montu at these two temple sites throughout their history. Both goddesses have anthropomorphic form and may have a cow horns with sun disk headdress (typically the headdress associated with Hathor, who is connected to the temple at Medamud, and whose cult was early established at Gebelein[6] as well as at Dendera and who probably had a shrine on the west bank at Thebes by the end of the Old Kingdom[7]), and sometimes wear feathered dresses. In the New Kingdom, Tjanenet also has a unique headdress based on the hieroglyphic sign for the uterus of a cow, while Iunyt may appear without any headdress. In the great college (ennead) of deities at Karnak, which is headed by Montu, Tjanenet and Iunyt appear in the company of the crocodile god Sobek, whose Upper Egyptian cult centre was at Sumenu, 14 km south of Armant.[8] Raettawy (whose name means 'the female Re of the Two Lands', originating in an epithet of Hatshepsut as the daughter of the sun god Re at Deir el-Bahari), appears as Montu's consort in the New Kingdom, particularly at Karnak, and she is later known as the mother of a child deity Hor-pa-Re (Harpre), whose chapel was constructed next to the Montu Temple at North Karnak in the Twenty-first Dynasty. Like Montu's other partners, she regularly wears a cow horns with sun disk headdress (which is later used at times for most female deities).

While Montu is attested in both Lower Egypt (in the funerary temple of Pepi II) and Thebes (in a tomb inscription[9]) at the end of the Sixth Dynasty (but without any surviving temples or shrines), the first certain evidence of his cult in the Theban nome dates to the Eleventh Dynasty, and his name appears in the throne name of three of its kings: Montuhotep. Montu's cult installations apparently marked the borders of the province of Thebes, at the points where the flood plain of the Nile narrows, as well as its centre. Three of these cult installations (at which he continued to be the main deity during all pre-Christian periods of Egyptian history) at Armant (*ỉwnw* or *ỉwnw šmʿw*, most likely the first of the sites in the Theban nome where Montu was established) and Tod (*ḏrty*), across the Nile from each other on the west and east banks respec-

[3] See n. 1 above for the sources on which this discussion is primarily, but not exclusively, based. Additional details will be provided in the author's study in preparation.

[4] GOLDBRUNNER, *Buchis*, with additional comments on the distinction between the bulls of Medamud and Armant under the Ptolemies in NIVET-SAMBIN, *Kyphi* 7 (2015), 177–81.

[5] MORENZ, *Zeit der Regionen*, 86. MORENZ, in PREYS (ed.), *Tempeltagung*, 206 points also to a play on words with the *ỉwn*-calf at Gebelein.

[6] See MORENZ, in PREYS (ed.), *Tempeltagung*, esp. 194; MORENZ, *Zeit der Regionen*, 69–78.

[7] ARNOLD, in OPPENHEIM, GOELET JR. (eds.), *The Art and Culture*, 59–60.

[8] BETRÒ, in PERNIGOTTI, ZECCHI (eds.), *Il coccodrillo*, 91–102.

[9] SALEH, *Three Old-Kingdom Tombs*. The burial preceded the construction of the complex of Nebhepetre Montuhotep, so perhaps there was a shrine where Montu was worshipped nearby (although there is no evidence that the Middle Kingdom structure below the Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu sometimes identified as a Montu Temple was dedicated to the god).

tively, near the southern boundary of the Theban nome (*w3st*), and Medamud (*m3dw*), near the northern boundary of the nome, were already established in the Eleventh Dynasty.[10] Temples of Montu (also known in the form Montu-Re from the Eleventh Dynasty on) were built at Armant (where Late and Roman Period cemeteries for the bull and its cow-mother were found), Tod and Medamud (with a Late Period oracle of the bull). The fourth centre, where Montu's cult was probably combined with the royal mortuary cult of Nebhepetre Montuhotep from the Eleventh Dynasty until at least the end of the Middle Kingdom, was on the west bank at Thebes, where the foundation plaques attest that the mortuary complex of Nebhepetre Montuhotep in the valley (*t3 int*) was dedicated to Montu and Montu-Re. It probably incorporated an earlier shrine dedicated to Hathor.[11] The Eleventh Dynasty 'nest' of the 'falcon (of Thebes)' on the mountain peak across the Nile on the axis of the Medamud temple with a vista over the entire Theban nome (a sort of counterpart to Hathor's hilltop chapel at Gebelein, constructed by Nebhepetre Montuhotep[12]) was built by his successor, Sankhkare Montuhotep, perhaps on the site of an earlier monument.[13]

From at least the late Old Kingdom, the valley (*t3 int*) where Nebhepetre built his mortuary complex probably had a grotto-shrine dedicated to Hathor *nbt iwnt* (Gebelein, Dendera) at the base of the cliffs at its western end, similar to the one at the western end of the Valley of the Queens popular in the New Kingdom,[14] and a priest and priestesses of Hathor *nbt iwnt* had been buried there.[15] At Gebelein, Nebhepetre Montuhotep repeatedly styled himself the son of Hathor *nbt iwnt*, with various gods, including Montu, as his father.[16] The valley was later dominated by the Deir el-Bahari temples of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, dedicated to Amun-Re (like all the New Kingdom royal mortuary complexes on the west bank), yet each provided with a Hathor chapel. Hathor's grotto was eventually enclosed in the shrine featuring Amun-Re that was added to the rear of the complex of Nebhepetre Montuhotep (probably in the early Eighteenth Dynasty[17]

[10] It is perhaps not coincidental that the 'white sands', which later play an important role in the mythology and ritual of Tod, are a natural phenomenon striking in the surrounding landscape, and that the 'temple primitif' at Medamud seems to have been constructed on sand (personal communication with Félix Relats Montserrat), perhaps an indication of an island. *Cf.* BORAIK, GABOLDE, GRAHAM in WILLENS, DAHMS (eds.), *The Nile*, 97–144; GABOLDE, *BSFE* 186–7 (2013), 13–35, for a discussion of an island as the original site of the temple of Amun at Karnak.

[11] ARNOLD, *Der Tempel*; ARNOLD, in OPPENHEIM, GOELET JR. (eds.), *The Art and Culture*, 59–68. At the rear of the western end of the shrine of Nebhepetre Montuhotep there was probably originally a grotto sacred to Hathor, similar to the one at the western end of the Valley of the Queens (DESROCHES NOBLECOURT, *Grande Nubiade*, 485–97) where water dripping down following rainstorms was likened to the milk from the udder of the cow goddess that the king suckled to imbibe his divinity from his mother, as Nebhepetre Montuhotep does in a relief in the Kestner Museum (Inv. Nr.: 1935.200.82) and (with the goddess in human form) in his Dendera chapel, and as shown in the statue from the Hathor shrine of Thutmose III, which Arnold suggests replaced the earlier Hathor shrine.

[12] See MORENZ, in PREYS (ed.), *Tempeltagung*, esp. 197, and FIORE MAROCHETTI, *Reliefs*, who notes (p. 21) another Golden Horus name used by Nebhepetre Montuhotep in the chapel he built there (*nṯrw rswt*).

[13] Pre-Eleventh Dynasty remains were also discovered on the site (*cf.* VÖRÖS, *Temple*) so the sacred landscape of the Theban nome may already have been demarcated by shrines of Hathor atop the hills at Gebelein and the falcon (Montu) on the *Thotberg* peak in the Archaic Period. GABOLDE, *Kyphi* 4 (2005), 38–9, has proposed that the *Thotberg* was the original cult centre of Montu in the Theban nome, although the latter may have been too difficult of access for regular ritual activities.

[14] DESROCHES NOBLECOURT, *Grande Nubiade*, 485–97. On grottos as sanctuaries for Hathor, *cf.* PINCH, *Votive*, 3–77. For a recent interpretation of BM EA 278, see RONDOT, *Kyphi* 7 (2015), 190–9.

[15] SALEH, *Three Old-Kingdom Tombs*. The burials of the priestesses of Hathor and their chapels preceded the construction of the complex of Nebhepetre Montuhotep, which was built around them, *cf.* ARNOLD, *Der Tempel*; ARNOLD, in OPPENHEIM, GOELET JR. (eds.), *The Art and Culture*, 59–68.

[16] MORENZ, in FITZENREITER (ed.), *Genealogie*, 116. For the titulary of Nebhepetre Montuhotep, see POSTEL, *Protocole*, 319–60.

[17] ARNOLD, *Der Tempel*; ARNOLD, in OPPENHEIM, GOELET JR. (eds.), *The Art and Culture*, 59–68, attributes the construction of this shrine to Nebhepetre Montuhotep, but the relief style is comparable to early Eighteenth Dynasty work, and it seems instead, given the likelihood that Amun's annual procession to the west bank, the Feast of the Valley, was not initiated before the Eighteenth Dynasty (DOLIŃSKA, in HARING, KLUG (eds.), *Tempeltagung*, 67–82), and the involvement of the priesthood of Amun with the elevation of Thutmose III to the throne, that it was intended to

as part of a programme to include the west bank in Amun's domain when he was elevated to the position of state god of Egypt).[18] Nebhepetre Montuhotep, re-uniter of Egypt in the Eleventh Dynasty, was idolised in Thebes as the quintessential royal ancestor.[19]

The archaeology of structures dedicated to Montu on the east bank at North Karnak is difficult to understand due to the frequent destruction and rebuilding at the site from the New Kingdom to the Ptolemaic Period.[20] In the later Eighteenth Dynasty, Amenhotep III built a temple at North Karnak called *ḫ ꜥ-m-mɜꜥt*, said to be dedicated only to Amun,[21] probably in connection with his jubilee festival and as a Theban counterpart to his Soleb temple. In the foundations are reused blocks perhaps from a processional way-station dedicated to Montu by Amenhotep II, the original location of which is unknown but was probably nearby.[22] This way-station may have been used for a barque of Montu coming in procession to Karnak from Medamud. One may note that a block of Amenhotep II probably from this way-station naming 'Montu the bull…' was reused (perhaps as a post-Amarna repair) in the foundations of Amenhotep III's temple on the axis of the sanctuary above it, which was apparently dedicated to Amun.[23] There seems to have been some earlier (Eighteenth Dynasty) building dedicated to Montu in the North Karnak vicinity.

Material found during the excavation of the Treasury of Thutmose I and its ruins east of what is now the North Karnak precinct provides evidence of Montu and a temple dedicated to him in the area in the Eighteenth Dynasty both before and during the reign of Amenhotep III.[24] A lintel of Thutmose IV describes the king as beloved of Montu. A mid-Eighteenth Dynasty stela represents Montu *nb wɜst* (with nome determinative)[25] *ḥry-ib mɜdw* (Medamud, with city determinative), while other stelae of the same date were dedicated to Montu *nb wɜst* (city determinative) and Montu *nṯr ꜥɜ* (the great god), and a statue fragment of Renenutet holding a child mentions Montu *nb wɜst* (city determinative) and has a *ḥtp-di-nswt* (to) Renenutet of a temple of Montu. The *ḥtp-di-nswt* to Montu *nb wɜst* (city determinative) on the statue of a *sm*-priest provided him with offerings coming from the god's *wḏḥw*-altar. A naophorous statue with an image of Montu *nb wɜst* (city determinative) as a falcon and cartouches a of Amenhotep III found during the excavation of the Treasury of Thutmose I east of the Amenhotep III temple was dedicated by the high priest of Montu *nb wɜst* (city deter-

introduce Amun in place of Montu in the royal cult in the valley of Nebhepetre Montuhotep in the early Eighteenth Dynasty, alongside Hathor.

[18] For recent discussions of innovations during the reign of Hatshepsut, see GALAN, BRYAN, DORMAN (eds.), *Creativity*, especially BICKEL on the positioning of Hatshepsut and Amun at the centre of the cosmos and the establishment of Amun as the supreme deity and divine partner in kingship, and GABOLDE, LABOURY on the architectural and iconographic expression of Hatshepsut's ideology.

[19] See MORENZ, in FITZENREITER (ed.), *Genealogie*, for the 'invention' of the Montuhotep tradition, and GOYON, in THIERS (ed.) *Documents*, 33–93, for the role of Montu in the confirmation of royal power.

[20] In general, see BARGUET, LECLANT, *Karnak Nord* IV.

[21] GABOLDE, RONDOT, *BSFE* 136 (1996), 27–41.

[22] VAN SICLEN, *BIFAO* 86 (1986), 353–9. Three boats decorated with images of the four Montus of Armant, Tod, Thebes, and Medamud were part of the burial equipment of Amenhotep II discovered in his tomb (KV 35) in the Valley of the Kings: WERNER, *JARCE* 23 (1986), 107–23. Gabolde (personal communication) claims the block naming Montu was placed under the sanctuary during a Ptolemaic repair.

[23] Van Siclen (personal communication); GABOLDE, RONDOT, *BSFE* 136 (1996), 27–41; Gabolde (personal communication) dates the repair to the Kushite Period.

[24] See JACQUET-GORDON, *Karnak Nord* VIII, cat. nrs. 3, 14, 64, 69, 128, 135, 137, 138, 143, 145, 267, 323, 324.

[25] When Montu is referred to as *nb wɜst* with the nome determinative, he seems to be designated as the god of the entire Theban nome; when he is *nb wɜst* with the city determinative, it is not clear whether he should be the form of the god of Thebes proper (*niwt*) at the centre of the nome on the west bank or at Karnak, or the entire nome. Compare the foundation plaques from Nebhepetre Montuhotep's Eleventh Dynasty monument (New York, MMA 22.3.77 [Montu] and 22.3.79 [Montu-Re]), the Twelfth Dynasty lintel of Senwosret III (Louvre E13983, Montu), and doorjambs (Karnak Open Air Museum, *nb wɜst, kɜ ḥry-ib mɜdw* 'lord of Thebes, bull who is in Medamud') from Medamud all with the nome sign, and Montu *bik wɜst* (falcon of Thebes, city determinative) on the White Chapel of Senwosret I. Sometimes both designations appear on the same object, for example, in the *ḥm-nṯr mnṯw nb wɜst* title of Besenmut (ii) on the stela Cairo A9919 (Twenty-fifth Dynasty).

minative) Amenemope, indicating a hierarchy of priests of Montu existed under Amenhotep III. Two stelae dated to the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty were dedicated by fourth *ḥm-nṯr* priests of Montu. A pair of Eighteenth Dynasty door jambs refer to Montu-Re *nswt-nṯrw, nṯr smsw n pȝ tpty* (king of the gods, the eldest god of the primeval time) and the *imy-r ḥbsw* (overseer of accounts) in the temple of Montu (an association of the treasury and Montu also found during the Third Intermediate Period). On parts of Eighteenth Dynasty column drums (all perhaps from the same structure) Montu *ḥry-ib wȝst* (city determinative) is mentioned on one side and the royal *kȝ* on another, and Amun (name not erased) and *ḥḳȝ wȝst* on others. This makes one question whether the *ḥꜥ-m-mȝꜥt* temple of Amenhotep III was dedicated exclusively to Amun. Some of the epithets of Montu are better known with Amun, an indication that the two deities were perhaps accorded an equivalent status in Eighteenth Dynasty Thebes (and already in the Twelfth Dynasty at Medamud and Armant),[26] as later seen on the Ptolemaic gateway to the North Karnak precinct as well.

The Amarna Period erasures of the names and figures of Amun in the temple of Amenhotep III were restored by Tutankhamun and Horemheb. A doorjamb of Horemheb reused by Ramesses II found in the temple of Hor-pa-Re states that the king is beloved of Montu, *nb wȝst* (with both city and nome determinatives) *ḥry-ib iwnw* (Armant). A stela fragment of Seti I from the court of the Amenhotep III temple mentions making a monument for his father Montu, and Ramesses II had a relief carved there. Column bases with the name of Merenptah had a dedication to Montu. Sometime after the reign of Seti II, the North Karnak temple of Amenhotep III partly collapsed.[27] A statue of Ramesses IV with the falcon-headed Montu came from the foundations of the Ptolemaic portico.

In the Twenty-first Dynasty, Pinedjem I recarved two columns of the peristyle framing the door of the North Karnak temple. On the Bubastite Portal at Karnak, Sheshonq I, founder of the Twenty-second Dynasty, is shown receiving life from Montu-Re *nb wȝst* (city determinative), years of rule from Amun-Re *nb pt nswt nṯrw* (lord of the sky, king of the gods) and being suckled by Hathor *ḥry-ib wȝst* (nome and city determinatives).[28] During the Twenty-second Dynasty, a temple (probably the North Karnak structure) dedicated to Montu was endowed and its personnel provisioned by the high priest Osorkon,[29] and the high priest of Amun Nimlot inscribed a door mentioning Montu in the reign of Osorkon II.[30] The ruler of Heracleopolis Peftjauawybastet married one of his daughters into a high-ranking family of priests of Amun and of Montu in order to strengthen his ties to Kushite Thebes.[31] In his year 2 Nile level inscription on the quay at Karnak, Shabaqo is stated to be both 'beloved of Amun-Re lord of the thrones of the two lands' and 'beloved of Montu-Re lord of Thebes.'[32] During the reign of Taharqo in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, the North Karnak

[26] Montu has the epithets *nswt nṯrw* and *nswt tȝwy* at Medamud and *nb tȝwy* at Armant in the Twelfth Dynasty (see RELATS MONTSERRAT, *Fouilles*, 461–2, table 4.17). On a Senwosret I pectoral, (Montu) the griffin is falcon-headed, whereas on an Amenhotep II boat from KV 35 (CCG 4944; DARESSY, *Fouilles*; HORNUNG, BRYAN, *Quest*, cat. 1) one griffin labelled Amun-Re *nb pt* (prow L) is ram-headed and the ones labelled either Montu-Re *nb pt* (prow R) and Montu *nb iwny* (stern R) and Montu-Re *nb pt* (stern L) are falcon-headed (falcon and ram heads are shown side by side on top of shrines alongside the Eye of Re on the two sides of the prow). On the stern of the Amenhotep II boat, Montu-Re *nb mȝdw*, Montu *ḥry-ib wȝst* (city determinative), and Montu *nb ḏrty* (R) and Montu-Re *nswt-nṯrw, nb pt*, *ḥḳȝ wȝst*, Montu *nb iwnw*, and Montu *nb mȝdw* (L) are all falcon-headed anthropomorphic deities. On another boat from KV 35 (CCG 4945; DARESSY, *Fouilles*), the falcon-headed figures are Montu *nb wȝst* (no determinative), *nb mȝdw*, *nb iwny*, and *nb ḏrty*. On an Amenhotep II doorjamb from Medamud and in the Eighteenth Dynasty at Tod, Montu-Re is also styled *nswt nṯrw* (see RELATS MONTSERRAT, *Fouilles*, table 6.8). On a wooden shield from his tomb, Tutankhamun is a human-headed griffin 'strong like Montu *ḥry-ib wȝst*', and a human-headed griffin on Tutankhamun's painted box is shown with the label *nṯr nfr, stp n rꜥ, nb ḫpš* (a well-known epithet of Montu), or *nṯr nfr, sȝ imn*.

[27] GABOLDE, RONDOT, *BIFAO* 93 (1993), 245–64.

[28] EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY, *Reliefs*, pl. 10.

[29] CAMINOS, *Chronicle*, 54–5, 66, 78, 126, 135–6, 143 (benefactions in year 11 of Takelot II and from year 22 to year 28 of Sheshonq III). Unfortunately, the text is particularly damaged in the sections relating to Montu's temple.

[30] JW*IS* II, 119 [18.30a], 478 [18.30a].

[31] MEFFRE, in BECKER, BLÖBAUM, LOHWASSER (eds.), *Prayer and Power*, 55–6.

[32] See the photograph of the text in JURMAN, *JEH* 10 (2017), 124–51, fig. 2, and the author's comments on the layout.

temple dedicated to Montu was renewed under the supervision of the fourth *ḥm-nṯr* Priest of Amun and mayor of Thebes Montuemhat, with a portico like those at the east and west entrances to Karnak.[33] Montuemhat seems to have rebuilt the temple of the 'bull of Medamud' as well. 'Followers of Montu' are mentioned in the tomb of Padiamenope (TT 33), whose maternal family was from Armant, cult centre of Montu; one cousin was a priest of Montu lord of Thebes, another a priest of Montu lord of Armant. Padiamenope, whose *flourit* was mainly in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, was also 'priest of the two diadems', a title linked to the priesthood of Montu.[34]

Thus, it seems that during the First Millennium BC, and possibly earlier in the Ramesside Period, the main temple at North Karnak was dedicated to Montu, and that during the earlier Eighteenth Dynasty there was at least a way-station of Montu the bull (of Medamud?) there, and probably a temple of Montu as well. In the later Eighteenth Dynasty, Amenhotep III's jubilee temple *ḫ-m-mꜣt* may have temporarily displaced Montu from North Karnak (if in fact it was dedicated solely to Amun). The importance of the temple and priests of Montu at Karnak increased during the Third Intermediate Period. The two Theban deities seem to have equal status, and are clearly distinct from one another.

In the Ptolemaic Period, when the North Karnak temple as reconstructed under Taharqo was dismantled and then rebuilt with re-used blocks from Amenhotep III's temple, a damaged text from the antechamber of the sanctuary states that Amenhotep III built the temple as his memorial for his father Montu-Re, lord of Thebes, as a new temple. The Ptolemaic gateway to the North Karnak precinct depicts two distinct deities, Montu and Amun.

On the gateway to the small temple at Medinet Habu constructed by Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, Montu is shown participating in the Osirian rites at Djeme on 26 Khoiak, a part of the ancestor cult that also included the Feast of the Decade in which Amenope crossed the Nile from Luxor to Djeme every ten days and annually during the Feast of the Valley to perform libations at the tomb of the ancestor gods beneath the small temple, which was also the destination of processions from Armant. The cult of Djeme was represented as well on the Ptolemaic gateways at Medamud and North Karnak and was the goal of processions from Armant.[35] Homage to the ancestor gods was an important part of the legitimation of the king, as shown by the fact that upon his return from his northern campaign in year 21, Piankhy stopped on the west bank at Thebes to worship them before continuing south to Kush, after having been honoured earlier as a legitimate ruler during the Opet Festival in Luxor Temple on his way north. Both events were recorded on his famous granite stela erected at Gebel Barkal. The chapel of Osiris-ruler-of-eternity and the Edifice of Taharqo by the sacred lake at Karnak are also evidence of the importance of this cult in the Twenty-third and Twenty-fifth Dynasties at Thebes. As we shall see below, it is likely that Montu priests were participating in it during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. A doorway perhaps reused in the small temple came from the tomb of the Lector-priest Padiamenope (TT 33), possibly originally intended to link the rites at the Osirian cenotaph in his tomb (in which the 'followers of Montu' who had access to the tomb may have participated) to the cult at Djeme.[36] Oaths taken at the site in later times probably referred to the shrine dedicated to Montu built into the south side of the gateway to Medinet Habu.

In the late Middle Kingdom and the New Kingdom, Montu, in his warrior aspect (sometimes appearing as a falcon-headed griffin), protected his territory as well as the pharaoh in battle. Nebhepetre Montuhotep was

[33] GABOLDE, RONDOT, *BIFAO* 93 (1993), 245–64; GABOLDE, RONDOT, *BSFE* 136 (1996), 27–41.

[34] The Saite priest Djedkhonsuiwefankh was 'priest of the two diadems' descended from four generations of bearers of this title, some of whom were also priests of Montu; *cf.* TRAUNECKER, *EAO* 51 (2008), 39, n. 111: stela Florence 7632, *cf.* JW*IS* IV, 1069–70 [60.580].

[35] The theology of the cult of Djeme has recently been analysed by ZIVIE-COCHE, in THIERS (ed.), *Documents*, I, 167–225; II, 227–84; III, 327–97. SAMBIN, in THIERS (ed.), *Documents*, 273–94, has studied the Djeme cult at Medamud, the traditional site of legitimation of kings in the Middle Kingdom and under the Ptolemies.

[36] TRAUNECKER, *EAO* 51 (2008), 40.

featured as the ancestor of Theban rulers at the Ramesseum (as he had also been in the Deir el-Bahari temple of Thutmose III and the Karnak king list). The cult of Nebhepetre Montuhotep was revived in the New Kingdom at Deir el-Bahari.[37]

The lunar god Khonsu also takes the guise of Montu at Karnak (falcon-headed with a disk with double plumes, although usually with only a single, not a double, *uraeus*) and in the Qurna temple of Seti I in the New Kingdom, most probably to enable the king as the son of Amun and Mut (and hence identified with Khonsu), legitimised by Montu in Thebes, to be divinised as Re-Horakhty, and to be included in the Theban theology as the son of Amun and Mut, as Khonsu was. Since the Fourth Dynasty, the king had been characterised as the 'son of Re' in the royal titulary, and New Kingdom rulers had 'Strong Bull Appearing in Thebes' as their Horus name, no doubt a reference to Montu.[38] The child god Hor-sema-tawy (Horsomtus), whose name (which means 'Horus-Uniter-of-the-Two-Lands') is perhaps derived from the Horus name of Nebhepetre Montuhotep, can likewise appear with the iconography of Montu at Dendera.[39]

Colossal statues of Amenhotep III as 'Nebmaatre-Montu-of-the-Rulers' at the Tenth Pylon at Karnak and of Ramesses II as 'Usermaatre-Montu-of-the-Two-Lands' at Piramesse (Qantir) in the Delta, representing the king divinised as Montu, were worshipped, at Piramesse particularly by soldiers in the Ramesside army.[40] Nevertheless, as Montu was primarily a deity of the state religion, his cult did not have widespread popular appeal; relatively few statues and stelae of private persons are dedicated to him, even by his priests.

Hatshepsut and especially Thutmose III built at Armant, and Ramesses II was active there as well. A late Eighteenth–early Nineteenth Dynasty statue of the physician Nebamun holding a shrine containing the falcon-headed Montu enthroned on his knees, and a statue of the 'high priest of Montu from Armant' Ramose presenting an altar with two falcon heads (now missing Montu's sun disk and feathers), manifestations of the local god (or perhaps of Montu *nb wꜣst* and Montu *nb ỉwny*) were discovered there in 2013.[41] At Tod, Thutmose III provided a barque shrine on a north-south axis, no doubt used by processions of Montu heading to North Karnak and possibly on to Medamud.

Relatively few priests are attested serving in these Theban temples of Montu before the Ramesside Period (however, the cemeteries of Armant, Tod, and Medamud have not been discovered, and most of the settlement areas surrounding them have never been excavated, and now probably lie mostly under the modern towns). From the Old and Middle Kingdoms and the Eighteenth Dynasty, some two dozen priests of Montu are attested for all of his temples in the Theban nome, but the majority served in Thebes and Armant. In the Ramesside Period, high priests of Montu are documented at Armant,[42] Tod, and Thebes, along with prophets, god's fathers, purifiers, lectors, scribes, craftsmen, treasury officials, and a number of temple songstresses and their superiors. Still, the best documented temple staffs are at Thebes and Armant. A Nineteenth Dynasty temple official served in a temple of Montu in the Delta, probably at Piramesse (Qantir), when Montu along with the Ramesside armies protected the borders of Egypt.

The period of Libyan and Kushite rule was a time when the cult of Montu took on increasing importance, in tune with the archaising trend of the period and the need to legitimise the non-Egyptian rulers of Egypt in the traditional religious capital in the south. Evidence of the priesthood of Montu in Thebes mostly disap-

[37] ARNOLD, in OPPENHEIM, GOELET JR. (eds.), *The Art and Culture*, 59–68.
[38] Horus also may appear as a bull; *cf. LGG* VII, 263, *s.v. kꜣ-nḫt* Functionen: A (d), (f).
[39] See CAUVILLE, *Dendara: Horsomtus.* Nebhepetre Montuhotep's Horus and Two Ladies names in the last part of his reign were changed to *smꜣ-tꜣwy*, to reflect his reunification of the Two Lands of Egypt; in the Eleventh Dynasty, Horsomtus appears both at Gebelein and Dendera (see MORENZ, *Die Zeit*, 98–101).
[40] WERNER, *Montu*, 201–3.
[41] THIERS, *EA* 44 (2014), 37; CNRS, http://www2.cnrs.fr/presse/communique/3327.htm <accessed November 14, 2017>. See below for Nakhtefmut A, a Third Intermediate Period example of personal piety directed to Montu; and TRAUNECKER, *EAO* 51 (2008), on Montu and the 'followers of Montu' in TT 33.
[42] A statue of the high priest of Montu Ramose, contemporary with Ramesses II, was discovered at Armant in 2013. See n. 41 above.

pears during the reign of Psamtik I, probably due to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty king's reorganisation of Theban administration after the installation of his daughter Nitocris as the god's wife of Amun at Thebes, perhaps the final step in his reassertion of control of the entire country under one ruler. A similar phenomenon has been documented at Abydos.[43]

In this period the priests of Montu also controlled important positions in the temple treasury at Karnak.[44] The Twenty-fifth Dynasty priests of Montu also officiated in the cult of Mut as protectors of the Divine Eye. In addition, they had titles related to the cult of Osiris, evidence that the role of Montu in the rituals for the ancestral gods of Thebes at Djeme (probably dating back to at least the Ramesside Period at the small temple of Medinet Habu) during the Osirian rites on 26 Khoiak was used to support the legitimation of the Kushite pharaohs in Thebes.[45] This priestly and theological function became increasingly significant when the Greek Ptolemies and the Romans ruled Egypt, as attested by inscriptions from the monumental pylon gateways built during their reigns at Medamud, North Karnak, and Medinet Habu, and a crypt at Armant. There is no published study of the priests of Montu in the four precincts of Montu in the Theban nome during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, although some priests of Montu are attested in various documents of the time, and building activity continued at the temples into the Roman Period.

Priests of Montu in Third Intermediate Period Thebes

Now let us turn to an overview of Montu priests during the late Twenty-first to Twenty-fifth and early Twenty-sixth dynasties in Thebes and what a few of the titles held by them tell us about their roles in Theban society of the time. About one third of the statues from the Karnak Cachette dating to the Twenty-second to Twenty-fifth Dynasties (no sculpture datable to Twenty-first Dynasty Thebes was recovered from the deposit) relate to priests of Montu, and the majority of these are made out of hard stones, an indication of their affluence in the Karnak milieu of their time. The funerary equipment of the many Twenty-fifth Dynasty priests of Montu who were interred in shaft tombs in the terraces of the Hatshepsut temple at Deir el-Bahari, the most elaborate from the period, also has architectural expression in the decoration of the monumental tombs of elite Theban officials of the Twenty-fifth dynasty, such as Karakhamun and Ramose, showing they had access to elite workshops for the preparation of their coffins. Why was this group of priests so prominent in Thebes during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty? Were they favoured simply because Montu's cult received renewed attention in the archaising tendencies of the time, or did they rise in importance because the Kushite rulers particularly associated themselves with the cult of Montu in Thebes as a means of legitimising their rule, a phenomenon well attested in later times for Ptolemaic rulers in the Theban nome? The significant materiality of these priests is evidence of their high status.

From the Ramesside Period until at least the end of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, the priesthood of Montu tended to be hereditary in certain Theban families. During the Twenty-first Dynasty, there is little evidence for priests of Montu, although most of the documentation for the period is from the cache-tomb at Bab el-Gusus, which for the most part contained burial equipment from lower level members of the male and female staffs of the temple of Amun at Karnak. At the end of the Twenty-first Dynasty, the combination of high-ranking positions in both the Amun and Montu priesthoods at Karnak is embodied by Tjanefer A, who was a fourth and later third *ḥm-nṯr* priest of Amun as well as a *ḥm-nṯr* priest of Montu during the pontificate of his

[43] This was discussed by LEAHY in his unpublished paper "Abydos in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty: local elite and royal court", presented at the Annual Egyptology Colloquium at the British Museum in 2015. Further study of Psamtik I's reforms in Thebes is needed.
[44] SHEIKHOLESLAMI, in BROEKMAN, DEMARÉE, KAPER (eds.), *The Libyan Period*, 361–74.
[45] See ZIVIE-COCHE, in THIERS (ed.), *Documents*, I, 167–225; II, 227–84; III, 327–97. Montu also had an oracle at Djeme.

father-in-law Menkheperre (*c.* 1045 BC).[46] He inherited his position as fourth *ḥm-nṯr* priest of Amun and *ḥm-nṯr* priest of Montu from his father Nespaherenmut.[47] His wife, Gautsoshen, a daughter of the high priest of Amun Menkheperre, was *wrt ḫnrt* of both *ỉmn-rˁ nswt-nṯrw* (*ḥr sȝ 3-nw*) and *mnṯw nb wȝst*.[48] The coffins of Tjanefer and Gautsoshen were the core burial in the innermost chamber of the Bab el-Gusus cache tomb. Tjanefer's son, Menkheperre B, however, only retained his father's position in the priesthood of Amun.[49] The fact that the family of the high priest of Amun could hold important positions in both the cults of Amun and Montu not only shows a lack of friction between these two independent Theban deities, but also no intolerance for the cult of Montu in Thebes.

In the Twenty-second Dynasty, Theban families, some of whom were already established in the southern centre during the Twenty-first Dynasty, obtained control of the positions of second, third, and fourth *ḥm-nṯr* priests of Amun (while the high priest of Amun was a son or other close relative of the reigning pharaoh of Libyan origin), and maintained their control through the Twenty-second and Twenty-third dynasties.[50]

The history and chronology of the Twenty-second/Twenty-third dynasties in Thebes is rather difficult to untangle, and despite recent progress in clarifying it, understanding still requires certain assumptions and interpretations of the evidence may vary. However, at the present state of knowledge, what is relevant to our topic may be summarised as follows:[51]

When Sheshonq I came to the throne of Egypt as the first ruler of the Twenty-second Dynasty, he established a policy of having members of his family in many important positions, including appointing his son Iuput as high priest of Amun. On the west pilaster of the Bubastite Portal on the southern side of the first court at Karnak, the king, in the company of Iuput, is shown being suckled by Hathor *ḥry-ỉb wȝst* (nome and city determinatives), receiving life from Montu-Re *nb wȝst* and jubilees from Amun-Re *nb pt*.[52] The pairing of Montu and Hathor recalls the rites related to the legitimation of the king known from the Middle Kingdom at Medamud and Dendera. Throughout most of the New Kingdom, Montu appears mainly in *bs-nswt* scenes at Karnak and other Theban temples. Montu is, however, absent from the eastern pilaster of the Bubastite Portal in the corresponding scenes for Osorkon I, who was married to Maatkare B, daughter of Psusennes II, the last king of the Twenty-first Dynasty.

Genealogies on later monuments indicate that under Osorkon I, the Nakhtefmut A family was already in possession of the post of fourth *ḥm-nṯr* priest of Amun, which they kept until almost the time it was assumed by Montuemhat (himself descended from a family who were viziers and Montu priests) in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. Beginning with Nakhtefmut A, for the majority of the remainder of the period the office of overseer of the treasury was in the hands of this family. During the same approximately two centuries, ten generations of the Penmaat (ii) family of priests of Montu were deputies of the treasury of Amun and scribes of the treasury of Amun. With the advent of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, control of the post of overseer of the

[46] JW*IS* I, 187–8 [11.13].
[47] JW*IS* I, 75 [6.3].
[48] JW*IS* I, 187 [11.13].
[49] JW*IS* I, 190 [11.18].
[50] BROEKMAN, *JEA* 96 (2010), 125–48. Although BROEKMAN (125–7) argues that the attention to genealogy was a characteristic of Libyan tribal society, he also notes that the first through fourth *ḥm-nṯr* priests of Amun in the Nineteenth and Twentieth dynasties belong to just a few major Theban priestly families, making it clear that inheritance of priestly office had a long tradition in New Kingdom Thebes, and that even in the Twenty-first Dynasty the high priests of Amun intermarried with the Theban families who controlled the second to fourth *ḥm-nṯr* priest positions.
[51] This summary is largely based on PAYRAUDEAU, *Administration*, with somewhat different emphases of the evidence, plus personal observations. See also the historical summary in MEFFRE, *D'Héracléopolis.*
[52] EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY, *Reliefs*, pl. 10.

treasury was in the hands of Hormaat (i), from another branch of the Nakhtefmut A family, who was also a priest of Montu, until Ramose (TT 132) was appointed treasurer by Taharqo.[53]

It seems likely that upon the death of Osorkon I, his immediate successors in Tanis for about the next two decades did not exert much if any control over Thebes. This vacuum opened the way for Harsiese I, who was buried at Medinet Habu next to the tomb of the divine ancestors at Djeme, to claim kingship in Upper Egypt during the first decade of the reign of Osorkon II (or possibly earlier). He was perhaps the grandson of Osorkon I, his father being the high priest of Amun Sheshonq Q, who was also possibly the brother of the god's wife of Amun Karomama G, who held her position at least part of the time Harsiese I was king, reflecting a pattern visible in the early Twenty-second Dynasty for the pharaoh to appoint a son as high priest of Amun and a daughter as god's wife of Amun.[54] Osorkon II seems to have gained control of Thebes by his year 16, and he then appointed as high priest of Amun his son Nimlot C, who was succeeded a few years later by his own son Takelot F/G. Still later in Osorkon II's long reign, another high priest of Amun, Harsiese B, appears in Thebes and is associated with Osorkon II, perhaps when Takelot II (possibly the former Takelot F/G) ascended the throne shortly before the death of Osorkon II.

At Osorkon II's death, Sheshonq III succeeded him in Tanis, while Harsiese B continued as high priest of Amun in Thebes. At first, Takelot II might have been the Upper Egyptian representative of the Tanite ruler, but he soon seems to have asserted his independence and attempted to have his own son, Osorkon B, installed as high priest of Amun. This seems to have provoked Sheshonq III to respond by sending Padibastet I to Thebes as his royal representative alongside the high priest of Amun Harsiese B. From years 11 to 15 of Takelot II's Theban dynasty, Osorkon B (who was residing in Middle Egypt) repeatedly tried to establish himself in place of Harsiese B in Thebes, insisting (perhaps too strongly) on his status as crown prince to support his effort, and at the same time making substantial donations to the Theban temples, including the temple of Montu, as recorded in his inscription on the Bubastite Portal at Karnak. It was not apparently until the death of Takelot II that Sheshonq III finally accepted Osorkon B as high priest of Amun in Thebes, but meanwhile Padibastet I continued to rule with Harsiese B, resulting in a civil war in Thebes. At the same time, Iuput I appeared in Thebes, apparently as a successor to Takelot II, but no high priest of Amun appears to be associated with him. At the end of the reign of Padibastet I, Takelot E was appointed high priest of Amun, and he continued in this position throughout the reign of the successor of Padibastet I in Thebes, Sheshonq VI.

Sheshonq III with the high priest Osorkon outlived both Iuput and Sheshonq VI with Takelot E. The high priest Osorkon B, who had continued making donations to the Theban temples in years 22 and 28–29 of Sheshonq III, made his final donations in year 39, perhaps the king's final year. At this point, when Sheshonq III was succeeded by Sheshonq IV in Tanis, the high priest Osorkon B at last came to the throne as Osorkon III. Among his early acts was removing members of the Theban families who had opposed him during the civil war from office. Two of the most prominent families to be so affected were the families of Nebnetjeru-Neseramun (see below) and Nakhtefmut A (see above and further below).

The Nebnetjeru-Neseramun family combined being *ḥm-nṯr tpy* or *ỉmy-r ḥmw-nṯr* of Montu with the position of *sš šʿt n ʿ rsy/nb tȝwy/nswt/pr ʿȝ* for most of the Twenty-second and Twenty-third Dynasties.[55]

[53] SHEIKHOLESLAMI, in BROEKMAN, DEMARÉE, KAPER (eds.), *The Libyan Period*, esp. 373–4, table 1. Recently the treasury of Shabaqo has been excavated behind the Ptah Temple in the north-eastern sector of Karnak, not far from the temple of Montu and the Treasury of Thutmose I located in the area now east of the building, suggesting at least a long-standing spatial relationship between the treasury and an area known to have connections to Montu.

[54] SHEIKHOLESLAMI, in JURMAN, BADER, ASTON (eds.), *A True Scribe of Abydos*, 422. For a more detailed study of Karomama G and other possible genealogical relationships, see JURMAN, in BECKER, BLÖBAUM, LOHWASSER (eds.), *Prayer and Power*, 61–88.

[55] See PAYRAUDEAU, *Administration*, 145–8 on the family and dating of its members, with references to the dossiers with their titles.

Neseramun (ii) however, lacked the office of royal secretary, but was *ỉmy-r niwt* and vizier; Nebnetjeru (iii) was also *rwḏ ꜥ3* as was Nebnetjeru (i/iv), and Nebnetjru (iii)'s grandson Hor (vii/viii/ix/xi) was *ḫsfˁ n niwt*; all their statue inscriptions contain many epithets showing the very close/intimate connection of the family to the king. They seem to have accumulated priestly offices over time—first as high priest of Montu and *wn ꜥ3wy nw pt m ỉpt swt* (a title frequently associated with Twenty-fifth Dynasty priests of Montu) and then adding *ḥm-nṯr ỉmn* (but only Neseramun (vii) is third *ḥm-nṯr* priest of Amun) and other deities. None of the monuments relating to the Nebnetjeru-Neseramun family pre-date the reign of Osorkon II, since the earlier members of the family are known only from genealogies on later monuments.[56] Probably the family's most important and prominent member was Hor (vii/viii/ix/xi), whose tenure of office began during the reign of Osorkon II and the high priest of Amun Harsiese B, and continued into the reign of Sheshonq III. However, in Thebes, when a civil war broke out between the high priests of Amun, Hor (vii/viii/ix/xi), as the royal secretary, was a supporter of Padibastet I and the high priest of Amun Harsiese B, who are probably to be seen as the representatives of Sheshonq III in Thebes, against Takelot II and the high priest of Amun Osorkon B, whose opponents were the administrative scribes.[57]

From the point of view of the high priest of Amun Osorkon B in his inscriptions on the Bubastite Portal at Karnak, he was the aggrieved party in the conflict who, as the king's eldest son, was being denied his rightful position as high priest of Amun according to the pattern established by Sheshonq I at the beginning of the Twenty-second Dynasty.[58] Scholars have followed the point of view of Osorkon B and seen Padibastet I as the interloper in Thebes. However, it is significant that when the royal secretary Hor (vii/viii/ix/xi) appealed to a god to ensure him a long life and that his heirs would succeed him, he turned to Ptah of Memphis and his priests with his prayer, even though Hor himself was also a *ḥm-nṯr* priest of both Amun and Montu in Karnak.[59] Hor's loyalty was probably to those who appointed him to his post (Osorkon II, continued by Sheshonq III, in the north, the area under the control of the Tanite rulers), rather than to the Theban dynasty Takelot II founded in the south.[60] It is the royal secretary who on his monuments names the high priest of Amun Harsiese B who was supported first by Osorkon II and then by Sheshonq III, lending support to the idea that Sheshonq III may have sent Padibastet I to Thebes to oppose Osorkon B's takeover of the post of high priest of Amun, since Takelot II could not be trusted to represent the Tanite ruler in Thebes. Thus, from the Tanite point of view, Takelot II (although a maternal grandson of Osorkon II and thus a potential successor to this king) was not recognised as the legitimate successor. Instead, Sheshonq III, who apparently buried Osorkon II at Tanis, but whose ancestry is unknown, took over the kingship in Tanis, and continued to support the high priest of Amun Harsiese B, already in office in Thebes under Osorkon II.

One may infer that the priests of Montu were also opponents of Osorkon B's attempt to secure the high priest of Amun position for himself. The royal secretary Hor (vii/viii/ix/xi) was also entitled *ḥm-nṯr* priest of Montu *nb w3st*, and on a block belonging to his son Nebnetjeru (iv) from the Ramessesum (Cairo JE 29248), he is even styled *ỉmy-r ḥmw-nṯr n mntw*, as were his son Nebnetjeru (i/iv) and grandson Hor (xxiv) (Cairo JE 37413, JE 37848) after him. The long-lived grandfather of Hor (vii/viii/ix/xi), Nebnetjeru (iii) was *ỉmy-r ḥmw-nṯr n nṯrw nbw*. The first royal secretary in the family, Nebnetjeru (ii), was *ḥm-nṯr tpy n mnṯw nb w3st* in the reign of Osorkon II (CCG 42225), as was his descendant Nebnetjeru (xi) (Cairo JE 37344), the last known royal secretary of the family at the beginning of the Kushite Period. Unless the titles *ḥm-nṯr tpy n*

[56] JANSEN-WINKELN, *SAK* 27 (1999), 123–39, who points out that most of the known monuments of this family are connected to Hor (vii/viii/ix/xi).
[57] For the details, see PAYRAUDEAU, *Kêmi-Birit Narîn* 1 (2003), 176–80.
[58] For characterisation of the Bubastite Portal text as a Königsnovelle and its focus on Osorkon B as the executor of the will of Amun, as well as on the public record of the donations made to the Karnak temples by Osorkon B, see PERDU, in GRIMAL, BAUD (eds.), *Evénement*, 129–142.
[59] JANSEN-WINKELN, *SAK* 27 (1999), 123–39.
[60] ASTON, *JEA* 75 (1989), 139–53; ASTON, in BROEKMAN, DEMARÉE, KAPER (eds.), *The Libyan Period*, 1–28.

mnṯw and *ỉmy-r ḥmw-nṯr n mnṯw* are equivalent, it would seem the middle generations of the family of royal scribes had a different rank in the priesthood of Montu than the first and last members, perhaps as a result of their loyalty to the Tanite house during the conflict between the high priests of Amun.

This suggestion about the allegiance of priests of Montu is reinforced by the texts on the posthumous statue of the fourth *ḥm-nṯr* priest of Amun Djeddjehutyiwefankh B/Nakhtefmut A found in North Karnak (T35 = Cairo JE 91720) in the deposit created when the temple was renovated during the reign of Taharqo in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.[61] On the front of the statue, dedicated by his grandson, Nakhtefmut A is shown adoring Montu-Re and Raettawy. The text below is Nakhtefmut's prayer to Montu-Re *nb wȝst*, 'the lord of this city, the first name of the Ennead', stating that he has come to his temple in which he made his (Nakhtefmut's) statue 'in order to protect himself … to be sheltered' and to be rewarded with a good old age and the installation of his heirs (as his successors), and a guarantee that he see how his enemies beseech him after the god has effaced them. The reference to seeking protection in the prayer to Montu-Re lord of the Theban nome suggests that Nakhtefmut A, whose mother was a grand-daughter of Sheshonq I, founder of the Twenty-second Dynasty, was among the supporters of the dynasty during this conflict. On his own statues, Nakhtefmut A was also entitled fanbearer on the right of the king, a greatly loved friend (of the king), confidant of the king in Karnak, and the eyes of the king (in Upper Egypt), and on one (CCG 42208, with the cartouches of Osorkon II and Harsiese B) he states he 'served the kings, being spared their rages'. His descendants, who dedicated the statue with the prayer to Montu in the reign of Osorkon III, retained the position of fourth prophet of Amun until it was assumed by Karabasken (TT 391) at the beginning of Kushite rule, and later in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty brought back under Theban control by Montuemhat, whose father Nesptah A was a prophet of Montu. Thus, it appears that the family of fourth *ḥm-nṯr* priests of Amun who also directed the treasury, in which priests of Montu held positions as well, joined the party that opposed the high priest of Amun Osorkon B and supported his rival Harsiese B as loyalists to the Tanite rulers. We can observe, then, a close association between important secular offices linked to the rulers in Tanis and the priesthood of Montu at Karnak throughout the period of Libyan rule during the Twenty-second/Twenty-third Dynasties.

Near the end of the Twenty-third Dynasty, two daughters of Takelot III were married into a Theban family, some of whose burials were discovered in shafts in and in front of the southern chapel of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari. This would appear to be an attempt by Takelot III, whose recognition as a legitimate ruler in Thebes is indicated by the Nile levels on the Karnak quay dated to his reign, to gain the loyalty of a Theban family. Irbastetudjanefu A married the son of the last known viceroy of Kush, the vizier and third *ḥm-nṯr* priest of Amun Pami (ii) (a member of the Iahweben family), and Diesensyt (A) married the grandson of Pami (ii), the vizier Nespaqashuty A. The son Padiamunet (iii) and grandson Nespaqashuty (vi) of the latter couple were both priests of Montu whose Twenty-fifth Dynasty burials were discovered by Baraize in 1933 (now divided between the Luxor Museum and the National Museum of Egyptian Civilization). On the *ḳrsw*-coffin of Padiamunet (iii), the god Montu is given an epithet more typically associated with the god Amun, *nb nswt tȝwy*. This practice may be observed on other monuments of the period naming Montu, indicating the god's importance in Theban theology of the Twenty-third to Twenty-fifth Dynasties. The interior *ḳrsw*-coffin of Nespaqashuty (vi) has texts of the *Stundenritual* that have parallels with those found in the tomb of Karakhamun. From both the genealogical and the cultural point of view, there seems to be a smooth transition between the two dynasties as well as a shift from positions in the cult of Amun to posts in the cult of Montu that are characteristic for some Theban families, perhaps an indication of their support for the new Kushite rulers in Thebes.

[61] BARGUET, LECLANT, *Karnak-Nord* IV, 145–50, figs. 140–5, pls. 31–3, 123–7; JANSEN-WINKELN, in OSING, DREYER (eds.), *Form und Mass*, 238–53.

The area in and around the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari seems to have been favoured by Twenty-fifth Dynasty Montu priests for their burials, perhaps because it adjoined the monument of Nebhepetre Montuhotep and there was still a memory that this structure was originally dedicated to Montu and Montu-Re (see above). An intact shaft tomb discovered by Naville in the northwest sector of the hypostyle hall of the Hathor chapel at Deir el-Bahari contained the Twenty-fifth Dynasty burial equipment of a Montu priest (Djeddjehutyiwefankh, now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) descended from four generations of Montu priests before him, and his mother and another woman who was also descended from a line of Montu priests (Tabakenkhonsu, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). The well-known late Twenty-fifth Dynasty lector priest Padiamenope welcomed followers of Montu into his tomb (TT 33).[62] Ancestors of Montuemhat (TT 34) were also buried in the same area, and a number were also priests of Montu. Many members of one of the most prominent Theban families of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, the Besenmut family, were also buried in this area.[63]

Elements of the iconography of the *ḳrsw*-coffins of the priests of Montu of the period, particularly that of Ankhefenkhonsu (i) (CCG 41001bis), scion of the Besenmut family, are also found in the tomb of Ramose (TT 132), the treasurer of Taharqo,[64] and in the Kushite royal tombs of Qalhata and Tantamani at el-Kurru. These and other iconographic features of the Montu priests' burial equipment are related to the awakening of Osiris in his shrine and the transit of the solar barques,[65] derived from royal sources in Nineteenth Dynasty Abydos.[66] The use of these motifs in both Thebes and Kush is not only an indication of the close ties between the two regions during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, perhaps particularly through the agency of priests of Montu, but also of the adoption of royal funerary iconography in the burial equipment of priests of Montu, a further indication of their elite status at the time.

The prosopographical information from the funerary equipment of priests of Montu buried in and around Deir el-Bahari as well as statues of other priests of Montu recovered from the Karnak Cachette reveals an interesting combination of titles of these priests, in addition to what is generally their most prominent title, *ḥm-nṯr mnṯw*. A great number of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty Montu priests also bear the title *sm3ty w3st*, which led Gauthier to propose that it was an alternate title for 'priest of Montu', a suggestion that was reprised by Jansen-Winkeln at the second Thebes in the First Millennium BC conference in 2016. However, the title *sm3ty* appears in various contexts with different deities; it is not unique to Montu priests. Furthermore, the function of the *sm3ty* is to anoint and adorn a sacred image or emblem.[67] In the case of Thebes in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, *w3st* in the title certainly refers to the large *w3st* emblem that was erected at North Karnak, as shown in one of the Taharqo reliefs from the temple.[68] The excavators at North Karnak also identified the hole in which the emblem was erected. It is not surprising that many *ḥm-nṯr* priests of Montu also had the duty of attending to the *w3st* emblem, but not all Montu priests have this title, and there are other priestly titles that seem to be connected with the cult of the *w3st* emblem at North Karnak.[69]

One of the frequent combinations of *ḥm-nṯr mnṯw nb w3st* is with the title *ḥpt wḏ3t n mwt nbt pt*. This title is related to the return of the Eye of Re (and hence it might better be read as *ḥpt irt n mwt nbt pt*—the word for the Eye is never vocalised) in connection with the legend of the Distant Goddess, who is embodied by

[62] TRAUNECKER, *EAO* 51 (2008), 15–48. See also TRAUNECKER in this volume.
[63] SHEIKHOLESLAMI, in STRUDWICK, TAYLOR (eds.), *Theban Necropolis*, 131–7; the titles and genealogy of the family were studied by KITCHEN, *Third Intermediate Period*; TAYLOR, *CdE* 59 (1984), 27–57; VITTMANN, *Priester*; and recently by BOHNENKÄMPER, in MORENZ, EL HAWARY (eds.), *Weitergabe*, 103–35.
[64] GRECO in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 173–200.
[65] SHEIKHOLESLAMI, in SOUSA (ed.), *Body, Cosmos*, 111–24.
[66] ROBERSON, *Awakening*.
[67] As explained in the Ikhernofret Stela, GUITER, *EAO* 10 (1998), 34–7.
[68] BARGUET, LECLANT, *Karnak-Nord* IV, 21–2, 36, 41, 82, figs. 45, 68–9, pls. 109–10.
[69] The author is preparing a study of the *w3st* emblem at North Karnak and the priests attending it.

Mut on the east bank in Thebes. On the west bank at Thebes, the Eye is Hathor, traditional companion of Montu. The return of the Eye is celebrated at the feast of drunkenness, which was already held at Thebes in the Eighteenth Dynasty, as the texts on a porch of drunkenness of Hatshepsut at the Mut Temple indicate.[70] One of the important descriptions of this festival in the later periods is a hymn to Hathor as Raettawy on the walls of the Ptolemy VIII portico in the temple of Montu at Medamud.[71] The return of the Eye accompanies the annual inundation of the Nile, on which life depends. This cycle represents one of the most important cosmo-geographic myths from ancient Egypt.

Titles traditionally associated with Abydos are also not uncommon among the titles held by priests of Montu during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. The title *ỉmy-ỉs* is a shortened form of a priest at This, *ỉmy-ỉs šw tfnwt*, the deities who are responsible for returning the raging Eye to Egypt from the south, and at Abydos it is commonly associated with the title *ḥsk*, designating a priest of Osiris, occasionally appearing in the titularies of Theban Montu priests as well. The title *ḥpt wḏ3t* may be added to the sequence at Abydos, perhaps related to Isis as the form of the Distant Goddess, accompanied by Shu and Tefnut, who returns to Egypt through the royal wadi.

Another title connected to the inundation that occurs in the titularies of priests of Montu is *ḥnk nwn*, which literally seems to mean 'donor of Nun', the new water of the Nile at the onset of the inundation.[72] A ritual procession to mark the arrival of fresh flood water to replenish the sacred lake was part of the New Year's celebrations during the epagomenal days. The ramp constructed by Taharqo at the entrance to Karnak was intended to provide processional access by the priests carrying the special theriomorphic vessels to the river, whose flood levels were recorded on the nearby quay; recent excavations have revealed additional stairways to give access to the water.[73]

The luminous aspect of Osiris born in the Opet Temple during the epagomenal days is the creator of light *wn* and it thus seems likely that the title *ḥm wn* borne by some priests of Montu refers to their duties serving this form of the god connected to creation, also related to Osiris *wn-nfr* 'the first-born'.[74] It would not be out of character for a solar deity like Montu to be associated with the sunlight to which his companion Hathor is also exposed and united in on New Year's Day.

The cults of Osiris at Karnak increased in importance during the Third Intermediate Period due to the expansion of the role of the Osirian myth in royal ideology.[75] Osiris became the model of the ruler that each pharaoh wished to be identified with.[76] The blocks of Osorkon III discovered in the foundations of the Taharqo kiosk in front of the Khonsu temple reveal that the celebration of the coronation and confirmation of royal power were already associated with the feasts of the full moon, which in later periods Montu presided over and in which the bulls of Montu and Osiris participated.[77] Thus, the involvement of priests of Montu with service in these cults is a further indication that their role was to perform rituals connected with the legitimation of the pharaoh in Thebes, perhaps as necessary for Osorkon III, the former high priest of Amun Osorkon B, as later for the Kushite rulers.

In the Ptolemaic Period, Montu was certainly connected with the tomb of the ancestor gods at Djeme. On the gateway of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II leading to the small temple at Medinet Habu, beneath which the

[70] BRYAN, in GALÁN, BRYAN, DORMAN (eds.), *Creativity and Innovation*, 33–48.
[71] DARNELL, *SAK* 22 (1995), 47–94.
[72] COULON, in COULON (ed.), *La cachette*, 527–30; COULON, in ESTIENNE, HUET, LISSARAGUE, PROST (eds.), *Figures*, 295–318.
[73] GABOLDE, BORAIK, GRAHAM, in WILLEMS, DAHMS (eds.), *The Nile*, 108–11, 115–21, 129–30, 132–3; TRAUNECKER, *BIFAO* 72 (1972), 195–236.
[74] COULON, in COULON (ed.), *La cachette*, 529–30, 533; YOYOTTE, *BIFAO* 54 (1954), 102–5.
[75] COULON, GABOLDE, *RdE* 55 (2004), 9.
[76] COULON, in COULON (ed.), *Culte d'Osiris*, 1.
[77] LAROCHE, TRAUNECKER, *CahKarn* 6 (1980), 192–3.

tomb of the ancestors was thought to be located, Montu arrives on 26 Khoiak to perform the rites for the deceased ancestors, as Horus did for his father Osiris. Djeme was thought to be accessed from Karnak through the subterranean chambers of the Edifice of Taharqo. Montu is shown in the company of the Theban triad on the northern exterior wall of this Twenty-fifth Dynasty building. The decade rites at Djeme were associated with the Osirian rites of Khoiak at Karnak at least since the time of Osorkon III, as shown in the scene of the mound of Djeme—the cavern of Nun—in the chapel of Osiris *ḥḳ3-ḏt*.[78] It seems likely that one of the functions of the *ḥm-nṯr* priests of Montu was to perform the appropriate rituals during Khoiak. Recognition by the ancestor gods and performing their rites at the decade feasts was another source of legitimation by the king, as evidenced by Piankhy's stop at the mound of Djeme to be recognised by them on his way back to Kush after his campaign of year 21, as recorded on his Victory Stela. This interpretation is reinforced by the later emphasis on the cult of Djeme in the Ptolemaic gateway to Montu's temple in Medamud, and by the Roman processions from Montu's temple at Armant to Djeme.

The Kushite rulers were anxious to be accepted as pharaohs in the eyes of Egyptians,[79] so it is not surprising that they patronised the relevant cults by supporting the priests who ensured that the theology of kingship was implemented through the ritual practices in the temple. In turn, the priests of Montu achieved an elite status in Thebes under Kushite rule. Few priests of Montu are attested after the installation of Nitocris by Psamtik I, which probably marked the beginning of his reorganisation of Theban cults and their priesthoods. The cult of Montu once more becomes prominent in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods when other foreign rulers sought to rely on the god to secure their legitimacy as rulers of Egypt, and made many additions to Montu's Theban temples.

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[78] See COULON, in BACKES, DIELEMAN (eds.), *Liturgical texts*, 117; COULON, in ESTIENNE, HUET, LISSARAGUE, PROST (eds.), *Figures*, 317 with n. 140 for Osiris born of the water and returning to the water, the *bȝ* of Osiris; TRAUNECKER, *BIFAO* 72 (1972), 195–236.

[79] See the paper by WILDUNG in this volume.

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Relationship between Religion and Politics in First Millennium BC Thebes: A Case Study on the Original Location of the Triumphal Stela of Piankhy

Angelika Lohwasser, Meike Becker, Anke Ilona Blöbaum

Abstract

The project 'The Semantics of Change: Self-Affirmation, Propaganda, and Magic in the Visual Language of Egypt in the Early First Millennium BC', part of the cluster of excellence 'Religion and Politics' (University of Münster), deals with the entanglement between the religious and political sphere in the time from the Twenty-first to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, with a focus on Thebes. The struggle for the political influence by the High Priest of Amun and the royal interference in religious institutions, especially those of the God's Wife of Amun, is the starting point of this investigation. The accumulation of religious and political offices by Montuemhat and his relationship to the Kushites as well as to the Saites is the last step of the project, which aims to analyse the changes of the representation of this specific entanglement.

For the Kushites, the reigns of Piankhy and Taharqo are compared to highlight the evolution of this research question within the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. The purpose of this presentation is to suggest that the Triumphal Stela of Piankhy, found in the Amun temple at Jebel Barkal, was originally composed for erection at Thebes (Karnak?). Only Amun of Karnak, and never Amun of Napata, is mentioned.

Moreover, the detailed description and presentation of the names of towns and peoples, which were not known by the community in Napata, were particularly relevant to the people in the Thebaid, led to this conclusion. The content of the stela deals—aside from its historical narrative—with the mythical legitimation of the Kushite king. This sophisticated explanation of the legitimate, sacred, and mythological claim to the throne of Egypt was installed in Karnak, the centre of religious and political authority at this time.

Introduction

This paper will present a short summary of an investigation on the relationship of religion and politics in the early First Millennium BC at Thebes, treating religion and politics as historically changing social and cultural fields.[1] The relationship between these two phenomena is always the result of varying power structures, conflicts, negotiations, and symbolic constructions. Our premise is that the distinction between religion and politics is not based on some essential difference between them, nor can it historically be taken for granted. On the contrary, the fields of religion and politics are interwoven and have always had blurred rather than fixed boundaries.

The investigation focuses on the political and religious centre of the early First Millennium BC in Egypt, the city and region of Thebes, and includes textual, pictorial, art historical, and architectural sources. The three parts of the project cover the Twenty-second Dynasty until the transitional phase to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. The case studies deal with the High Priests of Amun in the Twenty-second Dynasty, the Theban activities and representations of the Nubian kings Piankhy and Taharqo in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty as well as with the influential personality of Montuemhat in the Twenty-fifth–Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

[1] This project, undertaken by Meike Becker, Anke Ilona Blöbaum, and Angelika Lohwasser, was part of the Cluster of Excellence 'Religion and Politics in pre-modern and modern cultures' at the University of Münster (Germany). The extended publication *Inszenierung von Herrschaft und Macht im ägyptischen Tempel. Religion und Politik im Theben des frühen 1. Jt. v. Chr.* will appear in the series Ägypten und Altes Testament. The proceedings of the conference on the God's Wives in the First Millennium BC, as part of this investigation, are already published: Becker, Blöbaum, Lohwasser (eds.), *Prayer and Power*. We want to thank the Cluster of Excellence for their financial support.

The Project 'Semantics of Change: Self-Affirmation, Propaganda, and Magic in the Visual Language of Egypt in the Early First Millennium BC'

The three parts of this project together highlight these two hundred years in Thebes as a hotspot of political and social changes leaving traces in the realm of religion. The diachronic examination of the representations reflecting the entanglement of religion and politics makes the fluctuation visible.

High Priests of Amun (Meike Becker)

During the reign of Ramesses XI, the High Priest of Amun in Karnak attains greater influence. The *de facto* sovereign of the Thebais connects the religious and political sphere. The development culminates with High Priest Herihor who installs himself as king. He visualises this elevation in both text and iconography. He depicts himself with royal insignia in the reliefs of the temple of Khonsu and uses the kingly five-fold titulary.[2]

At the beginning of the Twenty-second Dynasty, the pharaohs attempted to work against the trend of building up a new dynasty of high priests. Ruling far north in Lower Egypt, they installed members of their families as high priests in Karnak in Upper Egypt.[3] This procedure hints to the effort to secure the political influence in Upper Egypt with the main religious office there. However, as the ongoing history of the Twenty-second Dynasty shows, this was unsuccessful. One of the aims of this project is to capture the political and religious dimensions and their entanglement in the Twenty-second Dynasty.

In the late Libyan Period, the political order is strongly influenced by domestic political difficulties, culminating in the fragmentation in several petty kingdoms at the end of the Twenty-second Dynasty.[4] Already during the reign of Osorkon II, Horsiese A appoints himself as king in Thebes. Later, Takelot II follows this example and, once again, a local kingdom in Thebes is established.[5] This development causes a strong response and the subsequent civil war led by the High Priest of Amun Osorkon B, son of Takelot II, and his opponents, king Petubastet I and the High Priest Horsiese B, as is elaborately described in the *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*.[6]

The aim of this part of the project is to show to what extent the political parties involved use their religious and administrative influence to gain political power by reviewing the textual, iconographic, and architectural evidence of this period. How are the claims to power expressed? Is there a difference between religious influence and executive power? Are the main territories of the opposing parties' tangible?

All these developments are strongly connected to the office of High Priest of Amun in Karnak. This is an example of the close relationship between the religious office and the administrative and executive power. The famous High Priest Osorkon B, for example, uses many kingly attributes in the *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, in which he shows not only his hereditary claims but also executes kingly rituals and presents himself as the actual Theban potentate.[7] His opponent, Horsiese B, is not as tangible, but the royal secretary Hor IX, who supports king Pedubastet, states in several sources his strong influence on the king and on the political situation in Thebes. Almost all of his family members are loyal to Pedubastet and Horsiese B. Therefore, it seems as if the party affiliation can be associated with familial ties. In addition, it will be interesting to see if certain officials in Thebes always support the same side. It seems as if the vizier was always appointed by Pedubastet while the office of the mayor (*rwḏ ꜥ3 ḫsf n n'.t*) was often connected to the entourage of Osorkon B.

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[2] *Cf.* THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY, *Scenes of King Herihor*.
[3] KITCHEN, *Third Intermediate Period*, 290–1.
[4] *Cf.* The lunette of the Triumphal Stela of king Pi(anch)y, GRIMAL, *La stele triomphale*, 2.
[5] ASTON, *JEA* 75 (1989), 139–54; ASTON, in BROEKMAN, DEMARÉE, KAPER (eds.), *The Libyan Period in Egypt*, 1–28; JANSEN-WINKELN, *JEA* 81 (1995), 129–49.
[6] *Cf.* CAMINOS, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*.
[7] *Cf.* GOZZOLI, *Writing of History*, 43–9; PERDU, in GRIMAL, BAUD (eds.), *Evénement, récit, histoire officielle*, 129–42.

The significance of the god Amun in Karnak during the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Dynasty shall also be examined in order to ascertain in which ways the theology affects the political dimension and permits the rise to power by the High Priest of Amun in the first place, a power that is later on executed by the God's Wife of Amun.

The Nubian Kings Piankhy and Taharqo (Angelika Lohwasser)

A special phase of entanglement between religion and politics can be recognised in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, since the rulers were not Egyptian, but foreigners. The historical relationship between these two neighbours along the Nile, Egypt and Nubia, has been hostile as well as peaceful. Contacts between the two are attested since the Predynastic Period; trade and exchange of goods and ideas is clearly visible in the material culture of both regions. The New Kingdom was a time of Egyptian imperialism with a deep infiltration of Egyptian aspects into the Nubian culture, and several of them were incorporated into the Nubian tradition and continued until the Meroitic Period.[8] This is also true for royal regalia and motives of temple decoration—although the Kushites had their indigenous tradition, the depiction of the king as well as cultic scenes seems to be quite Egyptianised.[9]

Nevertheless, the rulers of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty were Nubian, and therefore some specific Nubian elements are visible under their Egyptianised appearance. The research question of this part of the project is the Kushite strategy to hold the political power and to fulfil the religious requirements in Egypt, while insisting on Nubian traditions that were essential for the Kushite kingdom.

Dealing with the two kings—Piankhy at the very beginning and Taharqo at the climax of Kushite rule—it is possible to show the gradual change in the political and religious attitude, visible in phraseology, pictorial representation, and design of architecture. Although Piankhy is not well attested in Egypt, his presence is evident through the narrative in the Triumphal Stela. It seems that he was an accepted ruler and experienced in cultic procedures (celebrating the *Opet*-festival, executing the daily ritual etc.). However, until now no building activity can be definitely attributed to Piankhy.

The following kings of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty invested most prominently in the cult of Amun in Thebes. Shabaqo and Taharqo restored temples in Karnak and Medinet Habu, they also built new sacred edifices for Amun at several other locations in Egypt and Nubia. Most prominent, they built kiosks in front of the Amun temple in Karnak and the Luxor temple,[10] as well as special colonnades in front of the entrances of the temples in Karnak. This latter contribution to Karnak Temple, undertaken by Taharqo, gives the illusion that this king represented himself as the founder of the temples of Karnak.[11] In the same context, the reliefs on these colonnades represent Taharqo in a cultic context that hints to the subtle handling of cultural elements supporting his legitimation. Moreover, the building and decoration in the Mut Temple at Karnak provides greater insight into the legitimation issue of Taharqo. Additionally, his prayer to Amun behind the Sixth Pylon at Karnak shows the completely changing situation, brought on by the Assyrian invasion.[12]

Within this Twenty-fifth Dynasty, we can recognise a change in the practice with textual, visual, and architectural representations of the relationship between the supernatural and the kingship, represented by the god Amun[13] and the king.

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[8] HINTZE, in HINTZE (ed.), *Africa in Antiquity*, 101–5.

[9] But there are several elements that are clearly non-Egyptian. See LOHWASSER, in CZERNY *et al.* (eds.), *Timelines* III, 133–8.

[10] See HOURDIN in this volume.

[11] See LOHWASSER, in MEIER-STAUBACH, ARWEILER (eds.), *Mediale Figurationen. Personen und Orte*.

[12] DALLIBOR, *Taharqo*, 99–104.

[13] Of course, the growth in importance of Osiris as the god of kingship, being a form of the renewed king, is also essential for that period. Since there is ongoing research on the Osirian chapels in Karnak as well as the ritual

Montuemhat (Anke Ilona Blöbaum)

The third part of the project deals with the time of transition after the Twenty-fifth Dynasty and the beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. During this time, one of the most interesting figures is Montuemhat, the Governor of Thebes and Upper Egypt, and Fourth Priest of Amun.[14] Coming from an Egyptian family with deep Theban roots,[15] Montuemhat started his career under the reign of Taharqo. After the Assyrian conquest, the annals of Assurbanipal recorded him as *šarru* (king) of Thebes.[16] On this basis, he achieved an increasing independent authority as local ruler of the south.

Apart from his tomb (TT 34)[17] and building activities in the Mut Temple at Karnak,[18] he is known from numerous statues of a highly remarkable quality.[19] As one of the most powerful individuals of his time, his performance as a member of the elite presents his works and efforts to the gods and establishes it in the context of his peers. Montuemhat's self-presentation must have left a strong impression within the temple area as he had created a personalised formative part of the sacred space in his own name without reference to royal authority.

This study tries to develop a comprehensive approach to Montuemhat's self-presentation in the temple focusing on its complex multi-media and multi-referential character. Accordingly, it includes an analysis of the composition and context of statuary and architectural evidence, as well as a profound study of the texts preserved both on his statues and in the Mut Precinct. The elements of his self-presentation show interrelations at various levels. Phraseology emphasising his authority can be traced back to both traditions of the Theban High Priests of the Twenty-first Dynasty and the nomarchs of the First Intermediate Period.[20] However, he is presented as a privileged member of the priesthood as well as a ritualist.[21] Unravelling these entanglements in order to lead to a deeper understanding of Montuemhat's position within the political and religious sphere of Thebes in the First Millennium BC is one of the main goals of this project.

Furthermore, Montuemhat's influence in the Theban region leads him into a significant position as a cooperative partner in establishing the new king Psamtik I in Thebes. The main source for this historical role is the Nitocris Adoption Stela.[22] In the second part of the text, Montuemhat and two members of his family (his first-born son Nesptah and his third wife Udjarenes) occur in the first place of a list representing important members of the Theban clergy, who provide the maintenance of the future God's Wife Nitocris.[23]

Montuemhat remained in office until his death around the fourteenth year of Psamtik I, apparently without loss of authority and power. Nevertheless, with increasing power of the new dynasty, the situation in Thebes changed. In consequence, the concepts of legitimation used by the first Saite kings to establish royal

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assemblages of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty in Abydos, some of the results of which are published within this volume, it is excluded from my investigation.

[14] The most comprehensive publication for this important individual is still LECLANT, *Montouemhat*; see also HABACHI, in ENDESFELDER *et al*. (eds.), *Ägypten und Kusch*, 165–70; JOSEPHSON, in ELDAMATY, TRAD (eds.), *Egyptian Museum Collections*, 619–27; JW*IS* III, 451–83.

[15] BIERBRIER, in RUFFLE, GABALLA, KITCHEN (eds.), *Glimpse of Ancient Egypt*, 116–8; TAYLOR, in *JEA* (1987) 229–30.

[16] Prisma A (British Museum EA 91026), col. I, 90–109; *cf.* MOJE, *Herrschaftsräume und Herrschaftswissen*, 65–8; ONASCH, *Die Assyrischen Eroberungen*, 36–7.

[17] GAMER-WALLERT, *Wandreliefs*; GESTERMANN, GOMAÀ, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 201–3; LECLANT, *Montouemhat*, 171–86.

[18] FAZZINI, in D'AURIA (ed.), *Offerings to the Discerning Eye*, 83–101; SPENCER, in BAREŠ, COPPENS, SMOLÁRIKONVÁ (eds.), *Egypt in Transition*, 478–83.

[19] LECLANT, *Montouemhat*, 3–170; new edition of the hieroglyphic texts: JW*IS* III, 204, 451–6, 475–7.

[20] SPENCER, in BAREŠ, COPPENS, SMOLÁRIKONVÁ (eds.), *Egypt in Transition*, 482.

[21] BLÖBAUM, in MEIER-STAUBACH, ARWEILER (eds.), *Mediale Figurationen*, forthcoming.

[22] Cairo JE 36327; PM II^2, 27; JW*IS* IV, 16–9. The major bibliography can be supplemented by references to BLÖBAUM, in BLÖBAUM, BUTT, KÖHLER (eds.), *Lexical Fields*, 38, n. 8; CAMINOS, in *JEA* 50 (1964), 71–101; DER MANUELIAN, *Living in the Past*, 297–321; GOZZOLI, *Writing of History*, 87–92; PERDU, *Psammétique*, 17–26.

[23] For structure and interpretation of this part of the list, *cf.* BLÖBAUM, in BECKER, BLÖBAUM, LOHWASSER, *Prayer and Power*, 190–4.

authority and dominion especially in the Theban region are another aspect of this investigation. In this context, we are mainly interested in the use of religious means of legitimation in relation to concrete political action to gain control over local (Theban) power networks.

Case study (Angelika Lohwasser):

The focus of this case study is the Triumphal Stela of the Nubian king Piankhy.[24] The stela of black granite was found in 1862 in the great temple of Amun at Jebel Barkal (B 500). Today it is on display in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (JE 48862, 47086–9). The stela dates to the twenty-first reginal year of Piankhy and gives a detailed account of the conquest of Middle and Lower Egypt with the final surrender of the 'rebel' Tefnakhte.

As the focus of this contribution is the entanglement between religion and politics, the text of this stela seems quite interesting since it is the narrative of the conquest of Egypt by a *Nubian* king. Therefore, we should detect two levels of politics and two levels of religion in this text. One level is the Egyptian: The Kushite king has to follow the political footsteps of the Egyptian kings as a military leader. Of main importance is the Egyptian religion, since the ideology of kingship is essential to reach the goal to rule over Egypt. The other level is the Kushite: Piankhy is a Kushite king, who not only has his own traditions, but has to serve a Kushite ideology of kingship. Additionally, we can suggest that there was a Kushite political interest in Egypt. Thus, we have to assume an interwoven net of political and religious as well as Egyptian and Kushite treads, a complex composition that had to serve many tasks.

Starting with the *political level*, this is basically formed by a military campaign to the north aiming to conquer the Delta and reunify Upper and Lower Egypt.[25] The steps of going to the north, conquering the towns of Middle Egypt and Memphis and the repression of the chiefs of the Delta are described in detail, thus we can assume that it is based on a military account.[26] It is, of course, also an economical event, since the contents of all but one of the treasuries of the conquered towns were sent to the temple of Amun in Karnak.[27] The message of these statements of sending the spoils to Karnak is that the king cannot only feed his troops with the booty from the captured cities, but can also increase the income of Amun of Karnak.[28]

Looking now at the Kushite political level, one has to state that in the whole text there is no benefit for Kush itself, none of the booty of the treasuries is sent to Nubia nor any connection between the political units, namely Egypt and Kush, is clarified. This last statement can be explained only if Egypt and Kush were already recognised as an entity at that specific time.

The *religious level* has several threads; the most prominent is the sacral legitimation of the king. This concerns the reinstallation of *maat* (achieved by unifying Egypt and smiting the enemies), but also the representation of Piankhy as the lord of cultic activities (like the celebration of festivals and performing the rituals in temples), and the climax is the approval by Ra in Heliopolis. The underlying motive is the journey of Piankhy symbolised by the Nile flood[29] as well as by the return of the sun's eye.

Concerning the Kushite religious level, there are selective intrusions into every episode of the long narration. Two topics are interpreted already as a gesture towards Kushite ideology: the story with the horses and

[24] This important stela was already the subject of several publications, the most comprehensive are EL HAWARY, *Wortschöpfung*; GOEDICKE, *Pi(ankh)y in Egypt*; GRIMAL, *La stele triomphale*; SPALINGER, in KARLSHAUEN, OBSOMER (eds.), *De la Nubia à Qadesh*, 235–74; TÖRÖK, *The Image of the Ordered World*, 368–98.
[25] SPALINGER *SAK* 7 (1979), 273–302.
[26] SPALINGER, *Aspects of the Military Documents*, 186–90.
[27] SPALINGER says that no lists of booty or prisoners are enclosed within the text, which was standard in New Kingdom military accounts. SPALINGER, in KARLSHAUEN, OBSOMER (eds.), *De la Nubia à Qadesh*, 259.
[28] Although multiple aspects of this long text are already investigated and published in detail, I am not aware of a treatment of the economic aspect.
[29] TÖRÖK, *The Image of the Ordered World*, 385.

the statement on the uncircumcised fish-eaters. Both episodes have previously been discussed by Fitzenreiter, who interprets them as expressions of a Kushite myth: 'Both episodes are there to emphasize the different nature of the Kushite king. They have been strange to Egyptians—Nimlot is obviously astonished by Piye's care for horses and the Egyptian authors of the text repeat the matter with the unclean fish-eaters two times—but most probably have been a definite allusion to the Kushite character of Piye's kingship for the people at Gebel Barkal.'[30] Very recently, Spalinger mentioned 'his presumed mercifulness … as well as the overt avoidance of battle scenes (king in battle, carnage, booty lists)—often reflect his non-Egyptian background.'[31]

From this very short overview it is clear that the Egyptian level is much more prominent in the political as well as the religious sphere. There is no indication of a Kushite political statement and only hidden intrusions into the religious network of stories.

A central theme running through the whole text is the myth of the distant goddess and sun's eye.[32] Within this myth, the eye of Ra became angry and went to Nubia. It was then pacified and brought back to Egypt, where it was reunited with Ra. In the narrative of the stela, Piankhy plays the role of the furious sun's eye, and his pacification along with the journey to Heliopolis is recorded. Later Kushite kings made several references to this myth, and it is essential even in the Meroitic Period.[33] It seems that it functioned as one thread of royal legitimation in the kingdom of Kush. The myth is, of course, Egyptian in its origin, but the first politically influenced usage—as legitimation of a king—is recorded for Piankhy, where the historical situation meets the mythical (coming back from the south and reunion in Heliopolis). But is this origin as sacral legitimation of the ruler really a Kushite invention?

Piankhy himself is presented as the sun's eye, coming from the south, being furious. He is calmed down by the women of Hermopolis. Memphis is the destination of the journey of the sun's eye, and, in fact, Memphis is the last city to be conquered. Thereafter he proceeds to Ra of Heliopolis, to be reunited with the sun-god. According to the myth, the sun's eye transforms into the *uraeus*. Additionally, this is the moment of becoming king of Egypt—after the ritual in Heliopolis Piankhy is *s3-rˁ* and King of Upper and Lower Egypt.

The myth itself is Egyptian, and it is widely accepted that the arrangement of the stela was undertaken by the intellectual elite in Karnak.[34] Nevertheless, the text is understood as 'an organic part of the current of indigenous cultural communication in Kush.'[35] However, in my opinion, this story is a highly sophisticated composition by the priests of Karnak to enable a conqueror from Kush become king of Egypt. Piankhy himself is legitimised *for Egypt* being the sun's eye, coming furious from Nubia and transforming finally to the ruling pharaoh. The myth is used as the sacral explanation of the real situation, namely that a hero (or conqueror?) from the south who received the regalia of an Egyptian pharaoh. Therefore, the connection of the myth of the distant goddess and sun's eye with the legitimation of the Kushite king was originally an invention of the priests of Karnak. With this myth, they paved the way for the possibility that a king of Nubian origin could be installed as pharaoh. Thus, not only the myth itself, but also the invention as sacral legitimation is purely Egyptian in its origin, but it was activated for later Kushite kings and adopted to their legitimation as well.

With this background, I want to deal with the question of the original place of installation of this stela. The Triumphal Stela was discovered at Jebel Barkal, although the specific find spot remains unclear. It was

[30] FITZENREITER, in RONDOT, ALPI, VILLENEUVE (eds.), *La pioche et la plume*, 268.
[31] SPALINGER, in KARLSHAUEN, OBSOMER (ed.), *De la Nubia à Qadesh*, 268–9.
[32] For this myth, *cf*. GOEBS, *JANER* 2 (2003), 27–59; JUNKER, *Der Auszug der Hathor-Tefnut*.
[33] KORMYSHEVA, in ZACH (ed.), *The Kushite World*, 343–58.
[34] TÖRÖK, *The Image of the Ordered World*, 369, n. 148 with earlier literature.
[35] TÖRÖK, *The Image of the Ordered World*, 370.

an anonymous Egyptian officer who found the stela there in 1862, without any documentation of the place.[36] During the excavation of Reisner, several bases for stelae were found in B 501, but none of them seemingly fitting the Triumphal Stela.[37] Thus, he concluded, that it was 'leaning against the N half of Pylon I on top of the casing built by Netekaman.'[38] For sure this was not the original place, since it is inscribed also on the rear side. It is obvious that this stela was replaced like several other monuments during the Meroitic Period.[39] However, where was the original place? Goedicke suggests that it may have set up as orthostat (inscribed on all four sides), which is not a usual Egyptian arrangement.[40] Török identifies the erection in courtyard B 501, which was built after the campaign of Piankhy.[41]

The material of the stela is grey or black granite, which likely came from the quarries at the First Cataract.[42] The text itself and the overall composition were done by an Egyptian intellectual, since there are a lot of allusions to Egyptian literature as well as insertions of Egyptian restricted knowledge.[43] The utilisation of restricted knowledge hints to the priesthood (of Karnak?).[44] Nevertheless, it is generally accepted that this stela was produced for display at Jebel Barkal, therefore also the (Egyptian-trained) priesthood of Napata could have been the author.[45]

Yet, in fact, throughout the whole text there are no clear hints for a connection with Napata or Jebel Barkal. It is usually suggested that Piankhy stayed at Napata at the beginning, yet even this is not explicitly stated.[46] Moreover, nothing indicates that he returned to Napata after his campaign. The assumption that he left Egypt right after his conquest is usually based on the lack of building activities in Karnak,[47] since the later Kushite kings erected several monuments there. However, since the last line of the stela mentions the people of Thebes rejoicing to Piankhy as ruler of Thebes, it is plausible that this city was the destination of the journey.[48]

In the lunette, there is the depiction of the human-headed Amun. The caption reads 'Amun, Lord of the Throne of both Lands, of Karnak and of Jebel Barkal'.[49] As Amun of Jebel Barkal is exclusively depicted with ram's head, the depiction cannot present the original form of Amun of Jebel Barkal (or Napata). Therefore, in the lunette Amun is presented in his visual form of Amun of Karnak—as such, recognisable even by illiterates—although the caption names Amun of Karnak *and* Jebel Barkal. Behind Amun his companion Mut is depicted. She is named as Mut of *jšr.w*, Mut of Karnak. Yet, the data concerning Mut at Gebel Barkal

[36] GRIMAL, *La stele triomphale*, pl. 9.
[37] REISNER, *ZÄS* 66 (1931), 89.
[38] REISNER, *ZÄS* 66 (1931), 89.
[39] REISNER, *ZÄS* 66 (1931), 88.
[40] GOEDICKE, *Pi(ankh)y in Egypt*, 2.
[41] TÖRÖK, *The Image of the Ordered World*, 370.
[42] GOEDICKE, *Pi(ankh)y in Egypt*, 1.
[43] GRIMAL, *La stele triomphale*, 283–94.
[44] TÖRÖK, *The Image of the Ordered World*, 369.
[45] GOEDICKE, *Pi(ankh)y in Egypt*, 2: '…that the carver(s) were dispatched to Gebel Barkal after the block has been put in place'; TÖRÖK, *The Image of the Ordered World*, 370: '… in the country where it was actually inscribed and where it was displayed?'
[46] Among others, see TÖRÖK, *The Image of the Ordered World*, 385: 'a cultic pilgrimage from the Amun temple at Napata to the Re temple at Heliopolis.'
[47] Nevertheless, the so-called Piankhy blocks found within the Mut Temple at Karnak can be reconstructed as the remainder of a portico or kiosk built in his reign. See BROEKMAN, *CdE* 87 (2012), 249–50.
[48] Line 155–9: 'His majesty sailed up-stream, with glad heart, the shores on his either side were jubilating. West and east, they seized the […], jubilating in the presence of his majesty; singing and jubilating as they said: "O mighty, mighty Ruler, Piankhi, O mighty Ruler, thou comest having gained the dominion of the Northland. Thou makest bulls into women. Happy the heart of the mother who bore thee, and the man who begat thee. Those who are in the valley give to her praise, the cow that hath borne a bull, thou art unto eternity, thy might endureth, O Ruler, beloved of Thebes"'. After Breasted (B*AR* IV, 433–4).
[49] GRIMAL, *La stele triomphale*, pl. 5.

shows that she is traditionally presented there as Mut *jr.t Rˁ*. Therefore, in the lunette Mut is also connected with Karnak but not with Jebel Barkal/Napata. Going through the text of the stela one can recognise that all mentioned gods are presented exclusively in their Egyptian form—there are no Kushite epithets or cult names.

Additionally, when looking at the names of people and places mentioned in the text, we recognise that all of them are located in Egypt. People and place names occur within all of the steps of the campaign, starting in the Thebaid. Some of the towns mentioned are quite small, and several of the named people were less prominent. Why are so many of them described with their names? It is quite unlikely that these towns and people were known in Kush. It is much more plausible that the Thebans knew them, or at least they knew the circumstances that were connected with specific persons.

Therefore, I suggest that the Triumphal Stela was either originally installed in Karnak or at least composed for an erection in Karnak, based on the fact that the usage of only Egyptian forms of gods, the names of places and people, the transfer of the treasuries to Amun of Karnak, and the absence of everything concerning Kush. Thus, my assumption is that the stela was initially not only composed *in*, but also composed *for* Karnak. The action of creation is a self-affirmation of the ideas included into that text. The intellectual effort to underline the legitimate rule by Piankhy, including Kushite traits, is not only done for the sake of the reader, but first of all for the self-ascertainment of the designer. The text is written to be understood in Egypt, especially in Karnak, and it focuses on Amun of Karnak. The ritual in Heliopolis and the detailed description of people and places are written by and for people who can decode it.

However, as already mentioned, there are Kushite intrusions into the composition. How does this fit with the interpretation that the stela was a monument produced by Thebans for Thebans? This can be linked with two thoughts: There is a discussion of Kushite presence in Thebes even before the campaign of Piankhy. Since we know documents of Kashta at Elephantine and perhaps also at Thebes,[50] it may well be that Kushite people had lived in Thebes already when Piankhy emerged on the stage. At least these people could understand the subtle hints within the single episodes, and perhaps it was even their input to the authors at Karnak when composing the text. Secondly, as it is the legitimation story of an Egyptian pharaoh, it is the same for the ruler over Kush. To fit for both ideologies, Kushite peculiarities are interwoven into every single step of legitimation.[51] These are the expressions that sound non-Egyptian, such as the fish-eaters, but they can be understood as being incorporated into the decisive moments of Piankhy's accession to kingship in a specific Kushite way.

In the end, the stela was found at Jebel Barkal and not in Karnak. It is possible that this very stela was transported from Karnak to Jebel Barkal; either by Piankhy himself, who furnished the Amun Temple B 500 with various statues and stelae collected from different periods and temples, or by a later king, like Taharqo, who was very keen to import Egyptian culture into Nubia, including the Memphite craftsmen to Kawa. It may have been Tanwetamani as well who based his (failed) conquest of Egypt on the same military advance as Piankhy.

More likely it can be the result of the erection of copies with the same text at different places, which was not unusual in that time.[52] Since there is evidence that relevant texts were exhibited at more than one prominent place, like the stelae of year six of Taharqo that were installed in Kawa, Koptos, Tanis, and Matana,[53] or

[50] PRIESE, *ZÄS* 98 (1972), 16–32.
[51] Török argues that perhaps the king himself cooperated with the authors and may have set emphasis to actions and concepts that were clearly determined by their Kushite background. See TÖRÖK, *The Image of the Ordered World*, 369–70.
[52] The erection of the stela was already discussed by GRIMAL, *La stele triomphale*, 301.
[53] VIKENTIEFF, *La haute crue du Nil*.

the stelae of Psamtik II in Karnak, Shellal, and Tanis,[54] there is the possibility that the same was done with the Triumphal Stela of Piankhy. The nomination of Amun in the lunette hints to that possibility: Usually the copied stelae vary in detail, first of all in the lunette. Amun is depicted as Amun of Karnak, who is the beneficiary of the whole campaign. But he is labelled there—and only in the lunette—as 'Amun of Karnak *and* Jebel Barkal'. This can indicate the local adjustment of this copy. It may also be the case that the Kushite intrusions are part only of this Jebel Barkal copy and not of the original composition.[55] Additionally, the physical appearance of the object—being inscribed on all four sides—is not known in Egypt.[56] Therefore, it seems to be obvious that this very stela was installed in Nubia.[57] If it were one of the copies, we should expect the original in Karnak—whether not yet found or destroyed in the course of the *damnatio memoriae* of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty—is difficult to tell.[58]

Nevertheless, the text does not reflect Kushite kingship ideology, but the Egyptian (Theban) attempt to justify the conquest and rule of Piankhy in Egypt. It will be difficult to prove the fate of the stela, but I would like to argue that the text was composed *in* and *for* the Thebaid region.

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[54] DALLIBOR, *Taharqo*, 58–63.
[55] There are slight variants in the texts of the copied stelae of Taharqo and Psamtik II as well.
[56] GOEDICKE, *Pi(ankh)y in Egypt*, 199–200.
[57] GOZZOLI, *Old Formats*, 188–9.
[58] We should also expect copies in Hermopolis and Heliopolis as well.

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